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L'exégèse patristique de Gn 13 et la mosaïque de la séparation d'Abraham et de Lot à Santa Maria Maggiore (Rome)

M. DULAEY, Amiens

La nef centrale de la basilique Sainte-Marie Majeure, érigée peu après 430, est décorée sur ses deux côtés d'une série de panneaux de mosaïques contemporaines de la construction ou du début du VI[e] s. Les trois premiers panneaux de gauche, œuvre d'un même artiste, proches par leur facture des mosaïques de l'arc triomphal, remontent probablement comme elles à Sixte III[1]. Le troisième est tout entier occupé par un motif rare en iconographie: la séparation d'Abraham et de Lot, scène de la Genèse (ch. 13) à laquelle on accorde rarement beaucoup d'importance et qui ne trouve d'ailleurs guère de parallèles iconographiques dans l'antiquité. Devant ce panneau, on serait tenté d'abonder dans le sens de ceux qui considèrent qu'à partir du V[e] siècle l'art paléochrétien tend à devenir de plus en plus narratif.

A Sainte-Marie Majeure, cependant, la scène ne saurait avoir ce caractère narratif. D'une part, les trois panneaux de la vie d'Abraham ne suivent pas la chronologie biblique: on rencontre d'abord Gn 14, avec l'offrande du pain et du vin par Melchisédech à Abraham revenant de la guerre contre les cinq rois (que ce soit bien ici un type de l'eucharistie est souligné par la situation du panneau à hauteur de l'autel); puis Gn 18, avec l'apparition du chêne de Mambré (dont la valeur typologique est ici analogue); enfin Gn 13[2]. Le cycle d'Abraham se présente dans le désordre, ce qui tend à indiquer que la signification symbolique des scènes y est première.

Dans le panneau de Lot, certains détails prouvent que la scène n'a pas pour fonction d'illustrer purement et simplement Gn 13. Le panneau se divise en deux parties strictement égales et presque totalement symétriques. A gauche, la demeure d'Abraham sous l'arbre, très semblable à celle du panneau précédent, désigne le lieu comme Mambré; en symétrie, la ville de Sodome, porte ouverte, vers laquelle se dirige Lot. Ce n'est donc pas le lieu de la séparation d'Abraham et Lot qui est évoqué, mais le lieu où ils s'installent après celle-ci. A gauche, le clan d'Abraham se profile derrière les hautes figures frontales et statiques du patriarche et de sa femme; à droite, le groupe de Lot, qui, accompagné de sa

[1] B. Brenk, *Die frühchristliche Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 108.

[2] Les trois panneaux suivants ont été détruits lors de la construction du transept au XIII[e] s.; ils appartenaient encore au cycle d'Abraham et Isaac, puisque ensuite commence le cycle de Jacob, avec la bénédiction de Jacob et Esaü.

femme, fait un geste de parole en direction de la ville. A gauche, Sara et Abraham posent la main, en geste de protection ou de bénédiction, sur la tête d'un petit personnage situé à gauche, tandis qu'à droite, les deux filles de Lot marchent devant leurs parents. La symétrie oblige à voir dans le petit personnage de gauche le pendant des filles de Lot, c'est-à-dire Isaac, et non Eliézer, le serviteur héritier présumé d'Abraham en Gn 15, 3, comme l'avait proposé C. Cecchelli[3]. Cet anachronisme voulu (au ch. 13, Abraham n'a encore eu que la promesse assez vague d'une descendance, et Isaac naît au ch. 21 seulement) ne peut qu'avoir une valeur typologique, comme l'a reconnu B. Brenk, pour qui cette interprétation du mosaïste contrasterait avec celle des Pères de l'Église, qui n'auraient pas proposé d'exégèse symbolique de la scène. En fait, à côté d'utilisations morales de l'épisode, où l'on donne en exemple le comportement désintéressé et pacifique d'Abraham, qui préfère subir l'injustice plutôt que se brouiller avec son neveu, il est des interprétations symboliques, parmi lesquelles on peut reconnaître deux veines, l'une plus savante, dérivant de Philon, l'autre plus populaire.

Si la présence de Lot dans les mosaïques de Sainte-Marie Majeure étonne les modernes, elle ne devait pas surprendre les contemporains. Ils étaient en effet familiers du personnage, dont la catéchèse avait fait le type du catéchumène qui, fidèle à ses engagements baptismaux, échappe au feu éternel, symbolisé par l'incendie de Sodome, par opposition à sa femme, qui retourne en arrière et se perd[4]. D'autre part, la séparation d'Abraham et de Lot était considérée comme la condition nécessaire de l'accomplissement de la promesse divine à Abraham, dont Gn 13 donne la première formulation incluant à la fois le don de la postérité et celui de la terre[5]. La tradition juive souligne parfois qu'Abraham aimait Lot comme le fils qu'il n'avait pas et voulait en faire son héritier au mépris des paroles divines, rendant ainsi nécessaire la séparation[6]. D'après un fragment d'Origène, c'est le renoncement d'Abraham à la terre la plus riche, laissée à Lot, qui permet au patriarche d'accueillir le don plus grand de la promesse[7]. Ephrem de Nisibe, quant à lui, considère que le départ de Lot hors de la terre de Canaan est la première condition pour que la postérité d'Abraham hérite un jour de la terre promise[8].

[3] C. Cecchelli, *I Mosaici della basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956), p. 109-110. B. Brenk, *Die frühchristliche Mosaiken...*, p. 108-109 admet qu'il s'agit d'Isaac, et souligne, p. 62, qu'il n'est pas de parallèle iconographique à cette présence d'Isaac dans la scène.

[4] Voir sur ce point notre article à paraître: *Le salut de Lot: Gn 19 dans l'Église ancienne.*

[5] Clém. R. *cor.* 10, 4 (*SC* 167, p. 116-117); EVS. *eclog. proph.* 1, 3 (*PG* 22, 1028) citent le chapitre à ce titre

[6] *Jub* 12, 30; 13, 17-18; 17, 3. Cf aussi *Midrash Gen Rab.* 41, 8 (trad. B. Maruani. A. Cohen Arazi, Verdier, 1987, p. 425).

[7] Orig. *cat. Gen.* (*PL* 12, 112) = *CCG* 2, p. 6-7.

[8] Ephr. *in Gen.* , *CSCO* 153, p. 55. Le don de la terre est aussi celui de la croix, symboliquement présente dans les quatre points cardinaux mentionnés en Gn 13, 14-16.

Pour Philon d'Alexandrie, la séparation d'Abraham et de Lot manifeste le choix qui s'impose à tout homme. Abraham et Lot représentent deux types d'âmes, ou encore deux penchants dans l'âme, qui un jour ou l'autre s'affrontent: l'un, qui incline vers la vertu et le souverain bien, symbolisé par Abraham, l'autre vers les richesses et le pouvoir, figuré par Lot. Un choix radical est nécessaire: 'Va-t-en donc, émigre, prends largement tes distances; tu n'as rien et ne peux rien avoir de commun avec lui. Car, ajoute l'auteur en paraphrasant Gn 13, 9, ce que tu crois être à droite est pour lui à gauche, et au contraire, ce qui est pour toi *du mauvais côté* est, pense-t-il, à droite'[9]. Chez Philon, non seulement Abraham prend l'initiative de la séparation, mais c'est lui qui émigre (contrairement au texte biblique), car 'la cohabitation est impraticable entre celui qui est possédé par l'amour du monde incorporel et incorruptible et celui qui se laisse descendre dans la direction du monde sensible et mortel'[10]. Lot représente pour l'Alexandrin le sensible, par opposition aux vrais biens[11]. On trouve chez lui pour la première fois une étymologie du nom de Lot qui aura grand succès par la suite: Lot signifie ἀποκλίσις, le fait de se détourner[12]. Lot, qui se détourne tantôt vers le bien (quand il suit Abraham), tantôt vers le mal, est le type même de l'homme au cœur inconstant, dont le sage devra se séparer sous peine d'être lui-même entraîné en arrière vers les attraits sensibles, dont Lot devient une sorte de personnification[13]. Lot tend donc chez Philon à être un personnage négatif: son choix de la riche vallée du Jourdain (dont le nom signifie descente) et de la plaine de Sodome (connotée négativement) en fait le symbole des hommes qui préfèrent le sensible aux biens spirituels. Se séparer de Lot, c'est donc choisir les vraies valeurs.

La même opposition entre biens sensibles et biens éternels se retrouve chez Origène à propos de Gn 13. A Abraham, qui a laissé à Lot le choix de la terre la plus fertile, Dieu dit: 'Tu as méprisé cette terre sensible sans valeur; je te donnerai la terre des doux (cf Mt 5, 4) dans le pays des vivants (cf Ps 26, 13)', et cette terre est la vertu et le Royaume[14]. Didyme s'inspire étroitement de l'étymologie philonienne de Lot, qui est pour lui 'le fils de l'homme qui en reste aux choses sensibles'[15].

Sous l'influence de Philon encore, Ambroise de Milan commente longuement, dans son traité *Sur Abraham*, l'épisode de la séparation d'Abraham et de

[9] Phil. A. *Abraham* 224 (*OPA* 20, p. 112-113); cf aussi l'ensemble des ch.208-224.

[10] Phil. A. *migr. Abr.* 13 (*OPA* 14, p.100); Lot, qui va vers 'le district du Joudain', se laisse *descendre*: allusion probable à l'étymologie du Jourdain, reprise par Ambroise de Milan dans le même contexte.

[11] *Ibid.*: 'le sensible qu'on appelle chez les Hébreux Lot'.

[12] Phil. A. *migr. Abr.* 148 (*OPA* 14, p.186).

[13] *Ibid.* 149-150 (p. 188).

[14] Orig. *cat. Gen.* (*PL* 12, 112) = *CCG* 2, p. 6-7.

[15] Didym. *in Gen.* 12, 4 (*SC* 244, p. 148); l'étymologie philonienne est doublée d'une autre: racheté, λελυτρωμένος, peut-être par jeu de mot (lot / lut-) et par allusion à Gn 19.

Lot. Le nom de Lot veut dire *declinatio,* ce qui signifie, comme chez Philon, le fait de se détourner tantôt du bien, tantôt du mal. Il y a deux hommes en Lot: celui qui marche avec Abraham et celui qui opte pour Sodome[16]. Lot, *declinatio,* évoque en fait plus volontiers le second, celui qui fait le choix du vice, et Abraham doit s'en séparer pour n'être pas amené à faire avec lui le choix des biens de ce monde plutôt que des valeurs éternelles[17], de l'agréable plutôt que de l'utile[18]. Pour tous ces auteurs, la séparation d'Abraham et de Lot signifie donc la rupture entre deux genres de vie: la recherche des biens supérieurs et la complaisance dans les valeurs du monde.

S'il n'y avait que ces exégèses savantes, on serait en droit de se demander dans quelle mesure elles ont pu influencer l'iconographie. Mais il a existé des interprétations symboliques de l'épisode plus parlantes pour le grand public. Déjà dans le judaïsme s'est opérée une simplification du personnage de Lot en Gn 13. S'il quitte Abraham, c'est par révolte contre Dieu[19]; il fait le choix du vice, et, selon un rabbin qu'on peut situer fin IIIe s. ou début IVe s, part *à gauche*[20].

Dans l'homilétique chrétienne, où revient souvent l'exhortation à fuir Sodome, symbole du monde et du péché, Lot est celui qui fait choix de Sodome. Origène, dans ses *Homélies sur la Genèse,* explique que Lot est bien inférieur à Abraham, sinon, 'il ne se serait pas séparé d'Abraham et ne lui aurait pas dit 'Si tu vas à droite, j'irai à gauche; si tu vas à gauche, j'irai à droite'. Et s'il ne lui avait pas été inférieur, le pays et le séjour de Sodome ne lui auraient pas convenu'[21]. Comme chez Philon, c'est ici Lot qui prend l'initiative de la séparation, tant et si bien que la proposition d'aller dans des directions opposées, qui est sans ambiguïté le fait d'Abraham dans le texte hébreu et les versions, est ici placée sur les lèvres de Lot. Par deux fois, en Gn 13, 12 et 19, 19-20, Lot est aussi celui qui fait le choix de la plaine, symbole de la vie facile, et non de la montagne avec les parfaits[22]. Dans les *Homélies sur Luc* d'Ambroise, le choix de Sodome est symbole de l'inclination au péché[23]. Jérôme de son côté écrit à un certain Lucinus, qui déjà a opté pour la vie parfaite: 'Toi qui as quitté Sodome pour te diriger vers la montagne, ne regarde pas en arrière [...]. Ne reviens pas du champ à la maison; ne t'en vas pas

[16] Ambr. *Abr.* 2, 6, 25 (*CSEL* 32, p. 581, 6-582, 8).

[17] *Ibid.* 1, 3, 14 (p. 512, 14-15); 2, 6, 32 (p. 589, 16-590, 8); cf Phil. A. *Abr.* 224.

[18] *Ibid.* 2, 6, 34 (p. 590, 25-591, 9): 1, 3, 13 (p. 511, 19-512, 12).

[19] *Gen. Rab.* 41, 7 (p. 424): 'Je ne veux ni d'Abraham ni de son Dieu'; cf aussi 41, 5 (p. 424), où les bergers de Lot se moquent de la promesse divine à Abraham, qu'ils accusent d'être 'une mule stérile incapable d'enfanter'.

[20] *Ibid.* 41, 7 et 41, 6 (pp. 424-425). Il part à gauche: même idée chez Philon (cf aussi plus bas chez Jérôme).

[21] Orig. *hom. Gen.* 4, 1 (*SC* 7^b^, pp. 144-145).

[22] *ibid.* 5, 1 (pp. 161-165).

[23] Ambr. *in Lc* 8, 45 (*SC* 52, p. 118).

préférer avec Lot les plaines et les lieux agréables, qu'arrosent non point le ciel, comme c'est le cas de la Terre Sainte, mais les flots troubles du Jourdain quand, après s'être mêlé à la Mer Morte, il a perdu la douceur de ses eaux'[24].

Deux textes évoquent clairement Gn 13 comme un symbole du choix à opérer entre le bien et le mal. Le premier est un passage du *De Abraham* d'Ambroise, qui en parle en termes rappelant le Deutéronome: 'Dieu a placé devant nous le bien et le mal, pour que chacun choisisse ce qu'il veut'[25]. Le second est une lettre où Jérôme exhorte Pammachius à une vie sainte, en mêlant la morale romaine traditionnelle (les *Satires* de Perse) à l'exemple biblique de Gn 13: 'Que Lot — nom qui veut dire 'celui qui se détourne' — choisisse la plaine et, selon la lettre de Pythagore, aspire plutôt à ce qui est facile, mais *situé à gauche* et destiné à périr; toi, (va) dans les régions ardues et rocheuses...'[26]. L'habituelle symbolique négative de la gauche, ici comme chez le rabbin déjà cité, a conduit à simplifier et infléchir la géographie du texte: Lot part à gauche, Abraham à droite, et la scène devient une image exemplaire analogue à l'Y des Pythagoriciens, à la croisée des chemins où Hercule 'a choisi la vertu qui lui sembla plus belle'.

Dans l'interprétation patristique, Gn 13 devient donc une variation sur le thème des deux voies, qu'on trouve par ailleurs en Mt 5, 13-14[27]. C'est très probablement ainsi que les anciens comprenaient la mosaïque de Sainte-Marie Majeure. On a dit la symétrie voulue du panneau, où Abraham et Isaac sont situés à droite (à la gauche du spectateur) et Lot et les siens à gauche; l'opposition marquée entre le groupe statique d'Abraham et le mouvement du clan de Lot, qui tend à marquer qu'Abraham demeure et que c'est Lot qui s'en va, comme dans les *Homélies sur la Genèse* d'Origène, connues à Rome à cette époque dans la traduction latine de Rufin. Le chrétien est invité à demeurer à droite, du bon côté, celui d'Abraham, à choisir entre les exigences de la vie chrétienne et les facilités du monde. La présence d'Isaac dans la scène montre que sa leçon n'est pas seulement morale, mais spirituelle: c'est un choix dans la foi. Aux richesses concrètes de la plaine de Sodome, il faut préférer dans l'espérance, comme Abraham, l'enfant promis par Dieu, l'enfant qui est l'unique richesse d'Abraham et Sara, comme l'indique leur geste d'affection. Et cet enfant est aussi la figure du Christ, bien suprême du chrétien, dont le panneau précédent, en liaison avec les scènes de l'enfance de Jésus sur l'arc triomphal, annonce la venue.

[24] Hier. *epist.* 71, 1 (Labourt, t. 4, p. 9, 12-21).
[25] Ambr. *Abr.* 2, 6, 35 (p. 591, 11-12).
[26] Hier. *epist.* 66, 11 (Labourt, t. 3, p. 177, 19-22); Pers. *Sat.* 3, 56-57.
[27] Voir par exemple Aug. *ser. Cai.* 2, 19 (*PLS* 2, 435), où la voie du bien est également placée à droite.

'Love' or 'Breasts' at Song of Songs 1:2 and 4? The Pre-Masoretic Evidence*

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In verses two and four of Chapter 1 of the Song of Songs there is an important difference between the Hebrew Bible, which our English versions follow, and the Greek Bible and its dependent versions. The Hebrew of the Masoretic text is translated by the Authorised Version at verse two: 'thy *love* is better than wine', and at verse four: 'we will remember thy *love* more than wine.' But in the Greek 'love' is rendered 'breasts' — 'thy *breasts* are better than wine', and 'we will remember thy *breasts* more than wine' — which is treated by commentators as a mistake, and they give an explanation of why it was made which accords with the Masoretic pointing. But was it a mistake?

In Hebrew there is a word for 'breast', דַּד, not much used, which in the pre-Masoretic text, namely, a text without vowel signs, is written identically with a noun for 'love', דּוֹד, when this latter is spelt without a vowel letter, דֹּד. This word, with its double possibility, occurs in the Song five times[1], twice in relation to the male in the opening verses, and three times in relation to the female, and in every case the Greek renders 'breasts' which, given the contexts and an unpointed text, is the obvious translation. This appears to be all the more certain because in the Song where 'love' or 'beloved' is clearly intended the word is spelt *plene*, that is, with its vowel letter, דּוֹד, which distinguishes it from the word for 'breast', דַּד. It would then have been surprising if the translators of an unpointed text, on seeing a double *daleth* without a vowel letter, had translated it as anything other than 'breast'.

The suspicion then arises that the change from 'breasts' (the occurrences of the word in the Song are all in the plural) to 'love' occurred in the Hebrew — but why and when? To take the question of 'when' first, the change — if change there was — would have occurred in the Masoretic period, somewhere between the sixth and the tenth centuries A.D., and probably nearer the sixth than the tenth. At first sight this conjecture seems not to be supported by the pre-Masoretic literature, in particular a discussion in the Mishnah which is

* I am very grateful to Professors John Barton and Philip Alexander, and to Dr Jeremy Hughes, for their careful scrutiny of this material.

[1] At 1:2: 1:4; 4:10 (twice), and 7:13. The MS on which the Authorized Version is based inserts a vowel letter at 7:13, דודי, and the AV translators render 'my loves'. The usual spelling is דדי.

taken up in the Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud, and also appears in the Midrash Rabba on the Song[2]. In the printed, unpointed, versions of all these texts, where Song 1:2 and 4 are quoted, the double *daleth*, with its pronominal singular suffix, is spelt with a vowel letter, דּוֹדֶיךָ, thereby agreeing in regard to pronunciation with the Masoretic text and eliminating any question of reading דַּדֶּיךָ, 'thy breasts'. But this is a case of the later assimilation of the rabbinic texts to the Masoretic text, and if we look at the context in which these verses are quoted it becomes evident that the Rabbis are, in fact, discussing the gender of the suffix on the word for *breasts*. Should it be, one rabbi asks another, דַּדֶּיךָ, 'thy (male) breasts', or דַּדַּיִךְ, 'thy (female) breasts'? And the reason for concluding that they are referring to breasts, whether male or female, is that they are in the middle of a discussion on cheese, that is to say, a process of milk.

The evidence from Qumran similarly favours the reading 'thy breasts' at 1:2 and 4, though it is not conclusive. Among the remains of four scrolls of the Song there are two fragments of the opening seven verses[3] the first of which, 1:1-6, shows both occurrences of the word spelt without a vowel letter. In view of the Qumran practice, that is, the addition of vowel letters to assist a correct reading, this suggests that our word would have been given a vowel letter precisely to avoid reading 'thy breasts' had the reading at that time been 'thy love'[4].

A further cause for suspicion when the word is pointed to mean 'thy love' is that the form is plural: 'thy loves'. But this difficulty could possibly be resolved by appeal to the category 'pluralis intensivus', though, curiously, those grammarians to whom one turns in such cases are silent about the plural forms of דַּד or דּוֹד with singular meaning in the Song. Thus the Gesenius-Kautzch grammar does not include the word in the section 'The Various Uses of the Plural Form'[5], and neither does Aaron Ember in his long and detailed article 'The Pluralis Intensivus in Hebrew'[6] to which GK points in a footnote. But the opening paragraph of Ember's article suggests how the Masoretes might have understood, or justified, a singular meaning for the plural form of דּוֹד in the Song:

[2] Mishnah *Avodah Zarah* (lit. 'strange worship' = idolatry in rabbinical terminology), 29B and B. Talmud 35A. Cf. *Canticles Rabbah*, 1.2,1. But at 1.2,2 both (unpointed) possibilities, 'breasts' and 'love', are fully exploited in the rabbinical manner.

[3] 6Q published by M. Baillet in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, III (Oxford, 1962). This is the only fragment of the Song of Songs so far published. Of the identified unpublished fragments, none appear to include the opening verses.

[4] But see *The Textual Criticism of the Bible* by Emanuel Tov (Minneapolis, 1992), p. 109, where the Song is not included among those books which manifest evidence of the Qumran practice. Professor Tov would, presumably, have read דדיך as דודיך and therefore as lacking evidence for the Qumran practice.

[5] *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch (Oxford, 1910), pp. 396-401.

[6] Art. cit. in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, vol. XXI, No. 4 (July 1905) pp. 195-231.

Several phenomena in the universe were designated in Hebrew by plural expressions because they inspired the Hebrew mind with the idea of greatness, majesty, grandeur and holiness. A correct understanding of the 'pluralis intensivus' becomes thus of great importance in reconstructing the cosmological ideas of the ancient Hebrews.

This may indeed, be relevant, but the reason for a change from 'breasts' to 'love', especially at 1:2 and 4 where it is the male, namely, God, to whom breasts are ascribed in the majority of the versions, is suggested to me by Raphael Loewe's paper, 'Apologetic Motifs in the Targum to the Song of Songs'[7]. The Targum is, as Loewe shows, a late work, probably seventh century, and its concerns manifest the same ambience as that of the Masoretes. One of those concerns was anthropomorphism. In the Song, at 5:10-16, the female describes the person of the beloved, and this passage was taken up in Jewish mysticism, notably in the *Shiur Qomah* literature (*Shiur Qomah* meaning, 'measure of the body' and, in this context, 'the body of God'). About this tradition Gershom Scholem wrote that 'it aroused the bitterest anatagonism among all Jewish circles which held aloof from mysticism', and that, between such circles and Jewish mystics, 'the antagonism was mutual, for it is in this attitude towards anthropomorphism that Jewish rational theology and Jewish mysticism part company'[8]. Thus the Targum, to return to Loewe, 'succeeds in eliminating every single reference to the person of the Deity in 5:10-16 except that of the eyes ... God's eyes being, indeed, so familiar a biblical expression as scarcely to raise any antianthropomorphic scruples'[9]. Thus, also, the Targum to 1:2 and 4 indicates the reading 'breasts' only by references to the Law 'inscribed on two tablets of stone'[10], breasts symbolizing nourishment in the biblical literature, and specifically nourishment by the Law in the rabbinical literature.

The Targum, although retaining many earlier midrashic elements and representing a historical allegorical line of interpretation is, nevertheless, rooted in the *peshat*, the 'plain meaning'[11], and it is this which links it with the Masoretes, whose period of development has been characterised as the period of the *peshat*[12]. A period, then, when antianthropomorphism and a mood for the plain meaning had combined, would hardly have allowed breasts to God when an alternative reading was available. Whether the Masoretes decided for

[7] In *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 159-196.

[8] *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1961), p. 63.

[9] 'Apologetic Motifs ...' (see n. 7 above), p. 191.

[10] Loc. cit., H. Gollancz, *The Targum to the Song of Songs; The Book of the Apple; The Ten Jewish Martyrs; A Dialogue on Games of Chance* (London, 1908).

[11] For an exposition of this term, see Raphael Loewe, 'The "Plain" Meaning of Scripture in Early Jewish Exegisis', in the *Annual of Jewish Studies* (London, 1964), pp. 140ff.

[12] Cf. James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1968), p. 60.

'love', or whether their pointing reflected a change in pronunciation already in use (which would accord with the view that the Masoretes were never innovative), remains a question.

A contrary witness in the pre-Masoretic period, however, is the Syriac which reads 'bowels' (namely, 'tender feelings' or 'compassion') at 1:2 and 'love' at 1:4. But, unlike the Hebrew, the Syriac does not bring the later occurrences of the word into line but reads them as 'breasts', which suggests a concern about the attribution of breasts to the male figure[13]. Jerome, on the other hand, living in Palestine and translating the Song from the Hebrew at the end of the fourth century, read 'breasts' wherever the double *daleth* occurred in his unvocalised text, thus agreeing on this point with the Septuagint and Old Latin versions. We see, then, that however the Masoretic text is explained, it is with good reason that the Greek and the Latin Vulgate translate 'breasts' not 'loves' from the original Hebrew.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the mistake is to assimilate the pre-Masoretic versions, in particular the Latin, to the Masoretic text, and so to cut the roots from a tradition of exegesis which has derived rich nourishment from the breasts of God, that is to say, of Christ, according to the Christian revelation.

[13] The Song of Songs was very little referred to in Syriac tradition until the late fifth or sixth century. See Sebastian Brock, 'An Epiphany Hymn on the Church as the Bride of Christ' in *The Harp*, Vol. II, No. 3 (December 1989), p. 133. I am much indebted to Dr Brock for his kind help in this area.

Hippolyts von Rom Kommentar zum Buch Ruth

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1) Bei keinem anderen frühchristlichen Schriftsteller liegen Person und Werk infolge der unklaren Quellenlage so im Dunkel wie bei Hippolytus. Nach einer scheinbaren Klärung seiner Lebensumstände und nach dem Bekanntwerden mehrerer seiner Schriften um die Jahrhundertwende schien Hippolyt von Rom eine zeitlich und theologisch relativ gut faßbare Persönlichkeit geworden zu sein. Die seit der Mitte unseres Jahrhunderts gegen die Einheit von Person und Werk Hippolyts massiv erhobenen Einwände (zuerst von Pierre Nautin, zuletzt von Manlio Simonetti) haben inzwischen zu einer großen Verunsicherung geführt. Es ist vielfach nicht mehr klar, ob die bisher dem Hippolyt zugewiesenen Schriften einem einzigen Schriftsteller oder zwei verschiedenen Autoren zugewiesen werden müssen; ob es also zu Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts einen einzigen christlichen Schriftsteller namens Hippolyt gegeben hat, oder ob sich zwei Autoren hinter diesem Namen verbergen: ein in Rom lebender Presbyter Hippolyt, der vor allem an historischen, kirchenrechtlichen und philosophischen Fragen interessiert war, und ein im syrischen Raum anzusiedelnder Bischof Hippolyt, der sich vor allem mit biblischer Exegese und hier besonders mit der typologischen Deutung des Alten Testamentes beschäftigte.

Wer mit der Mehrheit der Forscher mit guten Gründen nach wie vor an einem einzigen Autor, nämlich Hippolyt von Rom (der um 235 als Märtyrer gestorben und in Rom als solcher verehrt wurde) festhält, kann nur bedauern, daß (nachdem praktisch alle namhaften Verteidiger der Einheit Hippolyts inzwischen verstorben sind) heute die Fronten pro und contra nach wie vor bestehen. Hippolyt, der zu seiner Zeit an kirchlicher Bedeutung und umfassendem Wissen einem Klemens von Alexandrien oder einem Origines nicht nachstand[1], der neben Tertullian der Logostheologie mit der Unterscheidung von mehreren Personen in Gott zum Durchbruch verholfen hat, ist wieder ein Unbekannter geworden.

2) Die gegenwärtige Unsicherheit in der Hippolytforschung kann meines Erachtens nur überwunden werden, wenn es gelingt, neue Quellen über Hippolyts Wirken zu erschließen oder früher bekannte, aber wieder verschüttete

[1] Marcel Richard, Art. 'Hippolyte de Rome (saint)': *DSp* VII (Paris, 1969), Sp. 531 (= Opera minora I, 10).

Quellen neu aufzudenken. Ein Weg dazu scheint mir zu sein, Schriften, die als hippolytisch bezeugt sind, von der Kritik aber als unecht verworfen werden, neu zu untersuchen, vor allem mit eventuell vorhandenen orientalischen Übersetzungen zu vergleichen, um einen älteren, möglichst nicht interpolierten Text wieder herzustellen. Ich denke hier vor allem an die beiden Homilien 'Über die Auferweckung des Lazarus' und 'Über die Heilige Theophania'. Beide Texte sind im Berliner Corpus von Hans Achelis ediert worden[2]. Der von Interpolationen gereinigte Text dieser beiden Homilien könnte helfen, die Eigenart und den homiletischen Stil Hippolyts, der uns sonst nahezu unbekannt ist, näher kennen zu lernen.

Ein zweiter Weg, um verkannte oder sogar bisher unbekannte Schriften Hippolyts aufzufinden, führt über die griechischen Katenen zum Oktateuch. Die Katenenfragmente Hippolyts zu Kap. 49 des Buches Genesis sind bekannt und mehrfach ediert. Tatsächlich dürfte die bekannte Katene (vom Typ III) zum Oktateuch aber noch zahlreiches, bisher unbekanntes Material aus verlorenen exegetischen Schriften Hippolyts enthalten. Dieses Material ist bisher unbekannt geblieben, weil es nicht unter dem Namen Hippolyts läuft, sondern vielfach anonym, bisweilen auch unter dem Namen des Irenäus überliefert ist. Einen Versuch, solches exegetisches Material Hippolyts aus der Katene zum Oktateuch aufzuzeigen, hat Marcel Richard erfolgreich unternommen, der in der Katene zum Buch der Richter eine Exegese zu Ri 14-16, d.h. zu Samson, nachweisen konnte[3]. Die Fragmente, elf insgesamt, sind hier unter dem Namen des Irenäus oder anonym überliefert.

Es war dieser Versuch von M. Richard, der mich inspiriert hat, ebenfalls die Katenen zum Oktateuch für die Arbeit an Hippolyts Schrifttum heranzuziehen; zunächst die gedruckte Katene, die der Mönch Nikephoros in zwei Bänden 1772 und 1773 zu Leipzig herausgegeben hat, die sogenannte *Catena Lipsiensis* (= C.L.), dann auch die Handschriften (= Hss), die Nikephoros für die Zusammenstellung seiner Katene benützt hat, die seit ihrer Wiederauffindung als Originalquellen unentbehrlich geworden sind[4].

Wenn innerhalb dieser Oktateuchkatene die Fragmente zum Buch Ruth von mir als Quelle für eine bisher unbekannte Schrift Hippolyts ausgewählt wurden, so deshalb, weil Hippolyt uns zweifach als Kommentator des Buches Ruth bezeugt ist. Einmal durch ein größeres Fragment zu Ruth 2,9.14, das Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts in einem Codex des Athosklosters Kutlumusion (Codex 39) entdeckt wurde und das Achelis in seine Ausgabe der 'Kleineren exegetischen und homiletischen Schriften' Hippolyts aufgenommen

[2] GCS Hippolyt I,2 (Leipzig, 1897), 215-27 und 257-63.

[3] M. Richard, 'Saint Hippolyte a-t-il commenté l'histoire de Samson?', in: *Littérature et religion: Mélanges J. Coppin* (Lille, 1966), 13-21 (= Opera min. I, 16).

[4] Codex Athen, Nat. Bibl. 43 (Katene zu Oktateuch und Königsbücher) = Cod. A. Dann Codex London, Lambeth Pal. 1214 (Katene zu Levit. - Ruth) = Cod. L. Dazu Codex Monac. graec. 358 (Epitome Prokops) = Cod. M.

hat[5]. Sodann, unter dem Namen des Irenäus, in der Einleitung eines Kommentars zum ersten Buch der Könige, über Elkana und Samuel, wo der Verfasser (nach dem Zeugnis des Severus von Antiochien) aüssagt, zuvor das *Buch Ruth* erklärt zu haben. Daß es sich bei diesem Verfasser nicht um Irenäus, sondern um Hippolyt handelt, darf inzwischen als gesichert gelten[6].

3) Das Fragment aus dem Athoskloster, das in der Ausgabe von Achelis 25 Zeilen umfaßt, zeigt die für Hippolyt charakteristische *Typologie*, nach der die männliche Hauptperson des Buches Ruth, Booz, die Person Christi vorbildet, während Ruth selbst Typus der Kirche aus den Heiden ist, die Schnitter aber die zwölf Apostel Jesu bedeuten, welche der Kirche die Gnade Christi vermitteln. Dieses Athosfragment des Hippolyt von Rom findet sich nicht in der Katene zum Buch Ruth. Betrachtet man aber die Katenenfragmente im Lichte jenes Hippolytfragmentes, so zeigen zahlreiche Fragmente, daß sie in der Diktion wie in der grundlegenden Typologie in frappierender Weise mit der Exegese Hippolyts übereinstimmen. Diese Übereinstimmung vieler anonymer Fragmente der Ruth-Katene mit der typologischen Exegese Hippolyts zeigt sich bereits in der Nikephoros-Katene. Sie wird dort jedoch verdunkelt durch den Umstand, daß Nikephoros die zum Teil umfangreichen Fragmente der Hss entsprechend den kommentierten Ruthversen in kleine Abschnitte aufgestückelt und außerdem die ihm vorliegende Ruthkatene stark erweitert hat, vor allem durch Fragmente aus den *Jüdischen Altertümern* des Flavius Josephus[7]. Will man die Übereinstimmung der anonymen Ruthkatene mit der Exegese Hippolyts näher feststellen, so ist der Rückgriff auf die Katenen-Hss unerläßlich. Hier zeigt sich dann, daß die Katene außer den zwei *Quaestiones et responsiones* des Theodoret von Cyrus zum Buch Ruth (PG 80,517-528) zwei große Blöcke von 'anonymen' Fragmenten enthält, in die zusätzlich vier weitere, namentlich ausgewiesene Fragmente eingefügt sind. Das erste dieser vier Fragmente wird Origenes zugewiesen und stammt aus dessen Kommentar zum Mt-Evangelium[8]. Das zweite gehört dem Johannes Chrysostomos und kommt aus dessen 3. Homilie zum Mt-Evangelium[9]. Das dritte Fragment wird Kyrillos zugewiesen und dürfte aus dessen verlorenem Mt-Kommentar stammen.

[5] GCS Hippolytus I,2: 120.

[6] Vgl. G. Jouassard, 'Une citation et un ouvrage de S. Hippolyte sous le nom de S. Irénée?', in: *RevSR* 17 (1937), 290-305. P. Nautin, *Le dossier d'Hippolyte et de Méliton* (Paris, 1953), 34-37.

[7] Flavius Josephus, *Ant.* 5,9,1-5,9,4. Da Prokop von Gaza in seiner Epitome das Buch Ruth nicht kommentiert, konnte auch Nikephoros, ganz gegen sein sonstiges Verfahren, keine Fragmente von Prokop zitieren. Dieses Schweigen Prokops zu Ruth erklärt sich nicht aus der Kürze vom Buch Ruth, das nur vier Kapitel umfaßt; es ist vielmehr ein sicheres Indiz dafür, daß Prokop den in der Katene überlieferten anonymen Ruthkommentar nicht gekannt hat.

[8] Das Fragment wurde nach den Katenen zu Mt ediert in GCS Origenes 12 (Leipzig, 1941), 17f.

[9] PG 57,35-36.

Das vierte wird Basilius zugeteilt und kommt aus dessen Kommentar zu Isaias[10].

Überprüft man diese vier namentlich gekennzeichneten Fragmente im Kontext der Katene, so zeigen die ersten drei Unstimmigkeiten. So steht das Origenes-Frgm. in der Hs A (fol. 199ʳ, Zeile 5-8) ganz am Anfang, ohne Namen und ohne Zahlzeichen. In der Hs L wird es an späterer Stelle (fol. 408ᵛ, Zeile 3-22) nachgetragen, ebenfalls ohne Zahlzeichen, aber durch das Siegel für Origenes gekennzeichnet. Das Frgm. ist also erst später hinzugefügt worden. Auch das Chrysostomos-Frgm. zeigt Unregelmäßigkeiten. Es hat zwar in beiden Hss das Zahlzeichen ϑ, wird in Hs L (richtig) auf Ruth 2,8, in Hs A aber (unrichtig) auf Ruth 2,5 bezogen. Ein genauer Vergleich der Positionen des Fragmentes im Kontext läßt erkennen, daß die irrige Position in A die ursprüngliche ist, dies aber in Hs L später korrigiert wurde. Auch dieses Fragm. ist also später eingefügt worden. Dagegen dürfte das 3. Frgm. (Kyrillos), das in beiden Hss den gleichen Platz und gleiches Zahlzeichen hat, schon früh in die Katene aufgenommen worden sein. Es sprengt allerdings den Sinnzusammenhang zwischen zwei der anonymen Fragmente, die inhaltlich zusammengehören und Ruth 4,5 und 4,10 erklären[11]. Auch hängt das Scholion direkt oder indirekt von dem ihm vorausliegenden anonymen Ruth-Kommentar ab[12], der die Aufnahme der 'Moabiterin' Ruth in die jüdische Gemeinschaft, die das Gesetz (Deut. 23,3f.) verbot, bereits durch das Petruswort Apg. 10,35 gerechtfertigt hatte[13]. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß das Kyrillos-Frgm. noch nicht in der ersten Ruthkatene stand. Ähnliches gilt auch von dem vierten Frgm. (Basilius), das inhaltlich, wie Kyrillos, auf das Moabitertum der Ruth anspielt.

Die aufgezeigten Unstimmigkeiten machen jedenfalls deutlich, daß zwei der vier mit Namen versehenen Fragmenten (vielleicht sogar alle vier) erst später in die Ruth-Katenen eingefügt worden sind.

Dieser Sachverhalt wirft Licht auf den Ursprung der Ruth-Katene. Denn diese enthielt demnach ursprünglich (sehr wahrscheinlich) nur die Kommentare von zwei Autoren zum Buch Ruth: 1) die zwei 'Quaestiones et responsiones' zu Ruth des Theodoret, die den Rahmen der Katene bilden, und 2) den Kommentar zu Ruth eines *anonymen* Exegeten, dessen Erklärungen, die der Erzählung in Ruth ziemlich genau folgten, in zwei Blöcken an die zwei Abschnitte des Theodoret angefügt wurden. Der Kompilator der Katene setzte dabei die erste 'Interrogatio et responsio' Theodorets an den Anfang, woran er

[10] PG 30,629 C. Nikephoros hatte bereits das 2. Fragment identifiziert; M. Richard hat die drei anderen bestimmt, s. Anm. 14.

[11] C.L. II 274 DE und 274 ID. Nikephoros hat die Reihenfolge der beiden Fragmente vertauscht.

[12] Vgl. C.L. II 264 B mit 274 D.

[13] Origenes hat dieselbe Fragestellung durch das Pauluswort 1 Tim 1,9 zu lösen versucht, vgl. C.L. II 260 D .

den ersten Teil des anonymen Ruthkommentars, der Ruth Kap. 1 und 2 erklärte, anschloß; dann folgte die zweite 'Interrogatio et responsio' Theodorets sowie der zweite Teil des anonymen Kommentars, der Ruth Kap. 3 und 4 erklärte. Aufschlußreich ist dabei der Umstand, daß der anonyme Ruthkommentar älter ist als Theodoret und Kyrillos, da letzterer diesen Kommentar bereits direkt oder indirekt benützt hat.

4) Es ist also dieser anonyme Kommentar, der die ganze typologische Deutung der Ruthgeschichte, genau wie sie das Hippolyt-Frgm. bietet, vorträgt. Interessant ist, daß die beiden konsultierten Hss, die inhaltlich nur geringfügig voneinander abweichen, den Text des anonymen Exegeten verschieden darbieten, indem der etwas ältere Codex A (11. Jht.) den zu kommentierenden Bibeltext vor jedem Unterabschnitt kurz wiederholt, während Codex L (Anfang 12. Jhdt.) den Bibeltext nicht mehr zitiert, sondern durch die üblichen Hinweiszeichen auf den danebenstehenden fortlaufenden Ruthtext bezieht.

Auf Grund der übereinstimmenden typologischen Exegese des anonymen Autors mit dem Athosfragment Hippolyts könnte man nun versucht sein anzunehmen, daß die zwei großen Abschnitte des unbekannten Kommentars wörtlich aus dem Kommentar Hippolyts zum Buch Ruth übernommen seien, um so mehr als diese zwei vorliegenden Blöcke mehrfach auch stilistische Eigenheiten Hippolyts aufweisen. Aber bereits Richard hat in einer kurzen Notiz zu einem möglichen Ruthkommentar Hippolyts[14] darauf hingewiesen, daß die Scholien des anonymen Exegeten einige für Hippolyt untypische theologische Termini enthalten, die eine einfache Gleichsetzung der Ruthfragmente der Katene mit Hippolyts Ruthkommentar verbieten. Eine für den unbekannten Exegeten typische, für Hippolyt aber untypische Eigenart ist der häufige Gebrauch des Adjektivs νοητός im Sinne von geistig, pneumatisch oder typologisch vorgebildet. So spricht der Kommentar von der männlichen Hauptperson Booz, die den νοητός Booz, d.h. Christus, vorbildet (C.L. II 266 D). Ähnlich ist von der Frucht (νοητὸς καρπός), dem Gewand (νοητὸς ἱματισμός), der νοητὴ ἡμέρα u.s.w. die Rede. Diese und andere stilistisch-theologische Abweichungen zeigen, daß der Text des anonymen Kommentars in der uns vorliegenden Form nicht aus Hippolyts Ruthkommentar stammen kann. Vielmehr hat der Kompilator der Ruthkatene Hippolyts Ruthkommentar höchstwahrscheinlich in einer sprachlich und inhaltlich überarbeiteten Form vorgefunden, falls er nicht selbst den Text überarbeitet hat, indem er theologische Termini der Vorlage durch ihm zeitgemäßer erscheinende Ausdrücke ersetzt oder ergänzt hat[15]. Die erste Möglichkeit scheint allerdings wahrscheinlicher

[14] M. Richard, 'Les difficultés d'une édition des œuvres de S. Hippolyte', in: *Studia Patristica* XII, Part I (TU 115; Berlin, 1975), 64f. (= Opera min. I, 11).

[15] Diese Art von Interpolation ist nicht eingentlich Verfälschung der Vorlage, sondern ist in den Augen des Redaktors gleichsam das theologische Aggiornamento einer sonst verehrungswürdigen Väterexegese.

zu sein, da der Kompilator auch den Ruthkommentar des Theodoret unverändert übernommen hat.

5) Wir haben es bei der Ruthkatene also mit einem 'Opus' mit drei Unbekannten zu tun: der erste ist der unbekannte Kommentator zu Ruth (in dem wir Hippolyt vermuten), der zweite ist der unbekannte Bearbeiter oder Redaktor des alten Ruthkommentars, der den ihm vorliegendem Kommentar offensichtlich sprachlich gekürzt und wohl auch theologisch überarbeitet hat, der dritte ist der uns unbekannte Kompilator, der den Kommentar Theodorets und den anonymen Ruthkommentar zur Ruthkatene zusammengestellt hat. Sehen wir in dem Kompilator einen Mann, der die Texte in erster Linie gesammelt, aber nicht überarbeitet hat, so ist der Redaktor des Ruthkommentars für die Änderungen in dem vorliegenden Text verantwortlich. Mit diesem Redaktor des alten Ruthkommentars müssen wir uns also beschäftigen, wenn wir erfahren wollen, wie er in den alten Text eingegriffen hat und inwieweit die uns vorliegenden Ruthscholien tatsächlich mit dem ursprünglichen Kommentar Hippolyts übereinstimmen. Es sind daher in erster Linie die für Hippolyt untypischen stilistischen und terminologischen Eigenheiten der Scholien zu prüfen, um zu sehen, wo und wie der ursprüngliche Text verändert worden ist. Einige davon sollen hier wenigstens kurz angedeutet werden.

Der schon erwähnte häufige Gebrauch des Adjektivs νοητός verrät zunächst eine Abhängigkeit von der Exegese des Origenes, bei dem νοητός in dem im Ruthkommentar vorliegenden Sinn zuerst nachweisbar ist[16]. Es findet sich später bei Didymus, Kyrill von Alexandrien, bei Prokop, häufig auch bei Proklos von Konstantinopel. Es scheint aber auch auf in dem ersten Fragment des Kommentars zu dem Richter Samson, das die Katene fälschlich Irenäus zuschreibt, das jedoch ebenfalls dem Hippolyt gehört[17]. Der Gebrauch von νοητός im vorliegenden Sinn auch in der Richterkatene läßt jedenfalls vermuten, daß der unbekannte Redaktor der Ruthkatene auch die Scholien der Richterkatene überarbeitet hat.

Häufig gebraucht der Redaktor sodann den Ausdruck τουτέστιν (das heißt oder das ist), um einen vorausgehenden Terminus zu erklären. Das geschieht zwar gelegentlich auch in authentischen Schriften Hippolyts[18], aber das häu-

[16] Orig., In Joh. B. 20,10: GCS Origenes 4: 338,25 (Preuschen); Hom. 8 in Jerem. 10,12-14: Orig. 3: 60,9 (Klostermann); besonders auch in den Fragmenten zu Mt: 265; 470; 536; 556: GCS Orig, 12,1: SS. 121; 194; 219; 228 (Klostermann).

[17] M. Richard, s. Anm. 3, S. 14: Fragm. 1, Zeile 4: διὰ τοῦ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν πέτραν (bezieht sich auf 1 Kor 10,4). Vielleicht hat der Redaktor hier nur πνευματικὴν durch νοητὴν ersetzt. Vgl. Hippolyt, Frgm. 68 in Prov. (S. 91 Zeile 14 Richard, Opera min. I, 17,2). Ebenso Hippolyt, *Ben Mos.* (PO 27: 149,3f,). Die Textveränderung durch den Redaktor wäre also minimal.

[18] Hippolyt, *Ben. Patr.* 5, 8, 22, 28 (PO 27: 18,3; 34,1f.; 92,5f.; 114,9); häufig auch im Kommentar zu den Proverbien.

fige Vorkommen in der Katene zu Ruth und zum Richterbuch macht es sehr wahrscheinlich, darin die Hand des Redaktors zu sehen, der mit Hilfe dieses τουτέστιν seine Vorlage kürzt, vielleicht auch eigene Deutungen in seine Vorlage einschiebt[19]. Diese wenigen Hinweise auf die Eigenart des Redaktors müssen hier genügen.

Betreffs des ersten Unbekannten, also des eigentlichen Kommentators von Ruth, soll hier neben der schon erwähnten völligen Übereinstimmung seiner typologischen Deutung mit der des Hippolyt im Athosfragment nur die scharfe Frontstellung des Kommentators gegen falsche Lehrer und Häretiker erwähnt werden, die in seiner Deutung von Ruth 3,10 deutlich wird. Viele ruchlose Häretiker gibt es, heißt es dort[20], welche die einfachen Gemüter von der gesunden Lehre abzubringen trachten. Diese Polemik entspricht ganz derjenigen im Athosfragment, wo Hippolyt scharf gegen simonistisches Unwesen zeitgenössiger Kirchenführer vorgeht, die keine getreuen Verwalter (οἰκονόμοι πιστοί: Lk 12,42) sind, sondern Christus verkaufen (χριστέμποροι)[21]. Schon H. Achelis hat diese harten Vorwürfe auf die beiden römischen Bischöfe Zephyrin und Kallistus, Zeitgenossen Hippolyts, bezogen[22]. Vorwürfe, die wir in anderer Form auch in dem anonymen Ruthkommentar finden. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß an beiden Stellen das in diesem Zusammenhang für Hippolyt charakteristische Verbum ἐπιχειροῦσιν vorkommt[23]. Ich sehe daher in dieser innerkirchlichen Polemik des Ruthkommentators ein weiteres Indiz dafür, daß dieser mit dem Verfasser des Athosfragmentes zu Ruth identisch ist, d.h. mit Hippolyt von Rom, auch wenn noch genauer zu bestimmen ist, in welchem Ausmaß der Redaktor den Text von Hippolyts Ruthkommentar modifiziert hat. Sodann sind die Scholien des anonymen Ruthkommentars ein neues Argument dafür, daß der Bibelexeget Hippolyt nicht ein Bischof irgendwo im Osten des Römischen Reiches war, sondern identisch ist mit dem Verfasser des 'Elenchos aller Häresien': dem schismatischen Presbyter Hippolyt von Rom. Es scheint mir daher ein Gebot der Stunde, den anonymen Ruthkommentar, der praktisch unbekannt ist, so bald wie möglich zu veröffentlichen.

[19] Da das erklärende τουτέστιν auch in den stark überarbeiteten Scholien zu Gen 49 sehr häufig ist, könnte der Redaktor der Ruthkatene vielleicht auch zahlreiche andere Scholien der Oktateuch-Katene bearbeitet haben? Diese Frage müßte jedenfalls genauer überprüft werden.

[20] C.L. II 270 E: πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀνόσιοι αἱρετικοί, οἱ τῆς ὑγιοῦς διδασκαλίας ἔξω φέρειν τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους *ἐπιχειροῦσι*.

[21] Hippolyt, zu Ruth 2,9.14: GCS Hippolyt I,2: 120,14f. Achelis: ὥς τινὲς τῶν ἀφρόνων νῦν τοῦτο ποιεῖν *ἐπιχειροῦσιν*.

[22] H. Achelis, *Hippolytstudien* (TU 16,4 (N.F. 1,4); Leipzig, 1897), 121f.

[23] Siehe Anm. 20f.

Die theologische Grundlage der Auslegung in der *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* des Ambrosius von Mailand

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Die *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* ist der einzige unter den Schriftkommentaren des Ambrosius von Mailand, der einen neutestamentlichen Text im Zusammenhang auslegt. Ich werde im folgenden zu zeigen versuchen, daß gerade dieses Werk geeignet ist, die Hermeneutik des Ambrosius zu beleuchten und damit zugleich einen Zugang zu seiner Denkweise und Theologie insgesamt zu gewinnen[1]. Denn Ambrosius versteht sich nach eigenem Bekunden in erster Linie als Ausleger der Schrift[2].

Geistliche Schriftauslegung, wie sie Ambrosius betreibt[3], kommt zu ihrem Ziel in der Frage nach dem mystischen oder spirituellen Sinn der Schrift. Sie ist demnach in ihrem Innersten eine theologische Lektüre der Schrift, d.h. sie entwickelt sich in einem sachlich-theologischen Bezugsrahmen, in dem die geistliche Erkenntnis Halt und Orientierung sucht. Für die Analyse der ambrosianischen Exegese ist es darum — über die Darstellung der Verfahrensweisen hinaus — von entscheidender Bedeutung, die theologischen Themen, aber auch die theologischen Vorentscheidungen freizulegen, die das Verstehen anleiten.

[1] Die *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* wird im folgenden ohne Titelangabe mit Buch-, Paragraphen- und Zeilenzählung zitiert nach der Ausgabe von M. Adriaen (CCL 14; Turnhout, 1957).

[2] Vgl. Off. 1,3 (ed. Testard 96): Non igitur mihi apostolorum gloriam uindico — quis enim hoc nisi quos ipse Filius elegit Dei? — non prophetarum gratiam, non uirtutem euangelistarum, non pastorum circumspectionem; sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas diuinas opto adsequi quam ultimam posuit apostolus inter officia sanctorum... Das Proömium der Pflichtenlehre, dem dieser Abschnitt entnommen ist, ist mit guten Gründen für die 'Antrittspredigt' des Ambrosius gehalten worden (so J.-R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire Romain, Contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état à la fin du quatrième siècle* [Paris, 1933], 526), da er noch unter dem direkten Eindruck der besonderen Umstände seiner Bischofswahl stehe (vgl. bes. Off. 1,2; 1,4). Selbst wenn dies nicht zutreffen sollte, kommt dieser Äußerung programmatischer Charakter zu. Denn aus ihr begründet Ambrosius im Kontext seine Verpflichtung zur Lehre, die er mit *De Officiis* in exemplarischer Weise einlöst.

[3] Das hermeneutische Grundmuster der Unterscheidung von Geist und Buchstabe der Schrift ist hinreichend beschrieben bei L.F. Pizzolato, *La dottrina esegetica di sant' Ambrogio* (SPMed 9; Mailand 1978); vgl. ferner M. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell' esegesi patristica* (Rom, 1985), 271-80; ders., *Profilo storico dell' esegesi patristica* (Sussidi Patristici 1; Rom, 1981); B. de Margerie, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*, Bd. 2: *Les premiers grands exégètes Latins* (Paris, 1983), 99-143.

Ich möchte diesen Gedanken konkretisieren. Es genügt nicht, daß in der Forschung vielfach der Schritt vom Alten zum Neuen Testament als Grundbewegung der ambrosianischen Exegese gewertet wird[4]. Auch bedarf es der kritischen Prüfung, ob die häufig zu beobachtende Hinwendung zur kirchlichen Gegenwart als Mystagogie beschrieben werden darf, die die Sakramente der Kirche als die Form der gegenwärtigen Wirksamkeit Christi zum hermeneutischen Schlüssel der Auslegung erklärt[5]. Beide Konzepte stellen zwar jeweils Christi Person und Wirken ins Zentrum. Aber sowohl die Verweisbeziehung vom Alten zum Neuen Testament als auch das sakramentale Geschehen in der Kirche erschließen sich sachlich erst durch eine inhaltlich-theologische Interpretation jener Mitte beider Sichtweisen, nämlich des Christusgeschehens selber, wie es im Neuen Testament vor Augen gestellt ist. Damit kann gerade Ambrosius' Auslegung des Lukasevangeliums wesentlich zur Klärung seines Verständnisses des Wirkens Christi und zugleich zu einer präziseren Beschreibung seiner Hermeneutik beitragen.

Zu klären, was denn mit dem hermeneutischen Hinweis auf Christus inhaltlich gesagt, d.h. welches Christusbild und welche Christusinterpretation in der Exegese wirksam werden soll, mußte für Ambrosius umso dringlicher werden, als er sich ja mit dem 'Arianismus' einem konträren Christusverständnis gegenübersieht, das er heftig als ein häretisches bekämpft. Die ambrosianische Hermeneutik gewinnt erst im Kontext dieser zeitgenössischen theologischen Debatte ihr wahres Profil.

So überrascht es denn auch nicht, daß Ambrosius den Schlüsselsatz seiner Hermeneutik in einem antihäretisch ausgerichteten Abschnitt formuliert, hinter dem die Auseinandersetzung mit Auxentius vom Jahre 385/6 steht[6]. Nachdem Ambrosius die von dem Treiben der Häretiker ausgehenden Gefahren in zunehmend dramatischer Steigerung ausgestaltet hat, hält er ohne jede weitere

[4] So im Grunde schon J.B. Kellner, *Der heilige Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand, als Erklärer des Alten Testaments: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese* (Regensburg, 1893). Vgl. beispielhaft für die neuere Forschung Pizzolato, aaO. 43ff., bes. 50, 53. Ähnlich de Margerie, der allerdings dieses Modell zu einem heilsgeschichtlichen Dreischritt erweitert, durch den auch die geistige Lektüre des Neuen Testaments für eine Überbietung im Eschaton offengehalten wird, vgl. bes. aaO. 118ff.

[5] So C. Jacob, *'Arkandisziplin', Allegorese, Mystagogie: Ein neuer Zugang zur Theologie des Ambrosius von Mailand* (Theoph. 32; Frankfurt/M., 1990). Zur Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Ansatz, die hier nicht im einzelnen durchgeführt werden kann, vgl. meinen Beitrag: *Christus interpres: Die Einheit von Auslegung und Verkündigung in der Lukaserklärung des Ambrosius von Mailand* (PTS 41; Berlin, 1994), 244-54 sowie mit ähnlicher Tendenz die Rezension von A.M. Ritter, *ThLZ* 119 (1994), 250-52.

[6] Dies belegen vor allem der Hinweis auf Skythien (VII, 52, 518), die Heimat des Auxentius, sowie die deutlichen Parallelen zwischen VII, 52 und dem *Sermo contra Auxentium* (= ep. 75a), 15-17, auf die schon Adriaen in seiner Ausgabe (S. 231) hinweist. Zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund s. zuletzt G. Gottlieb, 'Der Mailänder Kirchenstreit 385/386: Datierung, Verlauf, Deutung', *MH* 43 (1985), 37-55, und G. Nauroy, 'Le fouet et le miel: Le combat d'Ambroise en 386 contre l'arianisme milanais', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 23 (1988), 3-86.

Begründung oder Erklärung der Häresie einen prägnanten **Satz** entgegen, der sie zunichte werden läßt.

'Hos [sc. die Häretiker] *scripturae uerus interpres Christus* inludit, ut inanes suos in uanum effundant inpetus et nocere non possint[7]'.

Die Formel *scripturae uerus interpres Christus* bündelt eine Reihe von ineinandergreifenden Aspekten, die Ambrosius in verschiedenen Abschnitten des Lukaskommentars entfaltet.

Die Rede vom *interpres Christus* stellt zuallererst ein inhaltliches Kriterium für die Auslegung dar. Zwar wird im direkten Kontext speziell die Unfähigkeit der Häretiker zum Predigen mit ihrem fehlenden Bekenntnis zur Gottheit Christi begründet[8], doch ist der vernebelnde, ja mehr noch der von der Absicht zu täuschen bestimmte Schriftgebrauch der Häresie mit dem gleichen Kriterium zu entlarven[9]. Die Häretiker verfehlen nämlich mit ihrer Fehleinschätzung Christi den Sinngehalt der Schrift als ganzer. Dies zeigt sich beispielhaft darin, wie Christus selbst in der Austreibung der schlechten Geldwechsler aus dem Tempel (Lk 19,45 par. Mt 21,12b[10]) zum rechten Umgang mit der Schrift anleitet[11]. Die Schrift ist dabei metaphorisch als eine Münze vorgestellt, die durch Christus geprägt ist, während die häretische 'Exegese' als Versuch der Fälschung dieses eingeprägten Bildes Christi erscheint, vor der man sich hüten muß:

... nec adulteram imaginem regis ... inpia conmutatione suscipias nec inminutam principis tui figuram Arrianae fraude perfidiae thesauro tuo misceas ...[12]

[7] VII, 50 (496-98).

[8] VII, 53 (522-24): Ululat iste [sc. Auxentius], non tractat qui negat uocis auctorem et sacrilego sermone bestiale murmur interstrepit, qui non confitetur dominum Iesum aeternae praesulem uitae. Vgl. ferner die Warnung, sich nicht von häretischem Disputieren selbst die Sprache rauben zu lassen, VII, 51 (500-502): ... mutus est enim qui uerbum dei non eadem qua est gloria confitetur. Caue ergo ne tibi uocem tollat haereticus ... Nur wenig zuvor, VII, 31 (345-48), heißt es entsprechend von den Häretikern, die im Bild der Füchse erscheinen: ... haeretici ... latratibus magis sonori quam uocibus expoliti — qui enim uerbum negat nec uocem habet ...

[9] Vgl. VII, 49 (480-81): ... [haeretici] qui lucem Christi scaeuae nebulis interpretationis obducere et quantum in ipsis est fuscare conantur.

[10] Die Auslegung des Passionsgeschehens im IX. und X. Buch ist von dem Bemühen gekennzeichnet, eine die Informationen aller Evangelien möglichst ausschöpfende Harmonisierung vorzulegen. Aus diesem Grund ist hier der Text des Matthäus (Mt 21,12) zugrundegelegt, der einige zusätzliche Details bietet.

[11] IX, 18 (149-52): ... specialiter autem nummularios pepulit. Qui sunt nummularii nisi qui de pecunia domini lucrum quaerunt nec bona malaque discernunt? pecunia enim domini scriptura diuina est.

[12] IX, 18 (157-60). Bei der geforderten Unterscheidung von Gut und Schlecht (s. vorige Anm.) geht es also um nichts anderes als um die Prüfung der Schriftinterpretation. In der Metaphorik der Münzprüfung, wie sie Ambrosius beispielsweise auch für die Unterscheidung eines wirklichen von einem gefälschten, häretischen Evangelium heranzieht (I, 1; vgl. dazu meinen Beitrag [wie Anm. 5], 52ff.), wird so zum Kriterium der Wahrheit der Auslegung, ob das eingeprägte Christusbild ohne 'arianische' Herabminderung zur Geltung gebracht wird.

Gewendet gegen den häretischen Versuch einer Bestreitung der vollen Gottheit Christi aus den Kennzeichen seiner Menschheit, dient es der geforderten dogmatischen Klarheit des Christuszeugnisses, wenn Ambrosius schon in der Auslegung des Lukasprologs die Hinwendung zu Christus präzisiert und die unterscheidende Betrachtung von Gottheit und Menschheit als hermeneutische Grundregel einschärft. Diese Unterscheidung wird sogar zum Kriterium wahrer Erkenntnis schlechthin:

Quid enim tam rationabile quam ut credas, cum legis ea gesta quae supra hominem sunt, potioris esse naturae, at uero cum legis ea quae sunt mortalia, suscepti credas esse corporis passiones[13]?

Dementsprechend wird die Unterscheidung der beiden Naturen des Inkarnierten beispielsweise schon in den Geburtsgeschichten in kräftigen Antithesenreihen ausgestaltet: Alia natura carnis, alia diuinitatis est gloria. Propter te infirmitas, in se potentia; propter te inopia, in se opulentia[14]. Christus erniedrigt sich um des Menschen willen (*propter te*), um ihn im Austausch mit Freiheit, Reichtum und Kraft der Erlösung zu beschenken[15].

Der Sichtweise von der Christus-geprägten Schrift entspricht es, wenn Ambrosius die Inhalte der christlichen *fides* in dem einen Namen 'Christus' aufs äußerste komprimiert enthalten sieht. So gilt das Bekenntnis des Petrus zum 'Christus dei' (vgl. Lk 9,20) als umfassendes und vollständiges Glaubensbekenntnis[16]. Die Gleichsetzung von Christus und *fides* ist auch sonst zu beobachten und läßt beide Größen gleichwertig zur Richtschnur der Auslegung werden[17]. Rechtes Hören auf das Wort, und das ist gleichbedeutend mit rechter Schriftauslegung, ist gebunden an die Übereinstimmung mit der *fides*. Dies führt Maria, die Schwester der Martha, exemplarisch vor Augen (Lk 10, 42). Für sie ist nämlich eine bestimmte Geisteshaltung kennzeichnend, die Ambrosius charakterisiert als 'religiosa mentis intentio dei uerbo, quae si cum fide congruat, etiam ipsis operibus antefertur ...[18]'.

[13] I, 4 (54-57).

[14] II, 42 (593-94).

[15] II, 41 (579-82): Ille igitur paruulus, ille infantulus fuit, ut tu uir possis esse perfectus; ille inuolutus in pannis, ut tu mortis laqueis sis absolutus; ille in praesaepibus, ut tu in altaribus; ille in terris, ut tu in stellis... Vgl. weiter II, 41 (584-91). Die gleiche Zugangsweise prägt auf weite Strecken die Auslegung des Handelns und Wirkens Christi und ließe sich mit zahlreichen weiteren Beispielen untermauern.

[16] VI, 93 (996-1000): In uno enim hoc nomine et diuinitatis et incarnationis expressio et fides est passionis. ... Conplexus est itaque omnia [sc. Petrus], qui et naturam et nomen expressit, in quo summa uirtutum est. Vgl. VI, 93 (1007-09): Sciuit Petrus quod in filio dei omnia sint; 'omnia' enim 'dedit pater filio' (Joh 3, 35).

[17] Ausdrücklich VII, 98 (1020): uerbum ... dei fides nostra est; ferner VI, 93 (1010f.): Finis fidei meae Christus est, finis fidei meae dei filius est. Zur fides als Auslegungsnorm vgl. Pizzolato, aaO. 301-03, der allerdings die spezifische christologische Zuspitzung nicht bemerkt.

[18] VII, 85 (832-34).

Die Forderung der Kongruenz jeglicher Schriftauslegung mit der kirchlichen Lehre ist nun nicht neu. Schon die Kirche des 2. Jahrhunderts macht bekanntlich die *regula fidei* als Kriterium rechten Schriftverständnisses gegen die Gnosis geltend. Ebenso ist die unterscheidende Betrachtung von Gottheit und Menschheit Christi seit Ignatius fest im kirchlichen Denken verankert und besonders auch in der lateinischen Tradition beheimatet. Als Regel für die Exegese läßt sie sich gelegentlich schon bei Origenes finden[19], hat dort aber kaum programmatischen Charakter[20]. Aktualität gewinnt sie dagegen im Kontext der trinitarischen Streitigkeiten des 4. Jahrhunderts. Relativ nahe heran an Ambrosius führt hier möglicherweise die Einschätzung des Athanasius, daß Christus den inhaltlichen Zielpunkt und das Gepräge (σκοπός und χαρακτήρ) der (ganzen?) Schrift darstelle[21], auch wenn die Tragweite dieser Bemerkung für seine Hermeneutik unterschiedlich gewertet wird[22]. Ambrosius mag hier — wie in manchem anderen — von Athanasius gelernt haben. In jedem Fall veranschaulicht diese Bemerkung, wie auch Ambrosius aus dem Zusammenhang der trinitarischen Auseinandersetzung zu seiner konsequent christologischen Zuspitzung des Glaubenszeugnisses und in dessen Gefolge auch der Schrifthermeneutik gelangen konnte[23]. Daß die pneumatologische Frage, die doch eigentlich die 'aktuellere' ist in der Spätphase des Streites, keinen vergleichbar

[19] Comm. in Joh. 19, 2,6.

[20] Gerade Origenes, der ja bekanntlich auch in der Lukaserklärung das direkte Vorbild für Ambrosius ist, zeigt beispielhaft, daß mit dem Verweis auf die *regula fidei* nur ein sehr weiter Rahmen für die exegetische Sinnsuche abgesteckt ist, der durch die jeweilige Theologie des Autors zu präzisieren ist. Sein hermeneutischer Traktat *De Principiis* IV, 2 gibt als 'Themen' für die Erkenntnis dessen, was der Geist in den Buchstaben der Schrift gehüllt hat, die weite Spanne von Gotteslehre, Anthropologie und Kosmologie, vor allem aber den Bereich des Intelligiblen und der Vernunftwesen (Logika) an, zu dem sich der Ausleger in kontemplativem Aufschwung zu erheben vermag. Vgl. Princ. IV, 2,7 (ed. Karpp 722), dazu M. Harl, 'L'Herméneutique d'Origène', in: Origène, *Philocalie*, 1-20. Sur les Écritures. Introduction, Texte, Traduction et Notes par M. Harl (SC 302; Paris, 1983), 42-157, hier 76-79. Zum Themenkatalog des Origenes, der sich als Entfaltung der 'regula' gibt, vgl. ferner princ. praef. 1,4ff. (Karpp 86ff.).

[21] Athan. Or. III, 29 (PG 26, 385A): Σκοπὸς τοίνυν οὗτος καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς, ὡς πολλάκις εἴπομεν, διπλῆν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελίαν ἐν αὐτῇ· ὅτι τε ἀεὶ Θεὸς ἦν καὶ Υἱός ἐστι, Λόγος ὢν καὶ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ σοφία τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον, δι᾽ ἡμᾶς σάρκα λαβὼν ἐκ Παρθένου τής Θεοτόκου Μαρίας, ἄνθρωπος γέγονε. Vgl. Ep. Serap. 2,7 (PG 26, 620A).

[22] Als zentrale hermeneutische Einsicht wird dieser Passus gewertet von H.J. Sieben, 'Herméneutique de l'exégèse dogmatique d'Athanase', in: *Politique et Théologie chez Athanase d'Alexandrie*, hg. v. C. Kannengiesser (ThH 27; Paris, 1974), 195-214, hier 206; ihm folgt de Margerie (wie Anm. 3), Bd. 1, 139. Eher skeptisch ist demgegenüber C. Stead, 'Athanasius als Exeget', in: *Christliche Exegese zwischen Nicaea und Chalcedon*, hg. v. J. van Oort und U. Wickert (Kampen, 1992), 174-184, hier 177.

[23] Ähnliches läßt sich auch in der trinitätstheologischen Argumentation des Hilarius beobachten; vgl. z.B. Trin 14,4: ... utriusque naturae personam tractari in Domino Iesu Christo ... Zur Bedeutung der Christologie in der Exegese seines Matthäuskommentars s. J. Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil: Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement et l'épreuve d'une foi épiscopale en Gaule au milieu du IVe siècle* (Paris, 1971).

gewichtigen Niederschlag in der Hermeneutik findet[24], läßt spiegelbildlich die Konzentration auf 'Christus' als die der Theologie des Ambrosius besonders entsprechende Akzentsetzung in der Auslegung hervortreten.

Die Zuspitzung des *regula*-Gedankens durch die strenge Konzentration auf Christus erhält bei Ambrosius ihren besonderen Akzent dadurch, daß mit dem Namen 'Christus' stets die konkrete geschichtliche Person des Inkarnierten angesprochen wird. Das schon erwähnte Petrusbekenntnis umgreift für Ambrosius so nicht nur Gottheit und Menschheit Christi, sondern ausdrücklich die ganze Lebensgeschichte des Inkarnierten von der Geburt bis hin zur Passion[25]. Ambrosius sucht also weder wie etwa sein Vorbild Origenes vom irdisch-historischen Jesus Christus sich zu lösen und zum überzeitlichen Logos aufzuschwingen, noch wie etwa Athanasius Schriftaussagen über den Inkarnierten von solchen über den Präexistenten zu unterscheiden[26]. Die Einforderung dogmatischer Klarheit führt darum auch nicht zu einer Exegese, die 'dogmatisch' in einem solchen Sinne wäre, daß sie allenthalben nach Belegen und Beweisen für die Gottheit Christi suchte, um sie für die Auseinandersetzung um die Trinitätslehre fruchtbar zu machen. Vielmehr zielt die Unterscheidung primär darauf ab, das *pro me* des Christusgeschehens deutlich zu machen; dies deutete sich schon in dem zitierten Beispiel der Geburtsgeschichte an. Darum steht gerade auch Christi wahre Menschheit vielfach im Zentrum. Denn die sündhafte Verfallenheit des Menschen macht das Eingehen Christi in die volle Menschheit heilsnotwendig. Zugleich ist es immer wieder die menschliche Seite Christi, die das Vorbild liefert für den Christen auf seinem Weg zum

[24] Dies wird weder durch die tragende Rolle des Geistes im Vorgang der Schriftinspiration in Frage gestellt, noch widerspricht ihm die Tatsache, daß auch der Ausleger nur durch das Wirken des Geistes zum Ziel kommt. Denn in beiden Fällen besteht die Wirkung des Geistes in nichts anderem als in der Übermittlung der gesta und dicta Christi an den Hagiographen (vgl. I, 3, 41f., s.u. Anm. 32) bzw. an der Ausleger. Fehlende Spiritualität der Auslegung, wie sie beispielsweise der 'jüdischen' Lektüre des Alten Testaments vorgeworfen wird, läßt sich so gleichfalls allein am Kriterium der Christuserkenntnis behaften. Exemplarisch hierfür begegnet in der Auslegung des Gleichnisses vom Feigenbaum (Lk 13,6-9) einerseits gegenüber den Juden der Vorwurf fehlender Spiritualität — konkretisiert durch das mangelnde Verständnis des geistigen Charakters des Gesetzes (VII, 166, 1810-15) —, und wird andererseits die neue geistige Wirklichkeit durch das Bekenntnis zu Christus gekennzeichnet (VII, 165, 1794f.).

[25] S.o. Anm. 16.

[26] Der Versuch, Ambrosius insoweit auch von der Ausgestaltung der Unterscheidungsregel des Athanasius in *Or III* abzuheben, darf naturgemäß den Gattungsunterschied zwischen beiden Werken und die damit einhergehende Divergenz der Gesprächssituation nicht außer acht lassen. Während Athanasius sich polemisch mit seinen Gegnern auseinandersetzt und darum nach der Möglichkeit zur 'dogmatischen' Auswertung der Schrift suchen bzw. die gegnerischen Versuche zu einer solchen Auswertung widerlegen muß, ist für Ambrosius' Kommentierung des Lukasevangeliums primär der Versuch kennzeichnend, seiner Gemeinde und mit ihr den Lesern des Werkes Christi Heilsbotschaft zu verkündigen. Dies ist bei ihm aber der gedankliche Ansatz und Grundzug von Exegese schlechthin (s. dazu u. 25f.) und darf insofern als Spezifikum seines Vorgehens festgehalten werden, das nicht allein durch die Formgesetze der Predigt und des Kommentars zu erklären ist.

Heil, ein Weg, der doch andererseits allererst durch Christi göttliches Handeln eröffnet worden ist[27]. Ambrosius sucht so nach eigenem Verständnis mit seiner Auslegung stets, den Adressaten den Weg zum Heil vorzuzeichnen und sie auf diesem Weg fördernd zu begleiten[28]. Klar ist damit aber auch, daß solches Bemühen nur in der Nachzeichnung des von Christus selbst gegangenen und so für die Glaubenden zum Nachgehen gebahnten Weges bestehen kann.

Gerade darum vermag speziell das Lukasevangelium den rechten Zugang zu Christus zu eröffnen und gleichzeitig zum Vorbild für die Herangehensweise des Auslegers zu werden. Ambrosius erkennt nämlich in der Darstellungsweise des Lukas, die er als *stilus historicus* apostrophiert[29], das Bemühen, nichts Eigenes, keinen spezifischen Gesichtswinkel zur Geltung zu bringen, sondern dem Christusgeschehen schlicht nachzugehen und es abzubilden[30].

[27] In der Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte (Lk 4, 1-13 par. Mt 4, 1-11) macht Ambrosius gleich zu Beginn des Wirkens Christi programmatisch deutlich, daß Christus mit seinem Wirken für die Menschen den Rückweg ins Paradies eröffnet, daß sein Leben modellhaft diesen Weg vorzeichnet und daß er zum Führer auf diesem Weg wird (vgl. bes. IV, 4-14). Er geht dabei um des menschliches Heils willen (omnia enim pro te factus est; IV, 6, 67) ganz in die Wirklichkeit des Menschen ein, aber allein aufgrund seiner Göttlichkeit vermag er Heil zu bringen (vgl. bes. IV, 9).

[28] So begründet Ambrosius seine vergleichende Behandlung der Genealogien des Matthäus und des Lukas rückblickend mit dem Versuch, möglichen Schaden von Lesern abzuwenden, der ihnen durch eine geistlich unreife Lektüre entstehen könnte. Hier begegnet zugleich ein weiteres Mal die Wegmetapher; sie läßt die (in der bloßen Namensliste der Genealogien allzu knappe) Darstellung der Evangelien als Markierungen für den geistlichen Weg ihrer Adressaten erscheinen, denen der Ausleger nachgeht und die er breiter auszeichnet: Quae sancti euangelistae ad maiora miracula et diuiniora domini gesta properantes praestringenda breuius quam diffundenda uberius putauerunt. Eorum igitur more qui satis putant ignaris uiarum quasi notas quasdam itineris et semitas demonstrare, spiritalis uiae semitas colligentes — uidero utrum secundo ueritatis euentu, certe religioso fidei ductu — in mysteriorum secreta contendimus uerentes ne quis ista cum legerit ... tractare per infantiam fortia arma nesciret, magisque uulnus ex inprouidentia quam salutem ex lectione sentiret (III, 50, 901-11). Eine Variation bildet die Metapher der Seereise, mit der Ambrosius den Gang seiner Auslegung zu Beginn des vierten (IV, 1, 1ff.) und gegen Ende des zehnten Buches (X, 149, 1408ff.) vergleicht.

[29] Prol 1 (1-4): Scripturi in euangelii librum, quem Lucas sanctus pleniore quodem modo rerum dominicarum distinctione digessit, stilum ipsum prius exponendum putamus; est enim historicus. Vgl. prol 7 (109f.): Historico stilo diximus hunc euangelii librum esse digestum. Ebenso X, 171 (1617).

[30] Dies ergibt sich vor allem aus den mit der Charakterisierung als historia angesprochenen rhetorischen Kategorien. Danach ist das historische Genus nicht nur durch das Wahrheitsgebot gekennzeichnet (so schon Arist. Poet. 9; es begegnet dann bei nahezu allen antiken Historikern, vgl. z.B. Lukian. hist. scrib. 7; ebenso schon Polyb. 10,21,8; 12,15,11; Tac. Ann. I 1,2f. Liv. Praef. 5; Plin. ep. 7,33,10 u.ö.; vgl. G. Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung* (Meisenheim, 1956), 13ff. 16ff. mit weiteren Belegstellen sowie A.D. Leemann, *Orationis ratio: The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators Historians and Philosophers* (2 Bde, Amsterdam, 1963), 172f. 194. 343-47), sondern auch durch eine vorrangig auf inhaltliche Klarheit abzielende Darstellungsweise, die darum weitgehend auf rhetorischen Schmuck verzichten kann und sich an der von den Fakten vorgegebenen Sachlogik orientiert. Letzteres wird besonders deutlich in der Anwendung des Genus als narratio im Rahmen der Gerichtsrhetorik (vgl.

Dieser spezifische Stil, seine Art der Nachzeichnung des Weges Christi, wird zum Vorbild nun auch für den Denk-Stil des Exegeten. Denn dessen Aufgabe ist analog das schlichte Nach-Denken der biblischen Texte; seine Exegese muß allein den Gehalt der Schrift, Christus, selbst zu Worte kommen lassen. Im Hören auf die Schrift wird Christus zum Interpreten seiner selbst, zum *scripturae uerus interpres*.

Die Auslegung setzt damit ganz auf das Wirksamwerden Christi als göttliches Verbum im Denken und Sprechen des Auslegers und Predigers. Denn wie die Schrift als ganze von Christus geprägt ist, so muß sich auch das Denken ganz von ihm bestimmen lassen und sich auf ihn hinspannen — *intentio* ist der Schlüsselbegriff —, wenn es mit der Wahrheit in Beziehung treten will[31]. Dies geschieht jedoch vor aller eigenen Erkenntnisbemühung als gnadenhafte durch den Geist vermittelte Selbstmitteilung des göttlichen Wortes[32]. Wie ein befruchtender Strom erreicht sie den Geist des Menschen, zuerst in der Inspiration den Evangelisten und von dort aus auf dem Weg über die Schrift dann auch den Ausleger[33]. Christus ist also auch insofern Prinzip der Exegese, als er selbst aktiv auf das Denken des Auslegers wirkt, sich ihm mitteilt und ihn zur predigenden Weitergabe seiner Wahrheit bewegt. Mehr noch, der Zusammenklang von Schrift, Exegese und Predigt kann als ein einheitlich von der Wirksamkeit des göttlichen Wortes getragenes und bestimmtes Geschehen betrach-

etwa Quint, Inst. II, 4,2: historiam, in qua est rei gestae expositio... mit Cic. inv. 1,19,27: narratio est rerum gestarum aut ut gestarum expositio). Im Gefolge der Kennzeichnung als narratio ergibt sich die Bevorzugung des genus subtile (Quint. Inst. XII, 10,58f.; Cic. or. 23,76-26,90). Ganz entsprechend ist für Lukian. hist. scrib. 44f. in der Würde des Gegenstandes auch die wirkliche Schönheit der Darstellung zu suchen. Diese 'historische', 'deskriptive' Vorgehensweise wird von Ambrosius im Kontext von den drei übrigen Evangelien abgehoben — selbstverständlich ohne daß die Evangelien damit gegeneinander ausgespielt würden —, die jeweils einen bestimmten thematischen Gesichtspunkt vorrangig zur Geltung bringen. Während sie damit der traditionellen Dreigestalt der Weisheit korrespondieren, zeigt sich Lukas ganz unmittelbar von seinem Gegenstand Christus bestimmt, der alle Weisheit in Person darstellt, und umschließt so seinerseits die ganze Fülle des Wahren. Vgl. prol 7 (110-12): Denique describendis magis rebus quam exprimendis praeceptis studium uberius conparatione aliorum uidemus inpensum. Vgl. prol 4 (49-52): At uero sanctus Lucas uelut quendam historicum ordinem tenuit et plura nobis gestorum domini miracula reuelauit, ita tamen ut omnis sapientiae uirtutes euangelii istius conplecteretur historia. Zur Interpretation des Proömiums im ganzen s. meinen Beitrag (wie Anm. 5), 29ff.

31 Diese Hinspannung auf Christus (intentio), die die Richtung des Denkens und sein angestrengtes Bemühen gleichermaßen kennzeichnet, beschreibt im Kern das Erkenntniskonzept des Ambrosius. Vgl. neben der schon zitierten Stelle VII, 85 (832-34) besonders I, 8-9, wo abermals das Beispiel der Maria, die sich ganz dem Hören des Wortes verschreibt, herangezogen wird (I, 9, 142ff.). Einem in dieser Weise angestrengten und sich auf Christus hinstreckenden Geist schenkt sich Christi Wahrheit. Zum Gabe-Charakter der Erkenntnis vgl. auch Jacob, aaO. 255ff.

32 Vgl. I, 3 (37-43): Sine conatu sunt enim donationes et gratia dei, quae, ubi se infuderit, rigare consueuit, ut non egeat, sed redundet scriptoris ingenium. ... diuino spiritu ubertatem dictorum rerumque omnium ministrante sine ullo molimine coepta conplerunt [sc. euangelistae].

33 I, 4 (47-49): Itaque euangelium conpletum est et redundat omnibus per uniuersum orbem fidelibus et mentes omnium rigat animumque confirmat.

tet werden. Verweigert sich jedoch der Mensch in seinem sündhaften Eigenwollen, wie es die Häretiker tun, die sich selbst zum Maßstab erheben und nach eigenem Gutdünken über die Wahrheit urteilen wollen, so reißt der Strom des Wahren ab und wird menschliches Denken und Reden sinnentleert und der widergöttlichen Bosheit anheimgegeben[34].

Aus der Perspektive des *interpres Christus* gewinnt so die Vielfalt der exegetischen Einzelbeobachtungen, die Ambrosius vorträgt, ihre Kohärenz und ihr gedankliches Zentrum. Christus ist die Quelle alles Wahren; er gibt dem Denken Richtung und Prägung, und er allein muß in der Auslegung der Schrift zur Sprache gebracht werden. Es ist diese strenge Konzentration auf Christus, die den sachlichen Kern und die hermeneutische Basis der ambrosianischen Exegese beschreibt. Die *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* führt sie paradigmatisch vor Augen.

[34] Das Gegenmodell des häretischen Denkens, das ganz dem Eigenen verhaftet bleibt (vgl. I, 2, 23; I, 3, 33f. als Kennzeichen der häretischen Evangelienproduktion) oder — was für Ambrosius letztlich das gleiche ist — sich zum Gegenpol des Wahren, zum Irrtum hinrichtet (vgl. VII, 50, 492ff.) und sich so von jeder Verbindung mit Christus ausschließt (vgl. VII, 32, 349ff.), veranschaulicht, wie die prinzipielle Sündhaftigkeit des Menschen einer wirklichen Erkenntnis — und d.h. immer auch Annahme — der Heilsbotschaft Christi entgegensteht. Ambrosius sieht klar, daß Christi Botschaft den Menschen aus Gnade erreicht, ohne daß davon aber andererseits seine 'Freiheit' berührt würde, sich Christus zu verweigern (veranschaulicht etwa am Beispiel der Gerasener Lk 8, 37; vgl. IV, 55, 683-87; VI, 50, 515-19). Die Problemstellung des Verhältnisses von Gnade und Freiheit deutet sich in der Lukaserklärung verschiedentlich an, zu einer systematischen gedanklichen Durchdringung des Themas gelangt Ambrosius aber noch nicht.

Les lectures patristiques grecques (IIIe-Ve s.) du miracle de Cana (*Jn* 2, 1-11). Constantes et développements christologiques

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Au chapitre 25 de son traité *Sur l'Incarnation*[1], Théodoret de Cyr évoque brièvement toute une série de miracles opérés par le Christ, en commençant par celui de Cana auquel il donne un relief particulier. La lecture qu'il en fait n'aurait sans aucun doute rien de bien remarquable, si elle ne rejoignait directement pour finir le sujet général du traité: le miracle de Cana est, en effet, pour lui une métaphore du mystère de l'Incarnation et de la naissance virginale du Christ.

Cette interprétation m'a conduit à jeter un regard d'ensemble sur l'exégèse donnée du miracle de Cana par les Pères grecs, dont Théodoret aurait pu recueillir 'l'héritage'. L'examen confirme, nous le verrons, une évolution assez généralement constatée dans l'exégèse des cinq premiers siècles, qui se traduit par une lecture de plus en plus théologique, et dans le cas présent christologique, des textes scripturaires, sans que soient délaissées pour autant d'autres interprétations plus traditionnelles, historico-littérales ou allégoriques. Ce sont donc les lectures du miracle de Cana faites par les Pères grecs, depuis le IIIe jusqu'au Ve s., que je voudrais brièvement présenter ici, pour en souligner à la fois les constantes et certains développements caractéristiques d'un milieu ou d'une époque.

I. L'interprétation historico-littérale

On ne sera évidemment pas surpris de voir les exégètes antiochiens plus soucieux que d'autres d'expliquer la lettre du texte et de préciser les circonstances historiques du miracle, avant d'en donner la signification selon le sens obvie. Il y a pourtant des degrés entre l'exégèse strictement littérale — et pour tout dire assez pauvre — d'un Théodore de Mopsueste[2] et celle d'un Jean

[1] Théodoret, *De incarnatione*, *PG* 75, 1464 BC. Publié par A. Mai dans sa *Patrum nova Bibliotheca*, t. II (Rome, 1833), pp. 32-74, sous le nom de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, ce traité fut restitué à Théodoret par A. Ehrhard en 1888 (*Die Cyrill von Alexandrien zugeschriebene Schrift Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως ein Werk Theodorets von Cyrus*, Diss. Tübingen 1888). J'en prépare actuellement l'édition pour la collection 'Sources Chrétiennes'.

[2] Théodore de Mopsueste, *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean*, *CSCO* 116, trad. J.-M. Vosté, pp. 39-42 (cité: Théodore, *CSCO* 116).

Chrysostome[3] ou d'un Théodoret, proche à certains égards de celle que Cyrille d'Alexandrie donne du miracle selon l'*historia*[4].

Cette exégèse littérale s'organise autour de deux axes principaux — la présence de Jésus à des noces et le miracle de l'eau changée en vin —, indépendamment de remarques, plus ou moins appuyées selon les commentateurs, sur la date et la place de ce miracle dans la vie de Jésus, et sur le sens de la réplique de Jésus à sa mère.

1. *Problèmes textuels*

a) *La date et la primauté du miracle*

Pour Théodore de Mopsueste, très attaché à mettre en relief le caractère historique de l'évangile de Jean[5], il ne fait aucun doute que 'le troisième jour' doit s'entendre du troisième jour après le baptême du Christ dans le Jourdain, et que le miracle de Cana est le premier de tous ceux qu'a accomplis Jésus. Cela se déduit clairement, à ses yeux, de l'affirmation selon laquelle Jésus aurait regagné la Galilée aussitôt après son baptême et y serait demeuré jusqu'au moment où il fit retraite au désert, après les noces de Cana. Théodore s'efforce ainsi de rétablir, en se fondant sur le texte johannique, un ordre chronologique que ne respecterait pas, selon lui, le récit de Matthieu, moins soucieux de la chronologie que de la relation des faits (*de ordine eventum non curabat, sed facta tantum refert*)[6].

A la différence d'Éphrem de Nisibe qui situe clairement les noces de Cana après la tentation au désert[7], Jean Chrysostome ne précise pas ce point. Il aborde en revanche longuement, dans son *Homélie 21 sur Jean*[8], la question de la primauté du miracle dans l'activité thaumaturgique de Jésus, un sujet de controverse avec des exégètes qui prétendent que le texte johannique permet sans doute d'affirmer que ce miracle fut le premier de ceux que Jésus accomplit en Galilée, mais n'exclut nullement qu'il ait pu, en d'autres lieux et auparavant, opérer d'autres miracles. Toute son argumentation tend à établir que Jésus n'a accompli aucun miracle avant son baptême, qu'il est resté jusque-là

[3] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 21,2, *PG* 59,129; trois de ses *Homélies sur S. Jean* sont consacrées au miracle des noces de Cana, les *Homélies* 21, 22 et 23 (cité: Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.*).

[4] Cyrille d'Alexandrie, *Commentaire sur saint Jean*, éd. Pusey, t. 2, pp. 200-205 (cité: Cyrille, Pusey II).

[5] Sur l'attention portée aux questions de chronologie par Théodore dans sa lecture de l'évangile de Jean, cf. L. Fatica, *I commentari a Giovanni di Teodoro di Mopsuestia e di Cirillo di Alessandria. Confronto fra metodi esegitici e teologici* (*SEA* 29; Roma 1988), pp. 177-178.

[6] Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 39, 1-13. La chronologie qu'adopte ici Théodore n'est pas la plus communément admise (voir, par ex., en sens contraire, Irénée, *Adv. haer.* II, 22, 3), mais il n'hésite pas, on le sait, à se séparer des vues les plus traditionnelles en exégèse.

[7] Éphrem, *Commentaire de l'évangile concordant* ou *Diatessaron* V, § 4, *SC* 121, p. 108 (cité: Éphrem, *Diatessaron*).

[8] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 21, 2, *PG* 59, 129-130.

un homme obscur, ce qui n'aurait pas été le cas s'il avait fait des miracles dans son enfance. Quant à savoir si le miracle de Cana est le premier de tous ceux qu'il a accomplis après son baptême, Jean Chrysostome juge dans une autre homélie[9] la question dénuée d'intérêt.

En dehors des exégètes qui appartiennent à la mouvance antiochienne, ce point ne semble guère avoir retenu l'attention des commentateurs. Ou plutôt, si le miracle de Cana est pour Origène 'le premier des signes', c'est en un sens mystique[10]. Cyrille d'Alexandrie ne semble pas davantage soupçonner que la précision évangélique puisse être l'objet d'un débat: seule lui paraît digne d'attention la richesse de contenu d'un 'premier signe', qui accomplit 'à lui seul' tant de 'merveilles'[11].

b) *La réplique de Jésus à sa mère*

Apparemment, le même Cyrille ne trouve rien d'étrange à la manière dont Jésus réplique à sa mère qui lui fait remarquer le manque de vin. Sans aucunement relever la brusquerie de l'apostrophe ('*Femme, que me veux-tu?*'), il donne au contraire en exemple la réaction de ce fils, qui, par respect pour sa mère (αἰδοῖ τῇ περὶ μητέρα), consent à exécuter aussitôt ce qu'il souhaitait différer[12]. 'Mon heure n'est pas encore venue' serait, en effet, pour Jésus une manière de dire qu'il valait mieux ne rien précipiter, mais retarder le moment du miracle pour faire croître le désir des convives avant de le satisfaire[13].

Les antiochiens ne cherchent pas, à évacuer pareillement le caractère insolite de la réaction de Jésus à l'égard de sa mère. Si Théodore se contente de souligner, en paraphrasant le texte, que Marie se montre ici 'importune' (*molesta es mihi*)[14], Éphrem en revanche affirme sans hésiter que son empressement excessif justifie que Jésus lui 'fasse la leçon': il aurait souhaité que la demande vienne des convives, et le ferait entendre en parlant de son 'heure'[15]. C'est pourtant Jean Chrysostome qui accorde la plus grande attention à cette difficulté du texte. Il note la sécheresse de la réponse (σφοδρότερον ἀπεκρίνατο), destinée peut-être à réprimer chez Marie des sentiments trop humains — le miracle accompli par son fils aurait pu lui valoir un certain éclat[16] — ou à lui faire comprendre que son état de mère ne lui donnait sur lui, son Seigneur,

[9] Id., *Hom.* 23, 1, *ibid.*, 139.

[10] Origène, *Com. sur Jean* X, § 66, *SC* 157. Le vin des noces de Cana et la joie qu'il procure sont le signe de la venue du Verbe divin dans l'âme du croyant (cf. *infra*, p. 36).

[11] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 203, 9-10 (πολλὰ τὰ κάλλιστα).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 202, 5-8.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 28-202, 5.

[14] Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 39, 26-27. Cf. Irénée, *Adv. haer.* III, 16, 7.

[15] Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 1, *SC* 121, p. 107. Mais par là le Christ pourrait également, selon Éphrem, faire allusion au moment de sa mort (*ibid.*).

[16] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 21, 2, *PG* 59, 130 ('Εβούλετο γὰρ ... ἑαυτὴν λαμπροτέραν ποιῆσαι διὰ τοῦ παιδός).

aucun droit, ou encore que ce n'était pas à elle, sa mère, de faire appel à lui, au risque de rendre suspect le miracle, mais qu'elle devait laisser à leurs hôtes le soin de cette démarche[17]. Cela dit, Jean Chrysostome s'empresse de rappeler que Jésus était plein de respect pour sa mère, que sa réponse, nullement guidée par une réaction d'orgueil, voulait seulement amener — et nous de même — à comprendre que la foi et la vertu sont des titres plus grands pour Dieu que ceux de mère ou de frère[18]. En reprenant sa mère, il manifeste donc l'amour respectueux qu'il lui porte, et n'a en vue que le salut de son âme[19]. La preuve en est que cette réponse ne l'empêche pas d'accéder à sa demande, par délicatesse, pour lui éviter d'avoir à rougir devant toute l'assistance en essuyant un refus définitif[20].

On vient de voir en quel sens Éphrem ou Cyrille entendent la seconde partie de la réplique de Jésus, parlant de 'son heure <qui> n'est pas encore venue', comme s'il souhaitait attendre que la demande vienne des convives et retarder le miracle pour lui donner plus de prix. Tout autre est l'interprétation de Théodore de Mopsueste[21]: il faudrait, selon lui, et contrairement à l'usage le plus répandu[22], lire le verset sur le mode interrogatif ('*Mon heure n'est-elle pas encore venue?*'), le Christ voulant faire entendre par là que son pouvoir d'opérer des miracles n'est pas fonction, comme celui de Moïse par exemple, de nécessités contingentes ni limité à un moment précis, mais qu'il est chez lui permanent. Le Christ se révèlerait ainsi en tant que Dieu tout puissant.

Tout en conservant au verset sa lecture traditionnelle, sur le mode déclaratif, Jean Chrysostome en propose une interprétation voisine de celle de Théodore. Cette façon de s'exprimer, mise en parallèle par Chrysostome avec d'autres déclarations comparables dans l'Évangile, serait d'abord pour le Christ une manière d'affirmer qu'il n'est pas soumis à la loi du temps, qu'il n'obéit à aucune nécessité temporelle, dans la mesure même où il est 'le créateur des temps et des siècles'. De ce fait, il entendrait aussi signifier par là qu'il a assigné à chaque chose un moment opportun pour sa réalisation[23].

[17] *Ibid.*, 131; cf. aussi *Hom.* 22, 1, *PG* 59, 134 (Μήτηρ γὰρ εἶ καὶ τὸ θαῦμα ὕποπτον ποιεῖς).

[18] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 21, 3, *PG* 59, 131-132.

[19] *Ibid.*, 131 (Οὐ τοίνυν ἀπαυθαδιαζομένου πρὸς μητέρα ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἦν, ἀλλ' οἰκονομίας πολλῆς ῥυθμιζούσης αὐτήν τε ἐκείνην (...) τῷ γὰρ δυσχερᾶναι ἔδειξεν ὅτι σφόδρα αὐτὴν δυσωπεῖται).

[20] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 1, *ibid.*, 134.

[21] Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 39, 25 s. et p. 40, 11-14 (preuve *a contrario* du bien-fondé de la lecture sur le mode interrogatif).

[22] On trouve chez Éphrem (*Diatessaron* V, § 2, *SC* 121, p. 108) et chez Grégoire de Nysse (*Sur I Cor.* 15, 28, *PG* 44, 1308 D) les traces d'une lecture identique, mais l'interprétation qu'ils en tirent est différente. L'interrogation serait pour le Christ une manière de faire comprendre que son 'heure' est désormais arrivée, qu'il a atteint l'âge auquel on agit de sa propre autorité et en toute indépendance, et qu'il n'a donc pas besoin d'une sollicitation extérieure. Voir à ce sujet, *SC* 121, p. 108, n. 1.

[23] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 1, *PG* 59, 133-134.

2. *La présence de Jésus à des noces*

Une fois précisé le contexte historique de la scène et résolues certaines difficultés textuelles, la plupart des exégètes, en s'en tenant au sens littéral, soulignent que Jésus, par sa présence à des noces, a voulu honorer et sanctifier le mariage[24].

a) *Mariage et virginité*

Les Pères compensent de la sorte ce que leur discours sur le mariage a généralement de dépréciatif. Car s'ils ne condamnent pas ouvertement cet état, comme le font les marcionites, les manichéens et autres encratistes dont ils rejettent les thèses, ils le considèrent malgré tout, à la suite de S. Paul[25], comme un moindre mal. Pour eux, le mariage est d'abord un moyen de mettre un frein à la licence et à la débauche. C'est, par exemple, ce que rappellent un Épiphane[26] ou un Jean Chrysostome[27], en soulignant la présence du Christ aux noces de Cana. Si le Christ, dit Chrysostome, n'a pas rougi d'honorer (ἐτίμησε) le mariage par sa présence et lui a même donné du lustre (ἐκόσμησε) par le don d'un vin excellent, c'est pour montrer qu'il n'est pas 'chose perverse', au contraire de l'adultère et de la fornication, mais bien 'un remède contre la fornication'. Des chrétiens — Chrysostome dit des 'chrétiennes' et s'adresse tout spécialement aux femmes — ne devraient donc pas déshonorer (ἀτιμάζωμεν) le mariage par des comportements licencieux, des beuveries et des plaisanteries grossières, des musiques, des chants et des danses érotiques ou obscènes. Un bon moyen, selon lui, de se garder de tels débordements serait d'inviter des prêtres aux noces: comme le Christ à Cana, ils garantiraient par leur seule présence la 'moralité' de la fête.

Chrysostome dépasse pourtant ce strict point de vue de moraliste. Dans la présence du Christ aux noces de Cana, il voit l'hommage rendu en quelque sorte par la virginité à un état qui n'a rien de méprisable (τῇ παρθενίᾳ τὸν γάμον τιμῶν)[28]. C'est l'idée que reprend, avec plus de force et de netteté, Théodoret de Cyr, conscient du fait qu'à trop exalter la virginité on risque de déprécier le mariage[29]. Le Christ, qui a lui-même exalté la virginité, aurait donc voulu par sa présence aux noces de Cana sanctionner la dignité du mariage et revaloriser ce choix de vie aux yeux de ceux qui seraient tentés de le mépriser.

[24] Voir sur ce point notamment, l'article 'Mariage' de L. Godefroy, in *DTC* 9 (1917), c. 2064 s.

[25] Cf. *Éphés.* 5, 32.

[26] Épiphane, *Panarion* 51, 30, 12.

[27] Jean Chrysostome, *In illud, propter fornicationes uxorem* I, 2, *PG* 51, 210-211. Nous avons là indirectement un témoignage sur les mœurs du temps.

[28] Id., *Hom. sur Ozias* IV, 3, 24-29, *SC* 277; mais on ne trouve rien de tel dans ses *Homélies sur Jean*.

[29] Théodoret, *De incarn.* 25, *PG* 75, 1464 BC.

L'interprétation de Cyrille va plus loin encore. Non seulement le Christ par sa présence honore le mariage, mais il le sanctifie et le bénit. Il sanctifie le principe même de la génération charnelle, le mariage dans sa finalité qui est la procréation et, du même coup, les enfants qui naîtront de l'union des époux[30]. La bénédiction que constitue sa présence répond, en outre, de manière antithétique, à la malédiction originelle prononcée contre la femme: désormais les noces ne seront plus à éviter ou à redouter, la malédiction est levée par celui qui est venu pour restaurer la source même de la vie et renouveler la nature humaine[31].

3. *Le miracle de l'eau changée en vin*

Une fois soulignée la signification de la présence de Jésus à des noces par rapport à l'institution du mariage, les commentateurs traitent naturellement du miracle proprement dit.

a) *Le rôle de Marie*

En milieu antiochien, on en relève d'abord les circonstances, ce qui conduit à justifier l'intervention de Marie auprès de Jésus. Elle aurait été commandée, selon Éphrem[32], par la conviction qu'un miracle vaudrait à son fils 'gloire et honneur auprès des foules', ou, selon Jean Chrysostome, par le désir de lui attacher ses hôtes. Mais ce dernier n'exclut pas, nous l'avons vu, que Marie ait cédé aussi à un sentiment d'orgueil maternel, avec l'espoir que rejaillisse sur elle un peu de l'éclat du miracle[33]. Théodore de Mopsueste y voit, de même, la réaction naturelle d'une mère (*matrum more*) qui veut faire valoir son fils et saisit pour cela une occasion propice[34]. Théodore et Jean Chrysostome justifient enfin l'intervention de Marie, en soulignant, de manière assez proche, qu'elle connaissait depuis longtemps les pouvoirs de son fils, même s'il n'avait opéré encore aucun miracle[35]. Cyrille se contente de noter que Marie, convaincue de la toute puissance de son fils, l'invite à user de sa bonté coutumière à l'égard de convives privés de vin[36].

b) *Les effets du miracle*

Comme l'évangéliste note lui-même les conséquences du miracle — la révélation de la gloire du Christ et l'affermissement de la foi des disciples —,

30 Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 201, 1-8.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 201, 9-17.
32 Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 2, *SC* 121, **p. 107.**
33 Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 21, 2, *PG* **59, 130 (Ἐβούλετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις καταθέσθαι** χάριν); cf. n. 16.
34 Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 39, 20-23.
35 Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 41, 33 - 42, 17; **Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 21, 2, *PG* 59, 129-130.**
36 Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 201, 23-24.

ce sont là les deux thèmes fondamentaux repris par les exégètes, le plus souvent sous la forme d'une courte paraphrase.

Pour Éphrem[37] comme pour Cyrille[38], la puissance du Christ se manifeste notamment du fait qu'il n'a besoin de prononcer aucune parole pour opérer le miracle et que tout s'accomplit en silence. Attentif à justifier en tous points la lettre du texte, Théodore note que le remplissage des hydries 'jusqu'au bord' est une manière de faire entendre que le prodige n'est suspect d'aucun 'trucage', que du vin n'a pas pu être subrepticement mêlé à l'eau[39]. Dans une intention identique, Jean Chrysostome relève qu'il s'agit d''hydries destinées à la purification des Juifs', qu'elles n'ont donc jamais contenu de vin et qu'on ne saurait supposer, comme le font des incrédules, l'existence en elles d'un dépôt de lie, qui aurait donné à l'eau versée l'apparence du vin[40]. Ces remarques visent donc toutes à souligner la puissance du Christ, à laquelle s'ajoute la libéralité du don[41].

Cette puissance, révélée par le miracle n'est autre, pour Cyrille, que celle du Dieu créateur à qui tout est possible[42]. Jean Chrysostome développe le même thème, mais de façon plus explicite, à la manière dont le fait déjà Irénée dans l'*Adversus haereses*[43]: le fait que Jésus n'opère pas le miracle *ex nihilo*, mais le fasse à partir d'un élément de la création — l'eau — est pour lui une occasion de dénoncer l'erreur des manichéens, pour qui le Créateur du monde serait un Dieu opposé et distinct de Jésus[44]. La même idée se retrouve également chez Épiphane[45].

A la différence des autres exégètes qui se contentent habituellement de paraphraser le verset johannique, Jean Chrysostome note que la révélation de la gloire du Christ a été pour l'heure assez limitée, que seuls ont eu connaissance du miracle le maître du banquet, l'époux et les serviteurs, et que le prodige n'a acquis sa célébrité que postérieurement[46]. Il aura servi pourtant à affermir la foi des disciples, à la renforcer et non à la susciter, comme le souligne Théodore[47].

L'interprétation historico-littérale se révélant à elle seule assez riche, certains exégètes semblent peu enclins à la dépasser. Tel est généralement le cas

[37] Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 10, *SC* 121, p. 111.
[38] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 202, 13-14.
[39] Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 40, 20-24.
[40] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 2, *PG* 59, 135.
[41] Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 40, 26-27; cf. Théodoret, *De incarn.* 25, *PG* 75, **1464 C.**
[42] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 202, 14 s. (τὰ οὐκ ὄντα / τὰ ἤδη πεποιημένα).
[43] Irénée, *Adv. haer.* III, 11, 5.
[44] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 2, *PG* 59, 135.
[45] Épiphane, *Panarion* 51, 30, 13.
[46] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 2, *PG* 59, 135-136; *Hom.* 23, 1, *ibid.*, 139.
[47] Théodore, *CSCO* 116, p. 41, 21-23 (*magis confirmatos; fides = confirmatio*). Jean Chrysostome (*Hom.* 23, 1, *PG* 59, 139) ne semble pas partager ce point de vue, mais considérer que le miracle a contribué à faire passer les disciples de l'admiration qu'ils portaient à Jésus (πρὸ τούτου θαυμάζοντες αὐτόν) à la foi en lui (ἔμελλον καὶ πιστεύειν εὐκολώτερον).

de Jean Chrysostome, et plus encore celui de Théodore de Mopsueste. Ce dernier ne dégage en effet aucune symbolique du miracle, et ne souligne même pas que le Christ par sa présence a voulu honorer le mariage. Il s'attache presque exclusivement à la lettre du texte, attentif à justifier la chronologie johannique ('le troisième jour'), à préciser le mode de lecture d'un verset (*Jn* 2, 4), à relever divers détails du texte (les hydries pleines à ras bord, la qualité du vin, les silences de l'évangéliste). Malgré la parenté évidente des interprétations[48], la lecture du miracle faite par Jean Chrysostome ne donne pas la même impression de littéralisme un peu étroit que celle de Théodore; mais peut-être cela tient-il à la différence des genres littéraires, ici un commentaire et là des homélies. En tout cas, ni l'un ni l'autre ne semblent vraiment désireux de dépasser le sens littéral, à la différence d'autres exégètes, à commencer bien sûr par ceux de la mouvance alexandrine.

II. L'interprétation allégorique et spirituelle

Le *Commentaire sur Jean* 2, 1-11 d'Origène est perdu; on ignore donc la place qu'y tenait l'interprétation littérale. Elle n'était sans doute pas beaucoup plus grande que celle que lui accorde Cyrille, qui distingue pourtant nettement dans son exégèse du miracle de Cana une lecture selon l'*historia* d'une autre selon la *théôria*[49]. En tout cas, évoquant en d'autres passages de son commentaire ce 'mystère (οἰκονομία) des noces'[50], Origène n'accorde d'attention qu'à son sens allégorique et spirituel.

1. *Les deux venues du Christ à Cana, figure des deux parousies*

Le récit d'un second miracle accompli par Jésus à Cana, quelque temps plus tard — la guérison du fils d'un officier royal (*Jn* 4, 43-54) — lui fournit d'autant plus facilement l'occasion de revenir sur le sujet que l'évangéliste fait explicitement référence au miracle de l'eau changée en vin.

Chez Jean, cette mention n'a sans doute pas d'autre but que de justifier la démarche de l'officier auprès de Jésus, par la notoriété que lui a valu ce premier miracle. C'est ainsi du reste que l'entend Jean Chysostome[51]. Entre ces deux venues de Jésus à Cana, Origène introduit pourtant une relation d'une tout autre nature. Il y voit signifiées, de manière allégorique, les deux venues

[48] La plupart de ces remarques sont présentes, sous une forme voisine, chez Jean Chrysostome qui souligne aussi, comme Théodore, le silence de l'évangéliste sur la réaction de l'époux (*Hom.* 22, 3, *PG* 59, 136).

[49] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 203, 16 s. Cette manière de procéder est sans doute héritée d'Origène, qui marque nettement d'ordinaire, dans ses homélies, le passage d'un mode d'interprétation à l'autre (v. g. *Homélies sur la Genèse*, *SC* 7 bis).

[50] Origène, *Com. sur Jean* X, 37, *SC* 127.

[51] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 2, *PG* 59, 136 (ἐπειδὴ τὸ σημεῖον ἐγνωκὼς ἦν).

du Christ dans le monde: les noces de Cana représentant sa première venue, l'Incarnation, destinée à rendre la joie à l'humanité; la guérison du fils de l'officier, sa seconde venue au jour du jugement[52]. Les convives des noces de Cana pourraient représenter les Nations — Origène est peu explicite sur ce point —, tandis que le fils de l'officier royal — en qui il propose de voir Abraham ou Jacob — représenterait le peuple juif, le dernier à être sauvé, à la fin des temps[53]. Selon une exégèse à la fois allégorique et spirituelle, ces deux venues du Christ à Cana pourraient également symboliser 'les deux venues du Verbe dans l'âme' de l'homme, la première procurant la joie, la seconde apportant la guérison[54]. Ainsi, par son Incarnation, le Christ prendrait-il 'possession' — c'est l'étymologie du nom Cana pour Origène — de l'humanité pour la sauver[55].

Ni cette exégèse spirituelle d'Origène, ni celle qui voit dans les deux venues de Jésus à Cana une figure des deux parousies ne paraissent avoir eu de véritable postérité[56]. Sans doute, le commentaire du miracle des noces de Cana chez Éphrem comporte-t-il une allusion à la seconde parousie, mais sans lien avec les deux venues de Jésus à Cana: c'est le changement de l'eau en vin qui conduit à imaginer, 'à la fin des temps', une transformation complète de la création, du mal en bien[57]. L'idée est donc nettement différente.

2. *L'élection des Nations au détriment des Juifs*

L'exégèse allégorique, qui voit dans le miracle de Cana, une manière d'exprimer l'élection des Nations au détriment des Juifs, semble en revanche plus répandue, même si les exégètes ne lui accordent pas tous le même traitement.

Elle se fonde généralement sur le fait que le miracle a eu lieu à Cana, dans la 'Galilée des Nations' et non à Jérusalem[58]. Ainsi les noces de Cana deviennent-elles, pour Épiphane par exemple, 'un symbole de l'Église'[59]. Dans sa *Démonstration évangélique*[60], Eusèbe souligne la priorité accordée aux Nations sur les Juifs de Jérusalem, en lisant le miracle de Cana à la lumière d'*Isaïe* 9, 1-3. Cyrille, fort de la même référence, insiste davantage sur le fait que 'la Synagogue des Juifs' a rejeté l'époux, tandis que 'l'Église venue des Nations'

[52] Origène, *Com. sur Jean* XIII, § 391. 437, *SC* 222.
[53] *Ibid.*, § 392.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*, § 393.
[56] On ne trouve en tout cas rien de comparable chez Cyrille. S'il fait bien de la venue de Jésus aux noces de Cana une figure de l'Incarnation, il n'entend pas sa seconde venue à Cana (*Jn* 4, 46 s.) de la parousie.
[57] Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 12, *SC* 121, p. 112.
[58] Ce point n'est pas développé dans ce qui nous reste de l'exégèse d'Origène.
[59] Épiphane, *Panarion* 51, 30, 10.
[60] Eusèbe, *Dém. év.* 9, 8, 7, *GCS* 23 (éd. I. A. Heikel, Leipzig, 1913), p. 424.

l'a accueilli avec une grande joie[61]. On est presque surpris de ne pas retrouver ce thème chez Jean Chrysostome, mais il est vrai qu'il s'en tient presque exclusivement à une interprétation littérale. Le thème n'est pas davantage développé par Éphrem, qui note pourtant avec insistance que les Juifs, appelés par le Christ aux noces spirituelles, n'ont pas répondu à son invitation, mais l'ont rejeté et mis à mort, et lui ont donné, 'au lieu de vin doux', 'du vinaigre et du fiel'[62].

D'autre part, Origène semble être le seul parmi les exégètes grecs à faire des deux vins successifs — l'excellent vin venant après le premier — les deux peuples successifs de l'alliance, les Nations se substituant au peuple juif[63].

3. *L'accomplissement de la Loi par l'Évangile*

Cette interprétation d'Origène n'est pas sans rapport avec celle qui lui fait assimiler l'Écriture à de l'eau avant que, par sa venue, Jésus ne la transforme pour nous en vin[64]; autrement dit, par l'Incarnation, il accomplit l'Écriture, il lui donne son sens. Déjà Clément d'Alexandrie, en évoquant le miracle de Cana conjointement avec la Passion, parlait du 'mélange de l'ancienne Loi et du nouveau Logos'[65]. On trouve aussi chez Éphrem cette idée que le Christ, en changeant l'eau en vin, vient transformer par sa doctrine l'enseignement de la Loi et des prophètes[66]. Pour Eusèbe également, il y a là une image du Nouveau Testament, qui permet de passer des réalités charnelles aux réalités spirituelles[67]. Mais c'est peut-être Cyrille qui se situe ici le plus nettement dans le prolongement de l'exégèse d'Origène, en assimilant le vin qui se trouve à manquer à la Loi, incapable de porter quoi que ce soit à la perfection et impuissante à sauver, et en l'opposant aux 'divins enseignements de la doctrine apostolique'[68].

Cette forme d'exégèse allégorique semble n'avoir trouvé aucun écho en milieu antiochien. De la transformation de l'eau en vin, Jean Chrysostome dégage seulement une exégèse morale, que l'on trouve déjà chez Clément d'Alexandrie[69]: le miracle toujours actuel, c'est que des hommes aux volontés faibles, froids et sans consistance comme de l'eau, se laissent transformer par le Christ et acquièrent alors les qualités et la robustesse d'un bon vin[70].

[61] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 204, 15-22 (λίαν ἀσμένως).
[62] Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 9, *SC* 121, pp. 110-111.
[63] Origène, *Com. sur Jean* 10, 31 (Fragment LXXIV), **éd. E. Preuschen (Leipzig, 1903)**, pp. 541, 26 - 542, 1.
[64] Origène, *Com. sur Jean* XIII, § 438, *SC* 222.
[65] Clément, *Pédagogue* II, 2, 29, 1, *SC* 108.
[66] Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 7, *SC* 121, p. 110.
[67] Eusèbe, *Dém. év.* 9, 8, 7, *GCS* 23, p. 424, 19-21.
[68] Cyrille, Pusey II, pp. 204, 25 - 205, 4.
[69] Clément, *Pédagogue* II, 2, 29, 1, *SC* 108.
[70] Jean Chrysostome, *Hom.* 22, 3, *PG* 59, 136bas.

III. Une interprétation proprement christologique

1. *Les noces de Cana, figure du mystère de l'Incarnation*

Pour Origène, nous venons de le voir, la première venue du Christ à Cana doit s'entendre allégoriquement de son incarnation, et la seconde de sa parousie à la fin des temps. Sans aller jusqu'à ce type de lecture, Jean Chrysostome établit lui aussi une relation entre la présence du Christ à des noces et son incarnation, mais c'est uniquement pour justifier sa participation à une cérémonie, sans doute trop profane aux yeux de certains: celui qui n'a pas dédaigné de prendre la forme de l'esclave, dit-il, n'allait pas, à plus forte raison, dédaigner cette invitation[71].

L'argumentation se retrouve en des termes voisins chez Augustin[72] et peut-être, mais c'est moins net, est-elle encore présente chez Cyrille[73]. Chez l'un et l'autre, toutefois, l'interprétation est conduite dans une perspective nettement plus christologique que chez Jean Chrysostome. La venue du Christ aux noces de Cana s'entend pour Cyrille, comme déjà pour Augustin[74], des noces du Logos avec l'humanité. En assumant la nature humaine par son incarnation, le Logos en est devenu pour ainsi dire l'époux[75], tandis que l'humanité-épouse peut désormais grâce à cette union du Dieu et de l'homme recevoir les semences du salut:

> Le Logos de Dieu est donc descendu des cieux, comme il le déclare lui-même en un passage, afin que, s'étant approprié la nature de l'homme, il la persuade d'accueillir en son sein les semences sprirituelles de la sagesse. Et c'est à juste titre que pour cette raison l'humanité est appelée 'épouse', et le Sauveur 'époux', car la divine Écriture élève son discours depuis les réalités qui sont les nôtres jusqu'à une compréhension qui nous dépasse: le mariage a lieu le troisième jour, c'est-à-dire dans les derniers temps du siècle présent; car le chiffre trois pour nous représente le début, le milieu et la fin[76].

Ainsi, pour Cyrille, la mention 'le troisième jour' n'a-t-elle rien à voir avec la chronologie événementielle de l'activité de Jésus depuis son baptême, comme s'efforce de l'établir Théodore de Mopsueste, mais elle est là pour signifier ces 'temps qui sont les derniers', celui de l'Incarnation et du salut.

[71] Id., *Hom.* 21, 1, *PG* 59, 129: Ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀπαξιώσας δούλου μορφὴν λαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν ἐπηξίωσεν εἰς γάμον ἐλθεῖν δούλων.

[72] Augustin, *Tract. in Ioh.* VIII, 4, 1, *CCL* 36, p. 83: 'Quid mirum si in illam domum ad nuptias uenit, qui in hunc mundum ad nuptias uenit?'

[73] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 201, 2-3: 'et invité, il vient lui aussi accompagné de ses disciples, pour accomplir un miracle plutôt que pour prendre part à un banquet, et, en outre, pour sanctifier le principe de la génération humaine, *dans la mesure où il est venu dans la chair, comme nous le disons*' (ὅσον δὲ ἧκεν εἰς τὴν σάρκα φαμέν).

[74] Augustin, *Tract. in Ioh.* VIII, 4, 19-25, *CCL* 36, p. 84: 'Verbum enim sponsus, et sponsa caro humana...de thalamo (= utero uirginis Mariae) processit uelut sponsus, et inuitatus uenit ad nuptias.'

[75] Cette idée du Christ-époux est également présente chez Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 8, *SC* 121, p. 110. On sait la fortune de ce thème dans l'interprétation du *Cantique* depuis Origène.

[76] Cyrille, Pusey II, p. 203, 18-27.

2. *L'eau changée en vin, figure de la naissance virginale du Christ*

A la différence d'Origène et de Cyrille, qui fondent leur exégèse christologique sur le thème des noces, en insistant sur la venue du Christ à Cana, d'autres exégètes la développent à partir du miracle de l'eau changée en vin. Tel est notamment le cas d'Éphrem. Pour lui, la transformation de l'eau en vin dans des outres symbolise la transformation de l'humanité par la divinité dans le sein de la Vierge, et exprime dans le même temps le mystère de sa conception et de sa naissance virginale[77]. Le prodige qui s'est accompli dans ces outres, jusque là réservées à un autre usage, n'était pas destiné à se reproduire; de même la Vierge n'a conçu qu'une seule fois. Et, pour accentuer la parallélisme entre le miracle de l'eau changée en vin et la naissance virginale du Christ, Éphrem choisit de personnifier ces urnes, qui 'conçoivent et mettent au monde un vin nouveau'. Le fait que les urnes de pierre n'ont subi aucune transformation de leur état, tandis que l'eau a été substantiellement transformée en vin, devient chez lui une métaphore de la virginité de Marie, que n'a pas altérée la conception de Jésus, opérée 'sans l'œuvre d'un homme'.

Toutefois, entre le prodige accompli dans les urnes et celui qui s'est réalisé dans le sein de la Vierge, le parallélisme s'arrête là. Leur processus est comparable, mais leurs résultats antithétiques: tandis que le miracle de l'eau changée en vin marque un passage du moins vers le plus, de 'la petitesse à la grandeur', de 'la parcimonie à l'abondance', l'Incarnation traduit en quelque sorte pour la divinité un mouvement inverse: 'En Marie au contraire, la grandeur et la gloire de la divinité', écrit Éphrem, 'changèrent leur aspect en celui de la faiblesse et de l'ignominie[78].'

Théodoret se souvient-il d'Éphrem, quand il voit à son tour dans ce 'vin produit sans vigne' une traduction symbolique de la naissance virginale du Christ[79]? Ce n'est impossible: lui, dont la langue maternelle était le syriaque, a pu lire son commentaire du *Diatessaron*[80]. Pourtant son exégèse n'introduit pas, comme celle d'Éphrem, un parallèle entre les urnes de pierre et le sein de la Vierge: elle développe uniquement, mais avec insistance, le thème du vin obtenu 'sans culture' — la métaphore de la terre cultivée et ensemencée pour

[77] Éphrem, *Diatessaron* V, § 6-7, *SC* 121, pp. 109-110.

[78] *Ibid.*, § 7.

[79] Théodoret, *De incarn.* 25, *PG* 75, 1464 B.

[80] Théodoret a pourtant fait rechercher et supprimer de son diocèse les exemplaires de cet évangile concordant (*Haer. fab.* I, 20, *PG* 83, 372 A). Toutefois, comme Éphrem introduit une relation entre le miracle de Cana, image de la naissance virginale du Christ, et celui de la résurrection de Lazare, signe de sa liberté à l'égard de la mort, et que, chez Théodoret, l'exposé succinct des miracles de Jésus commence par celui de Cana et s'achève par celui de Lazare, on peut se demander s'il n'y a là qu'une coïncidence. Théodoret, il est vrai, n'introduit pas entre les deux miracles la même relation.

signifier la fécondation par l'union sexuelle est habituelle[81] —, d'un vin obtenu 'sans la médiation de la vigne', sans sarments et sans grappes. Aussi Théodoret peut-il écrire que le Christ 'se proclame lui-même à travers le don qu'il fait'.

3. *La transformation de l'eau en vin, figure de la transsubstantiation*

D'autres exégètes enfin ont voulu voir, dans le changement de l'eau en vin, une figure de la transsubstantiation. L'idée est peut-être déjà confusément présente dans certaines réflexions de Clément d'Alexandrie sur le symbolisme de l'eau et du vin au livre II de *Pédagogue*[82]. Elle est en tout cas clairement énoncée dans les *Catéchèses mystagogiques* de Cyrille de Jérusalem:

> Jadis, de son propre vouloir, il changea l'eau en vin à Cana de Galilée, et il ne serait pas digne de foi quand il change le vin en sang? Appelé à des noces corporelles, il accomplit ce miracle merveilleux, et quand, aux compagnons de l'époux, il donne en présent la jouissance de son corps et de son sang ne le confesserons-nous pas bien davantage[83]?

Cette interprétation semble pourtant ne pas avoir connu dans l'exégèse de Pères un grand développement et être même demeurée relativement marginale[84].

Conclusion

En conclusion, on peut dire que le miracle de Cana occupe une place importante dans l'ensemble de l'exégèse patristique. A l'exception de Théodore de Mopsueste, presque tous les Pères y voient au sens historico-littéral un argument en faveur de l'institution du mariage, sanctifié et béni par la présence du Christ. En un premier sens allégorique, surtout développé en milieu alexandrin, le lieu même de Cana — en Galilée —, et surtout les deux vins successifs — le second meilleur que le premier —, sont perçus comme l'image du rejet des Juifs au profit des Nations, mais aussi de l'accomplissement de la Loi et des Écritures avec la venue du Christ et le Nouveau Testament.

Une seconde interprétation allégorique, plus directement christologique, fait du miracle de Cana une figure de l'Incarnation, la venue du Christ à des noces symbolisant métaphoriquement les noces de la divinité avec l'humanité. Cette

[81] Voir, par ex., chez les Pères, l'interprétation d'*Is*. 53, 2 sous la forme ἀπὸ γῆς ἀβάτου; cf. Théodoret, *In Is.*, *SC* 315, 41-45 et n. 1.

[82] Clément, *Pédagogue* II, 2, 19, 3. 29, 1 (*SC* 108).

[83] Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Cat.* IV, 2, 2 (*SC* 126, p. 136-137).

[84] Faut-il la reconnaître dans une lettre de Cyprien de Carthage (*Lettre* 63, 12, 1)? Ce n'est pas sûr. Cyprien met bien en relation le vin de Cana et le sang du calice dans le sacrifice eucharistique, mais c'est plutôt, semble-t-il pour en tirer un enseignement moral.

exégèse, déjà présente chez Origène, mais liée chez lui aux deux venues du Christ à Cana, se greffe directement chez Cyrille sur le thème des noces, propre à exprimer l'union intime du Logos divin avec la nature humaine. Un peu curieusement, ce n'est que chez Éphrem et Théodoret que le miracle de Cana devient une métaphore de la conception divine et de la naissance virginale du Christ. Preuve que l'exégèse antiochienne, à condition de ne pas en limiter l'examen à celle de Théodore de Mopsueste, n'est pas toujours aussi réticente qu'on le prétend à l'égard de l'allégorie. Comme l'eau est transformée en vin par la seule puissance du Christ, l'humanité est transformée par la divinité qui s'est unie à elle dans le mystère de l'Incarnation.

D'autres exégètes enfin s'autorisent du miracle de Cana pour affirmer la réalité de la transsubstantiation dans le sacrifice eucharistique. On comprend que, sans aller jusque là, Théodoret ait voulu, dans son traité *Sur l'Incarnation*, mettre en évidence la dimension christologique du miracle, juste après avoir souligné, dans un chapitre précédent[85] le caractère ineffable de l'enfantement virginal et déjà mis en place, semble-t-il, le thème du vin obtenu 'sans culture'. En dépassant l'interprétation littérale dont se contentent presque exclusivement les autres commentateurs antiochiens, son exégèse du miracle de Cana prolonge donc, à sa manière, la lecture christologique qu'en font Origène et Cyrille, et rejoint étroitement celle d'Éphrem. Par-delà l'enseignement moral de l'Écriture, c'est le mystère de l''économie' que cette exégèse s'efforce de scruter, et c'est là sans aucun doute sa visée ultime.

85 Théodoret, *De incarn.* 23, *PG* 75, 1461 A.

Justin and the New Testament writings

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Justin's reluctance to cite NT authorities outside our Synoptic Gospels, and his circumspect use of these Gospels, leave us with a certain poverty of evidence for assessing the status of the NT writings in Justin's circles at Rome. But this lack of evidence has not been a deterrent to the appearance of decisive interpretations. Helmut Koester, for instance, has concluded that Justin held no Christian writing to be Scripture[1], almost certainly did not know, or did not accept, the Fourth Gospel[2], ignored Paul's epistles, and engaged in 'the deliberate redaction of written gospels'[3] in an effort to produce a revised, updated and expanded Gospel harmony[4]. And in the view of Charles Cosgrove, Justin 'represents a reversal of the trend of the church in the second century toward regarding apostolic writings as canon'[5]. Cosgrove finds that while Justin articulates a clear doctrine of inspiration for the OT, he yet 'devalues the authority of the emerging New Testament canon, limiting himself to the teaching of Jesus'[6], where 'teaching of Jesus' means only the words of Jesus, not the accounts of the Gospel writers.

[1] H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Berlin/New York, 1982), p. 342, 'He was the first Christian writer to treat the gospels as historical records (but not yet as "Holy Scripture"), and he used and revised them accordingly'. In his *Ancient Christian Gospels. Their History and Development* (Phladelphia/ London, 1990), 41, Koester writes, 'These gospels, for Justin, possess the authority of written records. Although they are read in service of the church, they are not "Holy Scripture" (γραφή) like the law and the prophets. The latter are enhanced by the inspiration of the prophecies which they record, but Justin never considers the "Gospels" or the "Memoirs of the Apostles" as inspired writings'. See also H.Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon. Its Making and Meaning* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 29.

[2] See Koester, *Introduction*, p. 9; *Gospels*, p. 391. This is a well-known crux in Justin. For the opinion that Justin did use John, see e.g., R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 58-59; B. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament. Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 146-47.

[3] Koester, *Introduction*, p. 9.

[4] Koester, *Introduction*, p. 342; *Gospels*, p. 378.

[5] C.H. Cosgrove, 'Justin Martyr and the Emerging Christian Canon. Observations on the Purpose and Destination of the Dialogue with Trypho,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 36 (1982), pp. 209-232 at 209.

[6] Cosgrove, 227. After conceding that Justin held a high view of the OT as holy Scripture, he states, 'What is remarkable is that there is no similar defense in Justin of the apostolic writings, even though they were equally endangered by Marcion'. This is only remarkable if Justin wrote his Dialogue with Trypho against Marcion not Trypho. Again, '*Only* that which the Logos taught (in the Old Testament or in Jesus) is included in Justin's canon' (226). Justin has 'misgivings about the emerging canonical status of the Gospels' (226).

Common to these and other studies is the conviction that for the stream of developments which eventually produced a fixed NT canon in Christianity the great fountainhead was Marcion of Pontus[7]. If we might embellish this metaphor a bit, one might then see Justin striding into the midst of the waters, intent on damming up the process of canon forming and repulsing its dangerous current. Yet despite his efforts, Justin will find himself betrayed by his own orthodox descendants, chiefly Irenaeus. The tiny rivulets which seep through Justin's dam are gathered by Irenaeus and channeled into a broader and deeper canonical river which, ironically, will sweep away even Marcion in its flood[8].

The purpose of this communication will be to bring two neglected factors back to the discussion of the NT canon in Justin's works. These are, the apologetic nature of Justin's writings, and Justin's doctrine of the apostolate.

Many past studies have tempered their evaluations of Justin on this subject with the common sense observation that apologetic writing addressed to outsiders is not the type of literature best suited to satisfy an inquiry into the status of the NT writings in a given author. As J.B. Lightfoot observed over a hundred years ago, 'it is not from his Apologies or from his Dialogue with Trypho that we should expect to obtain the fullest and most direct information on this point. In works like these, addressed to Heathens and Jews, who attributed no authority to the writings of Apostles and Evangelists, and for whom the names of the writers would have no meaning, we are not surprised that he refers to those writings for the most part anonymously and with reserve'[9].

[7] Koester, *Introduction*, p. 9, 'The novel element in Marcion's work was the elevation of these newly edited Christian writings to the status of Holy Scripture and the simultaneous rejection of the OT'. Cf. L.M. McDonald, *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* (Nashville, 1988), p. 86, 'It was Marcion (ca. 140-150) ... who first saw the importance of a fixed list of authoritative writings, a *Christian* canon'.

[8] Koester, *Introduction*, pp. 9-10, 'A generation after Justin, Irenaeus started on the path which would lead out of the perplexity caused by Marcion'; 'The NT canon of Holy Scripture, which was thus essentially created by Irenaeus ...' (10). Cosgrove, p. 222, 'Why does Justin refrain from moving to the position of Irenaeus, who would soon after him place the chruch's oral tradition and apostolic writing on the same par?; McDonald, *Formation, pp.* 72-73, 'It is largely with Irenaeus, however, that the move of the center of authority away from oral tradition to a fixed normative text began to take place, even though the promptings for such a move in the "orthodox" community probably came from Marcion'.

[9] J.B. Lighfoot, *Essays on the Work Entitled* Supernatural Religion (London, 1893), p. 33. He continues, "On the other hand, if his treatise against Marcion (to take a single instance) had been preserved, we should probably have been placed in a position to estimate with tolerable accuracy his relation to the Canonical writings". Cf. A.H. Charteris, *Canonicity. A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament* (Edinburgh/London, 1880), lv, 'But the first fact which strikes us is, that the peculiar nature of those works limits very much the amount of direct testimony which they can give'. See also L.W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 63, 'This, no doubt, is to be explained by his apologetic purpose which prevented his appealing to purely *Christian* teachers and writings as authorities'. In addition, Westcott demonstrated the general indefiniteness with which Christian apologists customarily referred to our

Koester makes absolutely no allowance for such a mitigating factor, but freely infers mostly negative conclusions about the NT documents from the relative silence of Justin's Dialogue and Apologies. Cosgrove, on the other hand, recognizes the sort of caution recommended by Lightfoot[10], and this causes him to lay Justin's Apologies to one side, as obviously addressed to outsiders. But he rescues the Dialogue for this purpose by arguing that, despite appearances, it was really written for Christians and should be read as an 'internal monologue' rather than a true dialogue[11]. Thus, Cosgrove believes the reader is justified in requesting of the Dialogue a full disclosure of its authoritative documents[12], and what it is able to deliver comes, of course, well short of what we find in writers such as Irenaeus[13].

But even if Cosgrove were correct (and I think he is not) that the Dialogue was intended for a wholly Chistian audience[14], certainly it was written for

Gospels, noting. 'if Justin differs in any way from other similar writers as to the mode in which he introduces his Evangelic quotations, it is because he has described with unusual care the sources from which he drew them. He is not less but more explicit than later Apologists as to the writings from which he derives his accounts of the Lord's life and teaching' (B.F. Wescott, *A Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* 6th edn. (Grand Rapids, 1980 repr. of 1889 edn.), p. 120). See especially the example of Cyprian, who in his work against Demetrianius cites the Gospels of Matthew and John (without naming them) and then is roundly criticized by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 5.4) for doing so in debate with an unbeliever who regarded such writings as 'vain, fictitious, and false'.

[10] '... if one of his writings is addressed to non-Christians, then a defense of the canon as such would not be expected of that writings' (210); 'Absence of statements regarding canon are not an argument against the importance of the concept for the author. We simply do not know his views on the matter' (211).

[11] 'The ostensibly centrifugal cast of apologetic literature may function as a mere foil for this more pressing internal process of self identification; the dialogue with the outsider may represent no more than internal monologue. It is in this light that the *Dialogue* is best understood' (219).

[12] 'Absence of reference to canon issues where they would be expected suggests something about the author's view of the canon on that point' (221).

[13] Cosgrove deduces that Justin's non-use of Paul should be read as a rejection of the apostle: 'Marcion's reliance on Paul no doubt explains such catholic failure to appeal to him even where he would be helpful' (225); 'Perhaps as "interpretive writings" the letters of Paul are excluded in reaction to Marcion's exploitation of such "secondary theologizing" for heretical purposes' (226). The 'theologizing' of the apostles in their writings is to be seen as not the doctrine of God but the teachings of men (225).

[14] For a real apologetic motive see Dial. 39.2; 55.3; 64.2-3; 92.6, 142.2, which acknowledge the continuing conversion of Jews and entertain the possibility that Trypho and other Jews will yet be saved by Christ, as the 'seed of salvation' granted to their race. We have perserved Celsus' impressions of another apologetic dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, the *Disputation of Papiscus and Jason* by Aristo of Pella written not long before Justin's Dialogue. Origen tells us this work has Jason the Christian 'conversing with a Jew on the subject of the Jewish Scriptures, and proving that the predictions regarding Christ fitly apply to Jesus' (*Cels.* 4.52). This writings, at least, found its way outside Christian circles and into the hands of Celsus, who, while he doubts that many will have the patience required, recommends that others read it as a demonstration of the fallacy of allegorical interpretion.

Christians with the claims of Jews (and perhaps Marcionites) in mind[15], as Cosgrove himself admits[16]. And if it was written as a model to instruct Christians in apologetic interchange with non-Christian Jews, then it is still 'apologetic literature'. In which case, it is hard to see why we should expect Justin here to name and defend all of his specifically Christian authorities.

Justin's words to Trypho about those OT texts which he charges were excised from the Hebrew Bibles by the Jews offer an insight into his 'apologetic ethic': 'I have not attempted to establish proof about Christ from the passages of Scripture which are not confessed (μὴ ὁμολογουμένων) by you, which I quoted from the words of Jeremiah the prophet, and Esdras, and David; but from those which are even now confessed by you ...' (Dial. 120.5 cf. chs 68, 71-73). If Justin was willing to accommodate Trypho's disregard for these materials, which had at least some claim to belonging to their common authority, the OT, we can well imagine that any notion he might have had of Christian Scriptures would recede to the background and not be explicitly called upon in such a dialogue.

This is no doubt why, when Justin does first introduce some words of Jesus in 18.1, he feels he has to make a case for doing so. His excuse is Trypho's previous admission that he had already carefully read the 'so-called Gospel'. 'For since you have read, O Trypho, as you yourself admitted, the doctrines taught by our Saviour, I do not think that I have done foolishly in adding some short utterances of His to the prophetic statements' — as if to say, that had Trypho signified no acquaintance with these teachings of Jesus[17], Justin might have refrained from adding them — or would have found some sneakier way of doing so. (Incidentally, one can only speculate what might have happened if Trypho had indicated a familiarity with the writings of an ex-rabbi named Paul.) Thereafter in the Dialogue, as Koester observes[18], Justin's use of Gospel material is virtually confined to the evidence it provides for the fulfillment of prophecy, the main proof of the Messiahship of Jesus[19].

[15] This is certainly how Eusebius read it, as 'a dialogue against (πρός) the Jews' (*H. E.* 4.18.6).

[16] Cosgrove, 219.

[17] Dial. 10.2, where Trypho refers to the 'precepts (τὰ παραγγέλματα) in the so-called Gospel'.

[18] Koester, *Gospels*, 38-42; e.g., 'they are records which document the historical factuality of the events of the story of Jesus. As records of this nature the gospels are, indeed, the foundations of the truth of the Christian beliefs and they substantiate the validity of the Christian kerygma. That this is the case, in Justin's understanding of their function, is not related to the 'kerygmatic' character of these writings. Rather, the gospels as records document the historical fulfillment of prophecy, and thus the truth of the Christian faith' (42).

[19] This is consistent with, though it does not require, the theory of L. Abramowski that chs. 97-107 of the Dialogue are incorporated from an earlier work of Justin's. See L. Abramowski, 'Die "Erinnerungen der Apostel" bei Justin', in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien* (WUNT 28; Tübingen, 1983), pp. 341-53.

Surely in such a document it is hardly fitting that Justin be bound to list any Christian writings which he might have honored with the status of Scripture.

Can we then gain any closer access to Justin's attitude towards the NT writings? While most students of Justin have acknowledged that, without providing acutal citations, Justin still shows the influence of most of our NT writings[20], the bulk of research has concentrated upon his use of what he calls the 'Memoirs of the Apostles', the Gospels or gospel materials[21]. I wish to suggest that any valid attempt to ascertain his relationship to the NT writings must also take account of what he says about the reputed authors of these documents, the apostles. It is true that Justin never makes formal claims of inspiration for the NT writers, as he does for the OT prophets. But, given our observations about the purpose of Justin's apologetic writings, this does not rule out the possibility of some theory of inspiration being presupposed without formal argumentation. It is a mistake to think that if Justin held a high view of any apostolic documents that he would have to defend them on the basis of the words of Jesus or their intrinsic merits. For Justin, the authority of Jesus' apostles was already secured by the OT itself.

Texts such as Ps 19.2, Isa 2.2-4 = Micah 4.1-3, Ps 110.2 are Scriptural commonplaces for Justin. After citing Isa. 2.3, 'For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem', Justin confidently claims he can prove that this has now come to pass. 'For from Jerusalem there went out into the world men, twelve in number, and these illiterate, of no ability in speaking: but by the power of God they proclaimed to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the word of God (διδάξαι πάντας τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον)' (1 Apol. 39.3).

Ps. 110.2 is expounded in a similar way: 'That which he says, "He shall send to thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem", is predictive of the mighty word, which his apostles, going forth from Jerusalem, preached everywhere...' (1 Apol. 45.5). This mighty word did not go out by automation, or by anonymous means, but by Jesus' apostles, twelve in number.

Because it too is a fulfillment of several OT prophecies, the conversion of the nations through the apostles of Christ becomes a proof from prophecy that is

[20] Barnard, 62, 74, believes Justin knew, besides the four Gospels, Acts, probably all the Pauline epistles minus the Pastorals, probably 1 John and 1 Peter, and Revelation. E.F. Osborn, *Justin Martyr* (BHTh 47; Tübingen, 1973), p. 135, finds the four Gospels, Acts, Paul, 1 Peter, Hebrews and the Apocalypse in use by Justin. Charteris finds in addition likely influence from 1 Tim. 4.1 in Dial. 7; Tit. 3.4 in Dial. 47; 2 Pet. 2.1 and 1.21 in Dial. 82, and possibly 2 Pet. 3.8 in Dial. 81.

[21] See, e.g., R.G. Heard, 'The 'Απομνημονεύματα in Papias, Justin and Irenaeus', *New Testament Studies* 1 (1954-55), pp. 122-29, who argues that Justin got the term from Papias; E.F. Osborn, *Justin Martyr* (BHTh 47; Tübingen, 1973) L. Abramowski, 'Die "Erinnerungen"'; D. Hagner, 'The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr', in D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives. The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels* vol. 5 (Sheffield, 1985), pp. 233-68.

supposed to impress unbelievers (1 Apol. 53.3)[22]. And so, not surprisingly, the spreading of the Gospel message to the nations by these chosen emissaries of Christ is also found among the basic tenets of the Christian creed which Justin supports from the testimonies of the prophets in 1 Apol. 31.7 (cf. also 42.4)[23].

Foreshadowed in type by the twelve bells which belonged to Aaron's robe (perhaps he means the stones, Ex. 28.33) are 'the twelve apostles, who depend on the power of Christ, the eternal Priest, through whose [i.e., the apostles'] voice the whole earth has been filled with the glory and grace of God and his Christ' (Dial. 42.1).

The apostles are the vehicle, after Christ they are the indispensable source, of the Christian faith in the world[24]. Through their collective voice God's glory and grace have filled the earth. Though he never exploits it to the full in the writings we possess, Justin reveals at various points that there is a foundation already laid, which could uphold the attribution of Scriptural status to apostolic writings if called upon to do so.

And as to the question of 'inspiration' itself, there are a few texts which should not be ignored. The words of Jesus, we are told, are the sharp knives of stone by which the Gentiles have had the foreskins of their hearts circumcised (Dial. 113.6, 7). Yet these words of Jesus are nothing other than, 'the words through the apostles' (Dial. 114.4)[25].

Again we have 1 Apol. 42.4, 'but our Jesus Christ, being crucified and dead, rose again, and having ascended to heaven, reigned; and by those things which were preached by him through the apostles among all nations (καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι κηρυχθεῖσιν), there is joy afforded to those who expect the incorruption promised by him'.

Here again it is Christ who is preaching, but through the apostles. To present the words or the preaching of Christ as coming 'through' the apostles, as he has done in these last two passages, is significant, for it parallels precisely the way Justin customarily speaks of the divine, prophetic Spirit — or the Logos Himself — speaking 'through' Moses and the prophets[26].

[22] 'For with what reason should we believe' says Justin, '... unless we had found testimonies concerning him preached (κεκηρυγμένα) before he came and was born as a man, and unless we saw that things had happened accordingly — the devastation of the land of the Jews, and men of every race persuaded through the doctrine from his apostles (διὰ τῆς ταρά τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ διδαχῆς πεισθέντας), and rejecting their old habits ...'

[23] 'And (we find it also predicted) that certain persons should be sent by Him into every nation to preach these things...'.

[24] Even the OT Scriptures themselves came to the Gentiles through the gift of the apostles (1 Apol. 49-5).

[25] τῶν λόγων τῶν διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. From here he goes on to take concepts from the Fourth Gospel, ch. 7, the living water which is to flow from human hearts, and the water of life. The lack of a direct reference to a "Memoir" may simply be incidental.

[26] E.g., 1 Apol. 31.1 'prophets of God, through whom (δι'ὧν) the prophetic Spirit published beforehand things that were to come to pass'; 32.2 'as was foretold by the holy and divine Spirit of prophecy through Moses' (ὡς προερρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου ἁγίου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος διὰ

This doctrine reaches its culmination in the extant writings of Justin in Dial. 119.6, 'For as he [Abraham] believed the voice of God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, in like manner we, having believed God's voice spoken through the apostles of Christ (καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῇ διά τε τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαληθείσῃ), and preached to us through the prophets (πάλιν καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κηρυχθείσῃ ἡμιν), have renounced even to death all the things of the world'.

Here it is God's own 'voice' which has spoken 'through' the apostles of Christ, and here Justin explicitly and boldly places this 'inspiration' on a par with that of the OT prophets.

Like literary Christians in the second century in general, Justin held up the apostles as the unique, chosen, emissaries of Christ, entrusted with his very word, to be his instrument in bringing the message of grace to all nations. Justin himself clarifies to a degree unmatched by his predecessors (but followed by Irenaeus) the redemptive significance of the apostles as pre-indicated in the prophetic word. Through these men God spoke as he spoke through the prophets. Christ's words come to Christians 'through' their words. The sayings of Jesus, and the events which concerned his earthly life, have been written down by them and their followers and given to the church. And these writings, at least, are now exposited in Christian worship along with the prophets (1 Apol. 67).

In conclusion, given the apologetic nature of Justin's writings, his relative silence on the NT documents cannot reasonably be read as a slighting of their significance. Moreover, given Justin's exalted view of the importance of Jesus' apostles, it is only natural, I would argue, to presume that any writing which he believed was apostolic, which belonged to the discharge of that prophetic assignment to teach the doctrine of Christ to the nations, Justin would have invested with a very high degree of authority. Neither is there any reason, *a priori*, to think that this would be restricted to the apostolic Memoirs of Jesus' life and teaching, and not apply to other 'apostolic' documents. We have his lone, explicit reference to a non-Gospel, apostolic document, the Revelation of John in Dial. 81.4, and the respect which he accords to it is certainly not inconsistent with what we are saying here.

With these things in mind it might be well to revise our picture of Justin's place in the stream of canon history. A closer look reveals that Justin is not piling up stones in that stream, but removing them. And, that man standing a little downstream, waving with a grateful countenance, why, it appears to be none other than Irenaeus!

τοῦ Μωυσέως)'. See also 1 Apol. 32.8; 35.5; 41.1; 44.1, 2; 48.3; 49.1; 53.6, 10; 54.5; 55.5; 58.1; 59.1; 59.8; 61.13; 62.1; 63.1. In the Dialogue see 21.2; 22.1; 25.1; 28.5,6; 43.4; 52.1; 55.2 (Trypho) 58.4 (here ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ speaks διὰ Μωυσέως); 62.1; 62.4, ὁ λόγος through Solomon; 66.1; 78.8; 82.3; 85.7, 8; 91.1, 4; 97.1; 102.5; 113.6; 114.2; 121.1; 124.2; 126.1 (nine times), 2; 133.2).

Die Exegese Gregors des Großen am Beispiel der *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

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Am Beispiel der in der bisherigen Diskussion wenig beachteten Ezechielhomilien soll die exegetische Praxis und die theologische Methode der Schriftinterpretationen des zum Papst avancierten Mönches Gregor paradigmatisch —auch im Blick auf sein Gesamtwerk— dargestellt und erörtert werden[1].

Beim Ausgang der Antike und am Ende der lateinischen Patristik entwickelt Gregor in seinem literarischen Werk einen eigenständigen theologischen und zugleich pastoralen Zugang zur Bibel, der für die mittelalterliche Geistigkeit richtungsweisend wird und in der abendländischen Kultur bis zum 16. Jahrhundert so etwas wie eine Schlüsselfunktion ausübt[2]. G.R. Evans beurteilt die Bedeutung Gregors auf dem Gebiet der Exegese als 'perhaps the most significant single influence upon the detailed working out in the West of the system of interpretation'[3].

Als geistiges und systematisches Fundament der Theologie Gregors des Großen galt bisher in den Monographien und Handbüchern fast ausschließlich augustinisches Gedankengut. Dieses Urteil einer totalen theologischen Abhängigkeit von Augustin wurde in der Forschung wenig kritisch weitgehend auch auf sein umfangreiches exegetisches Schaffen übertragen; denn auch in den bibeltheologischen Schriften Gregors bleibt augustinisches Gedankengut allgegenwärtig. Doch wird die Bibeltheologie des großen Bischofs von Hippo bei Gregor an entscheidenden Punkten verändert. Gregor lebt in einer endzeitlich erfahrenen Epoche und setzt in der Methodik der Auslegung wie auch in der Interpretation andere Akzente. Im Rückgriff auf die origenische Tradition modifiziert der Papst am Ausgang der Antike das augustinische Konzept der Schriftsinne und damit die Exegese.

Im methodologischen Bereich wird die Exegese Gregors im Gefolge der Studie über die mittelalterliche Exegese von H. de Lubac meistens recht pauschal nur mit der Lehre vom drei- bzw. vierfachen Schriftsinn verbunden[4].

1 S. Kessler, *Die Exegese Gregors des Grossen. Zur theologischen Schriftauslegung der Ezechielhomilien* (ITS 43; Innsbruck 1996).

2 R. Manselli, 'Gregorio Magno e la Bibbia', in: SSAM 10 (1963), 67-101. 70.

3 G.R. Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: 4th ser., 2, Cambridge 1988), 147.

4 H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'écriture* (Theol[P] 41-42; Paris 1959-1961): Bd. 1, 187-219; Bd. 2, 537-548, 586-599; Bd. 3, 53-98; wirkt z.B. weiter in:

Eine genauere Analyse bestätigt jedoch, daß Gregor nur theoretisch von drei verschiedenen Schriftsinnen ausgeht, wie es z.B. das in diesem Zusammenhang vielzitierte Methodenkapitel zur Exegese im Widmungsbrief der Moralia oder der Vorspann zu seinem Hoheliedkommentar belegen[5]. Der dreigliedrige *ordo exegeticus* exisitiert größtenteils nur in der Theorie. Auch in dieser Dreiteilung unterscheidet sich Gregor von Augustin, der vier Schriftsinne kennt. Nur an wenigen Stellen seines exegetischen Gesamtwerkes entfaltet Gregor die theoretisch vorgegebene Trias der Schriftsinne: Ausgehend vom buchstäblichen Verständnis des Textes (*verba historiae*) wird zur geistlich-allegorischen Bedeutung (*allegoriarum sensus*) weitergegangen und schließlich zum eigentlichen moralisch-kontemplativen Sinn (*exercitium moralitatis*) aufgestiegen[6]. Der überwiegende Teil seiner Schriftauslegung wird jedoch von einer zweigliedrigen Exegese bestimmt[7]: dem wörtlichen und dem geistlichen Sinn. Die vorgegebene Trichotomie der Schriftsinne löst sich in der konkreten Auslegungsarbeit Gregors in die paulinische Dichotomie von *littera* und *spiritus* (2Kor 3,6) auf: der Bibeltext besitzt auf der einen Seite eine literarisch-historische Bedeutung, die Fundament und Anfang jeglicher Auslegung sein muß, und andererseits einen geistlichen Sinn, dessen Erkenntnis das eigentliche Ziel der Exegese ist[8]. Diese theoretische Grundlegung soll im folgenden entsprechend der gregorianischen Vorgehensweise aus den Tiefen äußerer Fakten zu den Höhen der inneren Geheimnisse aufsteigend verifiziert werden: '*ab imis ad superiora gradientes, quasi quibusdam passibus ascendamus*'[9].

Die *Homiliae in Ezechielem Prophetam* sind in 22 Predigten überliefert, die in zwei Bücher gruppiert sind. Die zwölf Texte des ersten Buches handeln vom Wesen der prophetischen Berufung und legen die phantastische Eingangsvision des Ezechielbuches aus (Ez 1,1-4,3). Die zehn Homilien des zweiten Buches bieten eine Interpretation der visionären Architektur des neuen Tempels (Ez 40-47). Wegen des Belagerungssturms der Langobarden auf Rom mußte Gregor die Predigtreihe abbrechen, die ähnlich wie die *Moralia* ursprünglich als durchlaufender Kommentar gedacht war. Auf Drängen seiner Zuhörer beginnt er nach einer erzwungenen Pause im zweiten Buch mit der Auslegung der Schlußvision des Propheten. Diese Predigten wurden vor einem spirituell interessierten Publikum von hauptsächlich Klerikern, Nonnen und Mönchen wahrscheinlich im Rahmen der frühmorgendlichen Vigligottesdien-

C. Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand: Culture et expérience chrétiennes* (Paris 1977), 233, wo Dagens die Unterscheidung von drei Schriftsinnen bei Gregor 'la règle d'or' nennt.

[5] Moralia in Iob, Ep. dedic. 2-4 (CCL 143,2-6); Expositio in Canticum Canticorum 2-5 (CCL 144,2-8).

[6] Moralia in Iob, Ep. dedic. 1 (CCL 143,2).

[7] Bereits in den letzten Zeilen des 3. Buches der Moralia (3, 37, 70; CCL 143,157) kündigt der Autor an, daß die dreifache Auslegung jetzt zu einem Ende kommt; der überwiegende Rest seiner Ijobinterpretation wird zweifach ausgelegt.

[8] Homiliae in Ezechielem (HEz) 2,1,1 (CCL 142,207,6f).

[9] HEz 1,8,12 (CCL 142,108).

ste in der Lateranbasilika vorgetragen. Das geschah in Herbstmonaten des Jahres 593 und spätestens im Frühjahr 594. Wegen der unruhigen Zeitläufte wurden die Mitschriften erst acht Jahre später unter dem päpstlichen Notar Paterius redaktionell überarbeitet und publiziert.

Ob Gregor sich aus eigenem Entschluß gerade der Auslegung des schwerverständlichen Ezechielbuches zugewandt hat, muß mangels anderer Dokumente im Dunkel der Geschichte bleiben. Die phantastische Eingangsvision Ezechiels bezeichnet er als *'magnis obscuritatibus clausum'* und die Schau des neuen Tempels als 'so sehr von undurchdringlichen Nebelschwaden bedeckt, daß es darin für die einsehende Vernunft kaum etwas zu sehen gibt'[10]. Was mag den Bischof von Rom bewegt haben, diesen schwerverständlichen Propheten für seine Zuhörer zu interpretieren? In dem dunklen Text entdeckte Gregor die Deutung der Gegenwart und die biblische Erklärung der aktuellen politischen Situation seiner Tage. Denn wie das Volk Israel zur Zeit Ezechiels im babylonischen Exil ohne Hoffnung auf Rückkehr in seine Heimat war, so sieht der Bischof von Rom die hoffnungslose Lage Italiens im Herbst 593 angesichts des wachsenden Drucks der Langobarden. Gregor sieht sich in Parallele zum Propheten Ezechiel, der bei der Belagerung und Zerstörung Jerusalems als prophetischer Wächter auftrat. Analog will er mit seiner Verkündigung wie der Prophet ein wachsamer ἐπίσκοπος — *speculator* sein, wie es der griechische Ursprung seines Namens assoziiert[11]. In einer existentiellen Art der Identifikation läßt sich Gregor auf die Gestalt dieses Propheten ein, die dann zum Deutungsmuster seines eigenen Weges wird[12]. Ähnlich steht in der gregorianischen Interpretation der *Moralia* die Person des Dulders Ijob für den Prototyp einer Seele, die auch in Unglück und Not ein wahrhaft kontemplatives Leben führt, mit der sich der leidende Papst identifiziert[13].

Die Hermetik des Prophetentextes — oder in der Sprache Gregors: die schwer verständliche *obscuritas* der Schrift[14] — wird in einem ersten Schritt durch den personalen Zugang zur Bibel und durch die Identifikation mit ihren Gestalten überwunden. Der zweite Schritt, die Unverständlichkeit der biblischen Aussagen zu verstehen, ist der geistliche Schriftsinn[15]. Der zuweilen nicht verstehbare Buchstabensinn eines Bibeltextes existiert für Gregor nur um des Geistes willen, oder umgekehrt formuliert: Erst die geistige Auslegung verleiht dem Buchstaben den richtigen Sinn. Die rätselhaften Visionen des

[10] HEz 1,9,1 (CCL 142,123); HEz 2, praefatio (CCL 142,205).

[11] HEz 1,11,4-6 (CCL 142,170-172) diesen Passus könnte man als die 'Confessiones' der HEz bezeichnen; dazu: C. Mohrmann, 'Episkopos - Speculator', in: *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens* 4, (Rom 1977), 232-252.

[12] D. Wyrwa, 'Der persönliche Zugang in der Bibelauslegung Gregors des Großen', in: *Sola Scriptura: Das reformatorische Schriftprinzip in der säkularen Welt*, H.H. Schmid - J. Mehlhausen (Hg.), Gütersloh 1991, 262-278.

[13] HEz 2,7,20 (CCL 142,332-334): Moralia in Iob, Ep. dedic. 5 (CCL 143,6).

[14] HEz 1.9.29 (CCL 142, 138); 2,5,4 (277f.).

[15] G. Penco, 'La dottrina dei sensi spirituali in Gregorio Magno', in: *Ben.* 17 (1970), 161-201.

Ezechielbuches geben Gregor die Chance, darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Undurchschaubarkeit der Schrift von Gott so intendiert ist, damit die Ergebnisse des Schriftstudiums den Menschen um so mehr erquicken, je mehr Mühe angewandt wurde. So formuliert er: 'Von großem Nutzen ist nämlich die *obscuritas eloquiorum Dei*, weil sie den Geist übt, auf daß er sich in der Anstrengung des Begreifens weite und arbeitend erfasse, was er müßig nicht verstehen kann'[16].

Der Autor der Ezechielhomilien kommt bei der Vision der Tempelstadt nach sorgfältigen Berechnungen der in sich widersprüchlichen Maßangaben dieser Prophetenschrift zu dem Schluß: 'Die Architektur dieser Stadt kann offensichtlich nicht nach dem buchstäblichen Sinn verstanden werden (*iuxta litteram accipi nullatenus potest*)'[17]. Das bei Ezechiel beschriebene Bauwerk des neuen Tempels ist widersprüchlich und hat bei wörtlichem Verständnis logisch keinen Bestand; denn die Dinge, die 'in der Heiligen Schrift in historischem Sinn aufzufassen sind, können zumeist auch geistlich verstanden werden, so daß sowohl die historische Wahrheit glaubwürdig ist als auch geistliche Einsicht aus den Geheimnissen der Allegorien gewonnen werden kann'[18]. Da die Bibel von Gott stammt und von seinem Geist inspiriert ist, kann und darf es in ihr keine Widersprüche geben. Scheinbare Widersprüche sind auf falsches Verständnis zurückzuführen. Deswegen muß der Exeget die Innen- und Außenseite der Schrift unterscheiden lernen; denn 'das Buch der heiligen Schrift ist nämlich innen allegorisch, außen historisch geschrieben. Innen zum geistigen Verständnis, außen im einfachen buchstäblichen Sinn, den Schwachen angepaßt'[19]. Da nach der altkirchlichen Lehre von der *concordantia testamentorum* die ganze Schrift eine untrennbare Einheit darstellt, verkündet sie auch in allen ihren Teilen das Heil in Christus. Von daher kann in jede biblische Begebenheit Christus und im Gefolge auch das Geheimnis der Kirche hineingelesen werden[20]. Neben der christologischen Deutung ist deshalb die ekklesiologische Dimension die Hauptlinie der theologischen Schriftinterpretation bei Gregor.

Die Bibel besitzt nach Gregor verschiedene Stufen bzw. verschiedene Ebenen, die sich dem Leser entsprechend seinem geistigen und geistlichen Niveau erschließen. Dieses dynamische Verständnis der Schrift sieht Gregor in der Vision Ezechiels von den Rädern des Thronwagens Gottes begründet, die auf dem Boden laufen und sich gleichzeitig erheben[21]. Analog verhält es sich mit der Schrift, die auf einer äußeren Ebene einfache und irdische Worte für die

[16] HEz 1,6,1 (CCL 142,67).
[17] HEz 2,1,3 (CCL 142,208).
[18] Ebd.
[19] HEz 1,9,30 (CCL 142,139); vgl. Hieronymus, In Ezechielem 1,29 (CCL 75,31).
[20] M. Doucet 'Christus et ecclesia est una persona. Note sur un principe d'exégèse spirituelle chez saint Gregoire le Grand', in: *CCist* 46 (1984), 37-58.
[21] HEz 1,7,6 (CCL 142,93).

Menschen des aktiven Lebens besitzt und in den gleichen Worten göttliche Geheimnisse erschließt, die den menschlichen Geist in kontemplativer Schau in den Bereich des Himmels erheben. Diese erkenntnistheoretische Konzeption eines dynamischen Schriftverständnisses findet bei Gregor seinen Ausdruck in der Vorstellung von wachsenden Verständnis der göttlichen Worte: *'divina eloquia cum legente crescunt'*[22]. Die Lektüre der Schrift wird zu einem geistig-geistlichen Wachstumsprozeß, in dem der Lesende stufenweise nach oben geführt wird, so daß sein Textverständnis immer dem Niveau entspricht, auf dem er steht.

Die gregorianische Exegese steht in der Tradition altkirchlicher Schriftauslegung. Die These einer totalen Abhängigkeit Gregors von Augustin wird durch die genauere Untersuchung seiner exegetischen Methode relativiert und überholt. Trotz der nicht zu leugnenden Allgegenwart augustinischen Gedankenguts hat Gregor seine Lehre von den Schriftsinnen nicht von Augustin übernommen, sondern im Rückgriff auf Origenes und Hieronymus entwickelt. Obgleich Gregor theoretisch drei Schriftsinne kennt, beschränkt sich seine Auslegung in der Regel auf die Gegenüberstellung von wörtlich-historischer Bedeutung und einem geistig-geistlichen Sinn. Gregors Exegese ist eine sich identifizierende *lecture existentielle* und nicht die technische Anwendung verschiedener Schriftsinne. Die auf die Methodik und Anwendung der Schriftsinne fixierte Forschung erkannte weniger die innere und personale Dynamik der Exegese Gregors des Großen. Am Ende der Antike schuf Gregor durch seine eigenständige Akzentuierung der überkommenen Exegese eine Form der Schriftauslegung, die beim Übergang zum Mittelalter richtungsweisend für den Umgang mit der Bibel geworden ist.

[22] HEz 1,7,8 (CCL 142,87); vgl. Moralia in Iob 20,1,1 (CCL 143A,10003) und Johannes Cassian, Conlationes 14,11 (CSEL 13,411).

Sources and Style in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse

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Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse of John presents a great wealth of information about Bede — his thoughts, his style, his *modus operandi* — as well as about the Apocalypse. While he follows his pattern of using reliable patristic sources, if he had such at hand, he also adeptly inserts his own comments to clarify, to extend, and to summarize. Moreover, quotations from sources vary from direct and extensive quotations to brief allusions or paraphrase, to a few words woven into the fabric of his comment. Generally, Bede does not cite a name for each literary source or quotation; this is particularly true for his two principal sources, Primasius and Tyconius. Moreover, the language and style of Gregory the Great and the Vulgate were already such an integral part of Bede's expression that phrases simply flowed out. What is intriguing is to distinguish between statements that Bede quotes and those that he seriously modifies or creates from his own thoughts. The present study extends identified or identifiable passages and sources as another step towards a critical edition of Bede's text.

What Bede selects and how he intertwines quotations and personal interpretations is influenced by his exegetical style. Several excellent works have been written about Bede as exegete: Claude Jenkins in 1935[1]; M.T.A. Carroll's dissertation at Catholic University of America[2]; Roger Ray's article on Bede as exegete[3]; Charles W. Jones' excellent article on Genesis including a vocabulary of key words in Bede[4]; George Brown's Twayne series book on Bede with a fine overview and bibliography[5]; and Bernard P. Robinson's recent article on the subject[6]. For the Apocalypse commentary the single most valuable work is Gerald Bonner's 1966 Jarrow Lecture, now reprinted with the com-

[1] C. Jenkins, 'Bede as Exegete and Historian', *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 152-200.

[2] M.T.A. Carroll, *The Venerable Bede: His Spiritual Teachings* (The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, n.s. 9; Washington, D.C., 1946).

[3] 'What Do We Know about Bede's Commentaries?' *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 49 (1982), pp. 5-20.

[4] 'Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis,' *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1969-70), pp. 115-98.

[5] *Bede the Venerable* (Twayne's English Authors Series; Boston, 1987).

[6] 'The Venerable Bede as Exegete,' *The Downside Review*, vol. 112, # 388 (July 1994), pp. 201-226.

plete Jarrow Lectures[7], and for the text of Tyconius and its relation to Bede, see Kenneth Steinhauser[8].

Bede knew of multiple levels of interpretation and discussed the *tropus* or mode of *allegoria* at length in *de Schematibus et Tropis*. There he also cites *Sapientia* 11, 21, one of Augustine's favorite scriptures, that God has 'ordered all things in measure, and in number, and in weight' — *omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti*. And indeed, Bede is attentive to names and numbers and their symbolic value. Bede has his own basis of judgment, so that in reading others he responds favorably or unfavorably to their own interpretations. Thus he will cull what pleases him and what is harmonious with his perception of truth; the rest he excludes from his commentaries. Close comparisons of Bede and his sources is therefore requisite.

Careful word-by-work checking of Bede against his known sources reveals several important features of his commentary: First, he does use sources, sometimes quoting verbatim, even at times for several lines; second, at times he may use the words and phrases but rearrange them or grammatically reconstruct the thought; third, at times, the thoughts are so completely recast that only a few words or stems remain from the source; fourth, and perhaps even more significant, Bede notably omits whole sections as well as single sentences or phrases that he may have considered inappropriate or unnecessary. In such cases he may insert a comment of his own or simply omit the questionable material and proceed to the next lemma.

For Bede's Apocalypse commentary, resting predominantly upon previous commentaries by Primasius (mid-sixth century) and Tyconius (late fourth century)[9], about 40-50% of the material is drawn directly from his main sources, about 20% is patterned after the sources, using some words, ideas, or scriptural citations, and to the best of our knowledge at this time, the remainder — about 30-40% of his commentary — represents his own thoughts or scriptural allusions. This figure may shrink as new sources are uncovered. For example, at Apoc. 9, 6 (PL 93, 158 B[10]) Bede credits Cyprian with the words *uolentibus mori non permittebat occidi*. But though the phrase echoes Cyprian *Ep.* 56, this is not an exact source. This quotation has been a small but vexing problem for several researchers over the years. However, through the wizardly of electronic searches, both the CETEDOC CLCLT-II and Patrologia Latina Data-

[7] *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary* (Jarrow Lecture; 1966). For the Bede and Tyconius relation, see also Gerald Bonner, 'Towards a Text of Tyconius,' *Studia Patristica* 10.1 (TU 107; 1970), pp. 9-13.

[8] *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of Its Reception and Influence* (Frankfurt, 1987).

[9] The commentary is no longer extant, but some parallels can be established in the texts of later authors who used it, authors such as Caesarius of Arles, Primasius, Bede, and Beatus of Liebana; see Bonner and Steinhauser.

[10] Hereafter all references to bede's commentary will simply be by column number in PL 93.

base CDs turned up the actual verbal source and context: Jerome's *Vita santi Pauli* 2 (PL 23, 19 A).

Bede exercises a free hand to seek and to select material that he considers orthodox. He always aims at clarity and correctness. As he explicitly states in his *De Schematibus et Tropis* about the rhetorical figure of allegory, he accepts for scriptures multiple levels of meaning or differing possibilities of allegorical interpretation. Yet, he does not force passages nor does he impose the three- or four-fold mode except on a very rare occasion and never in the Apocalypse commentary. Consequently, when Primasius begins to give an expanded tropological meaning to the names of the twelve sons of Jacob, Bede simply skips over several pages and continues with the next lemma. Still, as Bonner observed, 390 words out of 550 in Bede's long discussion on this point derive from Primasius. Elsewhere, when Primasius equates serving in the temple (Apoc. 7, 15) with the church, Bede lays the comment aside and states that *more nostro loquens aeternitatem significat* (Apoc. 7, 15 [153 C]).

Bede usually gives one explanation to his lemmata. If Bede does follow a second line of interpretation on the same lemma, he may begin with the word *aliter* (particularly if he turns to Tyconius or returns to Primasius). Often the word was already in Primasius' source text for Bede to follow, but at times it is Bede himself who inserts it as a marker or divider in the comment[11]. At Apoc. 13, 18 (the only place where he actually names Primasius [172 C]) and at 16, 12 (180 D) Bede has no parallel for his use of *aliter*; at Apoc. 17, 16 (184 D) he moves from apparently his own interpretation to quote Primasius: *Potest et aliter intelligi ....*

Both Primasius and Tyconius had some lengthy lemmata and they also entirely omitted verses. Bede seeks to rectify the approach by separating the explanation and by breaking down verses into small phrases. This is the very essence of the *commaticum* style of exegesis that he employs[12]. In this sense he became a fertile source for the later *Glossa Ordinaria* with its brief glosses of individual words.

As a teacher, Bede sought clarity and precision. Hence, sometimes he would insert a grammatical comment — *e.g.*, on the partitive construction at Apoc. 11, 9 *et uidebunt de populis et tribubus et linguis et gentibus corpora eorum*: Bede (but not Primasius) explains, *Non dixit uidebunt populi et tribus, sed multi de populis aliis credentibus sanctos palam inrident.*

[11] For example see 2, 25 (140 B) and 4, 1 (142 D), a passage perhaps quoted from Tyconius; see on 8, 1 (154 D): *nunc uero recapitulat ab origine eadem aliter disserturus* paralled by the Turin framents § 130 (p. 85.1), giving precisely what Bede states except Turin does not have *eadem* and it continues with the words *et dicit.* Beatus on Apoc. 8, 1 has *nunc uero recapitulat a Christi passione eadem aliter dicturus.* On Apoc. 11, 18 Bede says *nunc recapitulat a natiuitate domini eadem aliter ac latius dicturus*, with Tyconius (on evidence of Caesarius of Arles) and Primasius (177.263-64) as parallels.

[12] Apoc, 21;19-20 (203 A B; see the translation by G.H. Brown, p. 60).

Elsewhere he may distinguish between verb tenses or, as at Apoc. 11, 14, he may explain a word: *tempus enim annum significat, tempora duos <annos>, dimidium temporis sex menses.* At Apoc. 7, 14, without source, he interprets as a rhetorical question the verse, *Hi qui amicti sunt stolis albis, qui sunt et unde uenerunt?* Bede's interpretation is: *Ad hoc interrogat ut doceat.*

One curious reference in the Apocalypse commentary is to *alia editio* (ten times) or *alia translatio* (five times). However, Bede has not created the expressions but rather has borrowed them from Primasius where they may mean 'In the commentary of Tyconius' or 'In the Old Latin biblical text quoted by Tyconius'. In Bede, as for the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian in late seventh-century England, the Vulgate is used as the primary biblical text for the lemmata[13]. Bede had access to Old Latin texts particularly in some of the patristic commentaries, but he was a proponent of the Vulgate, the earliest complete copy of which is the Amiatinus from Wearmouth and Jarrow.

Generally Bede sought to acknowledge his sources; in the commentaries on Mark and Luke as well as some other works, he would use letter abbreviations noted in the margin to indicate the author from whom he was quoting: HR=Hieronymus, AM=Ambrose, AV=Augustinus, GR=Gregorius[14]. However there is no marginal notation of sources in manuscripts of the Apocalypse commentary. So occasionally he names sources in the commentary itself. As he extracted material for his commentary on Apoc. 20, 3 (191 D), he found in Primasius an unacknowledged quotation of some eight lines from Augustine *De Ciuitate Dei* 20, 8 (CCSL 48, 713.37-44). Bede recognized it, quoted it fully, and introduced it with the words, 'ut sanctus Augustinus ait'. In another instance (on Apoc. 22, 4 [192 C), Bede did not acknowledge to his readers the fully attributed words of Augustine (*De Ciuitate Dei* 22, 29) as quoted in Primasius (CCSL 92, 303.77-85), and so there is no introductory phrase; Bede utilizes only the first six words of the nine-line quotation. The passages from Jerome's *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* (CCSL 72, 59-161) that underlie Bede on Apoc. 7, 5-8 are short and incidental, but even more significantly, they were already adapted by Primasius from whom Bede draws his explanations and exegetical-literary context.

Curiously, however, for all of his reliance on Tyconius and Primasius, they receive little attention by name. And in at least one instance, the preface, Bede

[13] See Michael Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 45-72; Bernard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore & Hadrian* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 11; Cambridge 1995).

[14] E.F. Sutcliffe, 'Quotations in the Ven. Bede's Commentary on S. Mark,' *Biblica* 7 (1926), pp. 428-39; M.L.W. Laistner, 'Source Marks in Bede Manuscripts,' *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1993), pp. 350-54; Charles W. Jones, 'Manuscripts of Bede's *De Natura Rerum,*' *Isis* 27 (1937), p. 438. Some Bede mss. use AG or au = Augustine.

names Tyconius three times for his seven rules of interpreting scriptures, expounded in the *Liber Regularum*, when in fact he appears to have drawn the text he summarizes from Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana* (see CCSL 32, 104-1-114.10)[15]. In the commentary he names Tyconius nine more times and Primasius only once! Much of Bede's language about the sevenfold church or spirit as well as his intense comments about heretics and apostates may stem directly or indirectly from Tyconius. In his exposition Bede rarely applies Tyconius' seven rules overtly independently of his known sources.

When he came to the section in Apocalypse 21, 19-20 about the precious stones of the New Jerusalem, there was nothing in Primasius for him to use. Instead, Bede turned to the lapidary information in Pliny, Isidore, and other sources, as so ably discussed in the article by Peter Kitson[16]. But Bede does not name those sources, and his exegesis for those two verses alone is roughly twice as long as he normally spends on an entire chapiter. For his concluding remarks against the Pelagians and Donatists Bede has no parallel in his sources; he just liked orthodoxy and unity and closely followed Augustine.

For some passages, Bede has been thought to use the Apocalypse commentary by Victorinus, composed in the late third or early fourth centuries and later revised by Jerome. I would like to raise a warning flag against too quickly accepting those suggestions. While there are some parallels of thought and even of some words, it would now seem that Tyconius used Victorinus as a basetext from which he compiled his own comments. Allusions to the thoughts and words of Victorinus in Bede should probably be seen as indirect and unknowing borrowings by Bede; Victorinus does not appear to be a direct or consciously adapted source for the commentary, and Bede never names him.

Bede names Gregory as a source for three quotations: on 4, 2 (143 A) from the *Moralia in Job* (CCSL 143, 83.75-77; PL 75, 574 A); on 5, 13 (146 C) from *Moralia in Job* (CCSL 143, 65.53-54; PL 75, 559 D-560 A); and on 14, 18 (176 D) from the *Homilia in Evangelia* 35, 2 (PL 76, 1260 D). There are some ten other quotations or paraphrases, but Gregory is not named in those instances[17]. Bede's exegesis on Apoc. 10, 6 (161 C) is not to be found in Primasius, his usual source together with Tyconius, but rather in Gregory's

[15] See the discussion in Thomas W. Mackay, 'Bede's Biblical Criticism. The Venerable Bede's Summary of Tyconius' *Liber Regularum*,' *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies of Medieval Culture in Honour of CHarles W. Jones, ed.* Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens, 2 vols. (Collegeville, MN, 1979), 1:209-231.

[16] Peter Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and Related Works,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983), pp. 73-123 (esp. 74-100: see also Peter Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part I,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp. 9-60).

[17] This topic will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming article.

Moralia in Job 4, 5 on Job 3, 3 (CCSL 143, 166.116-18; PL 75, 640 BC; cf. Alulfus, PL 79, 1408 A). Bede also borrows from the *Moralia* at Apoc. 11, 7 (163 B), 14, 14 (176 B), 16, 2 (180 A), and 20, 12 (193 D).

As an illustration of Bede's use of sources, consider Bede and Primasius for Apoc. 7, 13-15 and 8, 1. There are fifteen instances in which Bede's words differ from the edition of Primasius — except in each instance the Fulda manuscript, but not the Douce manuscript as one might expect, agrees with Bede. For Apoc. 8, 1 (154 BC, quoting Jerome at CCSL 75 A, 943.670-944.677, 679), Bede enfolds an extensive quotation from Jerome's commentary on Daniel, a work Bede also cites at 14, 18 (176 C, quoting Jerome at CCSL 75 A, 846.655-58). Neither passage is in Primasius, and the three verbal differences that Bede exhibits in comparison with the critical edition of Jerome on Daniel are attested by ms. R, Munich clm 14082 from St. Emmeram originating at Murbach — a scriptorium that has many close affinities to texts as Bede read them and wrote them.

For Apoc. 21, except for 21, 19-20 on the twelve stones[18], Bede freely draws on Primasius. However, Primasius has already interwoven extensive passages from Augustine *De Ciuitate Dei* 20, 16-17 for Apoc. 21, 1-4. There is no acknowledgement of any ultimate source by Bede or Primasius for those verses. Likewise, for Apoc. chapters 13, 14 and 20, Augustine *De Ciuitate Dei* 20, 8-10 has extensively provided ideas and verbal source material for Primasius, and much had passed without editors alerting readers.

By contrast, in addition to naming Augustine three times in the preface for his summary of Tyconius' seven rules of interpretation, Bede refers to Augustine by name four times in the body of the text: at Apoc. 4, 7 (144 A) from *Tractatus in Euangelium Iohannis* 36, 5 (CCSL 36, 327.10-35); at 14, 4 (173 D) from *De sancta Virginitate* (CSEL 41, 263.7-264.19); at 14, 11 (175 C) from *De Ciuitate Dei* 20, 9 (CCSL 48, 718.95-110); and also at 20, 3 (discussed above). All four passages were already incorporated by Primasius into his commentary. At 22, 4 (204 C) in a passage drawn from Primasius, who quoted it with complete reference to source, Bede again indirectly quotes from Augustine's *De Ciuitate Dei* (20, 8 [CCSL 48, 713.27-44]) but fails to name Augustine as the patristic source.

In the preface, two of Bede's references to Augustine pertain to *De Doctrina Christiana* (see above and note 15). But when in the preface Bede states, *ut beatus Augustinus ait* (134 A), he takes his words from Augustine's *Contra Aduersarium Legis et Prophetarum*. The precise sentence (CCSL 49, 86.1543-44) that Bede quotes here he also quotes in his commentary on Luke for the concluding sentence of Book I of his commentary (CCSL 120, 9.3173-74, on Luke 4:13). Bede has five different citations from that same source in his Genesis commentary.

[18] See Kitson, article in *ASE* cited above, note 16.

From this rapid overview of sources named by Bede and left unnamed either intentionally or from not having any precise indication of a quotation in a major source in his hands at Jarrow, we can glimpse in a small measure the magnitude of Bede's effort, the brilliance of his mind, and his devout and presistent adherence to principles. Bede's sources are detectable by verbal quotations often relating to manuscript variants within their traditions. Verbal differences from the edited texts may be due to Bede adjusting the text or reproducing the reading of the manuscript before him. His exegetical effort as illustrated by his commentary on the Apocalypse was immense and well merited the persistently warm welcome and respect it received.

La figura qumranica di Melchisedek: possibili origini di una tradizione letteraria del primo secolo cristiano?

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1. Status quaestionis

1.1. La tradizione letteraria della figura del Melchisedek[1] biblico — Gn 14,18-20; Sal 109(110),4; Eb 5,6.10; 6,20; 7,1.10.11.15.17 — registra, all'interno della riflessione di epoca patristica, una duplice tendenza, a secondo dell'indirizzo ortodosso o eterodosso seguito dai vari autori.

Accanto alla letteratura patristica, ma in correlazione con essa, si evolve pure una speculazione rabbinica, che mostra ulteriormente la fortuna di questo personaggio circonfuso da un'aureola di mistero. Polemici nei confronti della rilettura cristologica operata dall'Epistola agli Ebrei, gli scritti giudaici tentano di riappropriarsi di colui che 'ha sottomesso alla decima Abramo' (Eb 7,6), soprattutto attraverso l'identificazione di Melchisedek con Sem, con la conseguente *inventio* di una sua genealogia e con la sua subordinazione al patriarca[2].

In ambito patristico, invece, si prosegue in una direzione tipologica, ossia nella stessa linea dell'Epistola agli Ebrei. In particolare, con Clemente Alessandrino e Cipriano, si sviluppa una lettura eucaristico-prefigurativa del pane e del vino offerti dal Melchisedek genesiaco, mantenuta viva anche dall'accenno presente nel *Supra quae* dell'anafora del Canone romano, che verosimilmente affonda le radici nello stesso terreno allessandrino dell'Epistola agli Ebrei. L'attenzione non resta, così, condizionata in maniera univoca dalla polemica antigiudaica, condotta soprattutto dai Padri Apologisti del II secolo d.C. Del resto, altri problemi dottrinali urgono in campo cristiano, a causa di frange eterodosse. Su un versante, esse sconfinano nell'eresia; e, sull'altro, confluiscono nelle speculazioni di matrice gnostica.

[1] Per maggior chiarezza, trascriveremo, in ogni caso, il nome proprio con 'Melchisedek', pur sapendo che solo il greco Μελχίσεδεκ della *Septuaginta* e dell'Epistola agli Ebrei è trascrivibile così. Difatti, partendo dal TM (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק), si otterrebbe la trascrizione 'Malkî-ṣedeq', mentre una terza forma sarebbe necessaria per tradurre i testi qumranici, in cui compare soltanto la grafia consonantica מלכי עדק, che — con qualche variazione — la maggioranza degli studiosi vocalizza come 'Melkî-ṣedeq'.

[2] Cfr. C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia. Tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche (sec. II a.C. — sec. III d.C.)* (Brescia, 1984), pp. 171-185.

Nei documenti gnostici — il *frammento 52 Bala'izah*, il primo trattato del codice IX di Nag Hammadi (*NHC* IX,I), il secondo dei *Libri di Jeu* e i quattro libri della *Pistis Sophia*[3] —, inquadrabili nell'arco di tempo che va dalla fine del II secolo alla fine del III secolo d.C., Melchisedek viene tratteggiato come una figura allegorica e secondaria all'interno di una specie di fantasmagoria di eoni.

Sul versante cristiano, invece, una sottolineatura eccessiva del nesso tipologico istituito dall'Epistola agli Ebrei tra Melchisedek e il Cristo glorioso, sfocia, prima, in un'interpretazione angelica di Melchisedek (Origene, stando agli scritti di Girolamo) e, poi, in ambigue identificazioni del personaggio veterotestamentario non solo con il Verbo preesistente (Ambrogio), ma anche con Dio Padre e lo Spirito Santo (Ieraca di Leontopoli, secondo l'attestazione di Epifane; Pseudo-Agostino). Soltanto nei secoli IV e V, l'esegesi patristica riconduce, in modo chiaro e definitivo, il personaggio veterotestamentario ad un livello meramente umano e prefigurativo (Nestorio, Euterio di Tiano, Proclo di Costantinopoli, Teodoreto), distinguendo la 'somiglianza' (ἀφωμοιωμένος, Eb 7,3; κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα, 7,15) intercorrente tra Melchisedek e il Figlio di Dio, dalla loro pura 'coincidenza' (Girolamo)[4].

1.2. La diffusione e la complessità della cosiddetta 'tradizione-Melchisedek', qui soltanto schizzata per sommi capi, sollecita un approfondimento ulteriore rispetto agli ormai numerosi contributi che, secondo prospettive differenti, hanno rivolto la loro attenzione al personaggio di Melchisedek[5]. In particolare, resta da affrontare il problema aperto dell'eventuale dipendenza dell'interpretazione cristologica dell'Epistola agli Ebrei dalle speculazioni ad essa anteriori o coeve nell'ambito essenico-qumranico[6]. La risposta a questo interrogativo farebbe luce verosimilmente anche sulle cause della diffusione che le speculazioni su Melchisedek ebbero per vari secoli e in contesti così variegati.

[3] Per una loro presentazione, si legga C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, pp. 187-235; F.L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 131-151.

[4] Cfr. G. Bardy, 'Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique', *Revue Biblique* 35 (1926), pp. 496-509; 36 (1927), pp. 25-45.

[5] Ci limitiamo a citare alcune opere monografiche. Oltre Gianotto e Horton, si veda: F.J. Jérôme, *Das geschichtliche Melchisedech-Bild und seine Bedeutung im Hebräerbrief* (Strasbourg, 1920); G.T. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Priesthood of Melchisedech: An Historico-Exegetical Investigation* (Washington, 1951); P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresha'* (Washington, 1981); G. Wuttke, *Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese* (Giessen, 1927).

[6] Le bibliografie aggiornate reperibili in Gianotto e in Horton, vanno completate, per l'ambito qumranico, con quella di: F. Manzi, 'La figura di Melchisedek: saggio di bibliografia aggiornata', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 109 (1995), pp. 331-349; É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien* II (Paris, 1993).

2. Sintetica panoramica di posizioni

Ma a questo riguardo, non si può non constatare l'assenza di un'opinione capace di guadagnare un certo consenso tra gli studiosi. Si registrano, al contrario, molti pareri, che, sia pure con accentuazioni e motivi differenti, possono essere raccolti all'interno di due posizioni opposte.

2.1. La prima, rappresentata, ad esempio, da A. Vanhoye e da W. L. Lane[7], sottolinea l''orientamento molto diverso' della presentazione qumranica di Melchisedek rispetto a quello dell'Epistola agli Ebrei. Si comprende come una posizione di questo tipo possa affermare, nel migliore dei casi, una dipendenza del pensiero melchisedekiano di Ebrei dalle concezioni diffuse nello sfondo del I secolo d.C., ma non dall'ambito essenico-qumranico.

2.2. Antitetica a questa opinione è la tesi della dipendenza diretta dell'Epistola dalle opere qumraniche su Melchisedek, sostenuta da alcuni studiosi, tra i quali J.T. Milik, M. de Jonge e A.S. van der Woude[8]. A loro parere, per l'autore dell'Epistola agli Ebrei il Melchisedek di Gn 14,18-20 sarebbe un arcangelo, il quale, nel Sal 110(109) verrebbe rivestito anche della dignità sommosacerdotale. L'agiografo, quindi, sarebbe venuto a conoscenza del ruolo attribuito a Melchisedek nelle opere qumraniche. Questi studiosi, però, non offrono — a mio parere — effettivi supporti nei testi. Emblematico è il fatto che J.T. Milik, per dimostrare l'influsso da parte della visione qumranica di Melchisedek sull'Epistola agli Ebrei, giunge a postulare l'esistenza di una versione greca dell'opera aramaica delle *Visioni di 'Amram*, che sarebbe stata conosciuta dall'autore di Ebrei[9]. Questa versione, tuttavia, resta del tutto ipotetica. Apparentemente più attenti al testo di Eb 7, M. de Jonge e A.S. van der Woude insistono sul rapporto di similitudine intercorrente tra Melchisedek e Gesù Cristo al v. 3c (ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ) e al v. 15b (κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα Μελχισέδεκ). Optando per la tesi ontologica dell'arcangelo Melchisedek subordinato al Figlio di Dio, essi sono costretti a rifiutare l'interpretazione esclusivamente letterario-scritturistica della figura di Melchisedek[10], la quale è molto più fedele ai dati testuali dell'Epistola.

[7] Cfr. A. Vanhoye, *Prêtres anciens, Prêtre nouveau selon le Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1980), p. 172; W.L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8* (Word Biblical Commentary, Volume 47^A; Dallas, 1991), p. 161.

[8] Cfr. J.T. Milik, '4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène', *Revue Biblique* 79 (1972), pp. 77-97, in particolare p. 93; A.S. van der Woude, 'Melchisedek als himmlischen Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midrashim aus Qumran Höhle XI', *Oudtestamentlische Studien* 14 (1965), pp. 354-373, in particolare p. 372; M. de Jonge - A.S. van der Woude, '11Q Melchizedek and New Testament', *New Testament Studies* 12 (1965-1966), pp. 301-326, in particolare pp. 321-322.

[9] Cfr. J.T. Milik, '4Q Visions', p. 94.

[10] Cfr. M. de Jonge - A.S. van der Woude, '11Q Melchizedek', p. 321.

2.3. Tra questi due poli, si colloca uno spettro di pareri più variegati ed ambigui, come quello di C. Spicq[11]. Questa tendenza si limita a sottolineare le analogie intercorrenti tra i due ritratti di Melchisedek, mettendone quasi in sordina le differenze.

In questa situazione piuttosto fluida degli studi, si colloca la nostra proposta, per ora soltanto enunciata nelle sue linee programmatiche.

3. Proposta di un itinerario di studio

3.1. Partiamo da un dato di fatto: esclusi i documenti posteriori al I secolo d.C., che conoscevano, in modo più o meno diretto, l'Epistola agli Ebrei, le somiglianze riscontrabili tra il personaggio neotestamentario e quello di altri scritti precristiani — di ambito asmoneo, samaritano, giudaico-ellenistico e targumico — appaiono inferiori all'insieme di analogie reperibili dal confronto tra le pericopi melchisedekiane di Ebrei (4,15-5,10; 6,20-7,28) e l'insieme degli scritti qumranici, in cui il nome di Melchisedek è attestato — *11QMelkî-ṣedeq* (11QMelch) e *Apocrifo della Genesi* (1QapGen xxii 13-17) — o congetturato — *Visioni di 'Amram* (4Q'Amram[b] 2 1-6; 3 1-2) e *Cantici dell'Olocausto del Sabato* (4Q**401** 11 1-3)[12] —.

3.2. La constatazione dell'identità angelica del Melchisedek qumranico sollecita un approfondimento ulteriore del confronto in senso angelologico, il più delle volte non adeguatamente considerato dagli studi specifici su Melchisedek. D'altronde, tale ampliamento dello spettro d'indagine si rivela decisivo ai fini della determinazione di un rapporto eventuale tra Ebrei e Qumran. Riteniamo, che, soltanto nell'orizzonte angelologico più ampio dell'Epistola agli Ebrei (1,1-2,18; 12,14-29; 13,1-6) e dei suddetti manoscritti qumranici, si possa conseguire lo scopo specifico di uno studio sulla duplice presentazione di Melchisedek, finalizzato a verificare l'esistenza di connessioni letterarie o tematiche. Questa convinzione assurge così a 'precomprensione' ermeneutica — non a 'pregiudizio' — dell'indagine.

4. Alcuni spunti di soluzione

Nella consapevolezza della necessità di uno studio molto più dettagliato e complesso del presente contributo, ci limitiano a suggerire soltanto alcuni esiti della nostra ricerca, che è ancora attualmente in corso.

[11] Cfr. C. Spicq, 'L'épître aux Hébreux, Apollos, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran', *Revue de Qumrân* 1 (1959), pp. 365-390, in particolare pp. 380-381.

[12] Le abbreviazioni dei nomi dei documenti qumranici sono prese da J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Major Publications and Tools for Study* (Atlanta, 1990, Rev. Ed.), pp. 243-246.

4.1. In primo luogo, il nostro parere è che non sia possibile sostenere, semplicemente sulla base di alcune assonanze superficiali, che la riflessione melchisedekiana condotta dall'Epistola agli Ebrei sia in un rapporto di dipendenza diretta dalla letteratura essenica finora scoperta a Qumran. Se sono innegabili alcune somiglianze reperibili dal confronto tra il Cristo glorioso dell'Epistola e il Melchisedek escatologico degli scritti qumranici, la loro causa è da individuare in un pensiero simbolico, avente un medesimo punto di partenza — il Melchisedek re e sacerdote dell'Antico Testamento —; nel medesimo intento di delineare una figura di mediazione salvifica tra Dio e l'umanità[13]; e, in negativo, in una presa di posizione critica nei confronti di un modo di intendere il sacerdozio[14].

Al di là di queste ed altre somiglianze più superficiali, lo sviluppo argomentativo globalmente inteso ha seguìto, in Ebrei e a Qumran, percorsi evolutivi divergenti sotto il profilo del metodo, ma specialmente del contenuto.

Innanzitutto, dal punto di vista metodologico, nell'Epistola agli Ebrei, è chiara la chiave ermeneutica di rilettura del Sal 110,4 (Eb 7,11-28) e, attraverso esso, di Gn 14,18-20 (Eb 7,1-10). La constatazione che il ricorso di Ebrei alla figura di Melchisedek non sia fine a stesso, ma sia subordinato all'approfondimento della riflessione sul sacerdozio di Cristo, segna una prima innegabile differenza rispetto a tutti e quattro i documenti melchisedekiani di Qumran, in cui non viene mai istituito un rapporto di prefigurazione tra il Melchisedek veterotestamentario e il Melchisedek celeste. L'esperienza attuale di fede consente all'autore di Ebrei di contemplare nel Cristo glorioso il compimento assoluto e definitivo dell'oracolo del Salterio, ossia la realizzazione di un sacerdozio eterno 'secondo l'ordine di Melchisedek'. In questa luce, la figura genesiaca assurge a prefigurazione del Cristo glorificato, Figlio di Dio. Il procedimento ermeneutico, che rispetto agli scritti qumranici risulta molto più fedele alle fonti bibliche, è di tipo 'prefigurativo'. Perciò, non solo differisce dai generi letterari della visione o del testamento (4Q^{c}Amram^{b} 2 1-6; 3 1-2) e del cantico (4Q**401** 11 1-3), ma non coincide neppure semplicemente con un *midrash* o un *pesher* di Gn 14,18-20[15], paragonabile con il genere letterario di 11QMelch e di 1QapGen xxii 13-17.

[13] Secondo un impianto teologico già elaborato nell'Antico Testamento, all'istituto della regalità e a quello del sacerdozio soggiace un'unica infrastruttura soteriologica, cioè la mediazione tra Dio e l'umanità. Cfr. E.C. Blackman, 'Mediator, Mediation', in: G.A. Buttrick *et alii* (edd.), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* III (New York - Nashville, 1962), pp. 320-331, in particolare p. 322; A. Robert; 'Médiation. III. Dans l'Ancien Testament', in: L. Pirot *et alii* (edd.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément* V (Paris, 1957), coll. 997-1020, in particolare coll. 1003-1008; A. Oepke, 'μεσίτης, μεσιτεύω', in: G. Kittel (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* IV (Stuttgart, 1942), p. 615; R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament*. II (Paris 1991), pp. 210-211.

[14] Cfr. Eb 7,11: ma anche 7,18-19; 8;13; 10,9.18; con: 1QpAb vi 1-7; ix 2-12.

[15] Lo sostiene, invece, J.A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London, 1974), pp. 221-222, il quale, alla nota n° 2, cita a sostegno della sua opinione:

D'altro canto, per quanto riguarda gli scritti melchisedekiani di Qumran — se 1QapGen xxii 13-17 viene considerato a se stante —, non compare alcuna citazione esplicita né della pagina genesiaca né di quella del Salterio.

4.2. Ma le differenze sono rilevanti soprattutto a riguardo della teologia globale emergente dalle opere in questione. Non potendo ora vagliare le varie prospettive (soteriologica, storica, gloriosa, escatologica, messianica e prefigurativa), su cui si stagliano le molteplici differenze tra i due termini del confronto, accenniamo soltanto alla categoria sintetica della mediazione salvifica.

La concezione dell'Epistola circa la mediazione sacerdotale 'secondo l'ordine di Melchisedek', realizzata da Gesù Cristo, perviene ad un perfetto equilibrio tra gli elementi essenziali della 'dimensione verticale' — il rapporto obbedienziale con Dio — e quelli della 'dimensione orizzontale' — la relazione solidale con gli uomini —. Sia in 4,15-5,10 che in 7,1-28, l'autore ribadisce, secondo ottiche differenti, che la condizione necessaria della salvezza per l'umanità consiste nell'accoglienza attiva dell'intervento mediatore di Gesù Cristo (cfr. soprattutto 7,25); così da entrare in contatto esistenziale con l'obbedienza (τὴν ὑπακοήν, 5,8c) imparata e vissuta in maniera singolare dal Figlio (5,8a). Nella passione, Cristo ha accettato sofferenze che per Lui, in quanto Figlio (5,8a), non erano né utili né tanto meno meritate. Ha acquisito così una 'sovrabbondanza' di obbedienza, che possiede un'efficacia salvifica per tutti gli uomini. Data la solidarietà del sommo sacerdote con l'umanità, l'esito di questo rapporto obbedienziale degli uomini rispetto alla 'causa della salvezza' (5,9b) e al 'garante di un'alleanza migliore' (7,22) è la recezione da parte loro di tali effetti salvifici. In questo modo, si realizza nei credenti lo stesso processo di τελείωσις ('perfezionamento') della natura umana operatosi nella persona di Gesù Cristo (5,9a; 7,28c), da cui consegue l'effettiva possibilità di accesso all'incontro con Dio (7,25; cfr. anche 6,19b).

Nei manoscritti melchisedekiani di Qumran, l'elaborazione teologica non è pervenuta ad un impianto altrettanto saldo ed equilibrato. Da un lato, Melchisedek appare come colui che porta la salvezza di Dio agli uomini. A questo esito salvifico universale è finalizzato l'espletamento da parte sua dell'azione di modello regale, che troverà il suo compimento escatologico, attraverso il giudizio e la sconfitta definitiva degli esseri angelici e umani contrari a Dio (11QMelch). Anzi, questo intervento si attua fin d'ora, per mezzo di una contesa giudiziaria sulla sorte delle singole persone (4Q'Amram^{b}). A questa prima serie di interventi salvifici, ne vanno aggiunti altri due di carattere più specificamente sacerdotale: l'attuale mediazione cultuale, che è compiuta in cielo dal sacerdote angelico Melchisedek e di cui sono fatti misticamente partecipi i celebranti terreni (*Cantici dell'Olocausto del Sabato*); nonché, probabilmente,

R. Bloch, 'Midrash', in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplement* V (Paris, 1957), coll. 1263-1281, in particolare 1279 e H. Rusche, 'Die Gestalt des Melchisedek', *Münchener theologischen Zeitschrift* 6 (1955), pp. 230-252.

la purificazione escatologica dei peccati (11QMelch). Dall'altro lato, Melchisedek non è affatto un uomo. Il personaggio appartiene all'ambito celeste, angelico, trascedente. Lo si chiama Melchisedek e lo si riveste di simboli angelici a motivo del rigido monoteismo giudaico e, dunque, anche essenico, così da salvaguardare la trascendenza di JHWH[16]. Ma, Melchisedek rischia di non distinguersi più da una semplice personalizzazione simbolica di JHWH nel suo agire 'economico'; tanto più che gli vengono attribuiti gli appellativi stessi di Dio.

Proprio per questa ragione, però, il versante antropologico della categoria di mediazione non viene illustrato in modo coerente. L'intervento salvifico definitivo è estrinseco rispetto alla natura umana. Non si comprende quale sia la dinamica ontologica, attraverso la quale i membri dell'eredità di Melchisedek ricevono la purificazione della natura umana, che permette loro l'accesso alla salvezza. L'esito di questa insufficienza nell'elaborazione della categoria di mediazione all'interno degli scritti melchisedekiani attesta che queste opere ripropongono una soteriologia fondata, in sostanza, sul sistema sacerdotale dell'Antico Testamento[17], con la differenza che esso viene sganciato dal centralismo cultuale gerosolimitano. Questi scritti ribadiscono una logica di separazione della figura del mediatore nei confronti degli uomini, la quale connota il sacerdozio dell'Antico Testamento[18], fin dal suo momento originario (cfr. Es 32,29; Dt 33,9). L'elaborazione della fisionomia di Melchisedek rappresenta l'estremizzazione dell'assioma presupposto nella teologia del sacerdozio veterotestamentario, secondo cui l'accesso alla sfera sacrale di Dio equivale ad una dissociazione assoluta del mediatore dal profano e dall'impuro[19]. Emblematico, a questo proposito, è il quadro d'insieme emergente dai *Cantici dell'Olocausto del Sabato*, in cui le prescrizioni rubricali delle pagine liturgiche veterotestamentarie trovano la loro giustificazione ed esaltazione somma, essendo inquadrate nella cornice cultuale dei cieli. Anzi, si deve ammettere che la carica sacerdotale, venendo affidata nei *Cantici* a degli esseri angelici, è preservata da ogni possibile cantatto con il profano. Incrementando la medesima logica dell'Antico Testamento, si garantisce a questi sacerdoti angelici la possibilità di un tempio celeste[20], come spazio sacro; di un calendario litur-

[16] Cfr. P. Sacchi, 'Enoc Etiopico 91,15 e il problema della mediazione', *Henoch* 7 (1985), pp. 257-269, in particolare p. 267.

[17] Cfr. J. Coppens, 'Les affinités qumrâniennes de l'épître aux Hébreux (II)', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 84 (1952), pp. 257-282, in particolare p. 266.

[18] Cfr. A. Vanhoye, *Prêtres*, pp. 43-54.

[19] Cfr., ad esempio, 4Q**400** 1 i 20; 1 ii 2,4; 2 4; 4Q**401** 14 i 6; 4Q**403** 1 i 30; MasShirShabb i 9,12.

[20] Cfr. le espressioni di 4Q**400** 1 i 13: בהיכלי מלך, 'nei templi del re'; 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7: להיכלי כבודו, 'per i suoi templi gloriosi'. Per altre indicazioni sugli spazi sacri, rinviano a: M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran. A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield, 1992), pp. 237-238; C.A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. A Critical Edition* (Atlanta, 1985), pp. 39-58.

gico[21] corrispondente a quello terrestre, come tempo sacro; e di un ciclo di riti liturgici[22], come azioni sacre. Tutto questo apparato è in funzione dell'incontro degli uomini con Dio; ma, di fatto, l'incontro avviene tra gli angeli e Dio. Mediante questa concezione, quindi, la comunità settaria di Qumran prende le distanze dal centro religioso gerosolimitano e dalla corruzione in cui era caduto l'istituto sacerdotale e, in particolare, sommosacerdotale. Essa, però, rimane incapace di sottoporre ad una critica radicale l'infrastruttura teologica che animava tale apparato cultuale, non comprendendo l'inefficacia salvifica di una mediazione di questo tipo.

4.3. Liberato il campo da facili concordismi, l'analisi sincronica dei manoscritti è in grado di evidenziare l'inizio logico — non cronologico — delle speculazioni qumraniche (1QapGen xxii 13-17), che resta molto aderente al racconto di Gn 14,18-20. D'altro canto, è attestato pure il suo momento conclusivo (11QMelch), in cui Melchisedek è dipinto, per certi versi, come figura escatologica, regale e, forse, sommosacerdotale[23]; e, per altri, con tratti celesti, angelici, 'super-angelici' e — almeno secondo alcuni interpreti — perfino ipostatico-divini[24]. Tra il punto di partenza e quello di arrivo, si collocano le *Visioni di 'Amram* e i *Cantici dell'Olocausto del Sabato*. In essi, si constata un grado evolutivo inferiore rispetto a quello di 11QMelch. Nella prima delle due opere, Melchisedek è un angelo, ma non è sicuramente un sommo sacerdote. Nella seconda, invece, viene elaborata una visione del culto celeste, a cui lo stesso angelo Melchisedek prende parte rivestito della dignità sacerdotale e, forse, sommosacerdotale[25]. Si può affermare, allora, che il ritratto 'prismatico' del protagonista di 11QMelch risulta essere l'esito della fusione di modelli regali e sacerdotali, ben radicati a livello veterotestamentario, con un filone angelologico, sviluppatosi nel giudaismo in genere e nella letteratura qumranica in specie, che proietta nella sfera celeste le funzioni cultuali dell'istituzione sacerdotale.

4.4. Da questi rilievi consegue la nostra proposta di indirizzare la ricerca di eventuali punti di contatto tra la letteratura qumranica e l'Epistola agli Ebrei sul piano angelologico. Ne diamo soltanto un esempio.

[21] Ci riferiano in particolare all'indicazione cronologica posta all'inizio di ogni *Cantico*: 4Q**400** 1 i 1; 4Q**400** 3 ii 8; 4Q**401** 1-2; MasShirShabb i 8-9; 4Q**403** 1 ii 18 [= 4Q**405** 8-9 1-2]; 4Q**405** 20 ii-21-22 §-7 [= 11QShirShabb 3-4 8-9) (cfr. C.A. Newsom, *Songs*, 6).

[22] Basti ricordare: il rito espiatorio (ויכפרו, 'ed essi propiziano', 4Q**400** 1 i 16), i riti sacrificali (לזבחי ק־ושים, 'per i sacrifici dei santi', 11QShirShabb 8-7 2; cfr. anche 4Q**405** 94 2), le offerte (מנחותם, 'delle loro offerte'), le libagioni (נסכיהם, 'delle loro libagioni'; 11QShirShabb 8-7 2-3); senza contare gli innumerevoli atti di benedizione (ברך, 'benedizione', 4Q**403** 1 ii 11,12,13,32; 4Q**404** 7 3; 4Q**405**-15 i 2,3; 4Q**405** 20ii-21-22 12,13; 4Q**405** 23 i 7).

[23] Cfr. לכפר ('per espiare', 11QMelch ii 8).

[24] Cfr. J.T. Milik, 'Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-resha' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 23 (1972), pp. 95-144, in particolare p. 125.

[25] Rinviamo alla posizione autorevole di C.A. Newsom, *Songs*, 37. Cfr. anche ויכפרו ('ed essi propiziano', 4Q**400** 1 i 16).

Il dualismo storico o monoteistico di Qumran[26], reso immaginificamente attraverso lo sviluppo di una simbolica angelico-militare[27] già presente in ambito veterotestamentario[28], ha delle ovvie implicazioni a livello etico. Nella concezione qumranica, la coabitazione degli angeli nella comunità della nuova alleanza[29] diventa una delle ragioni principali per incrementare il carattere intransigente e puntiglioso dell'osservanza della legge divina e, in particolare, dei precetti di purità[30]. Questa comunione mistica[31], che viene sperimentata fin d'ora al livello cultuale della 'comunità-tempio'[32], ma che troverà il suo compimento definitivo nell'ambito escatologico della Gerusalemme celeste[33], è un promettente sentiero di approfondimento ai fini del confronto con l'Epistola agli Ebrei (12,22-24).

Se, dunque, non si può sostenere una dipendenza dell'Epistola dalla letteratura essenica specificamente a riguardo del personaggio di Melchisedek, è verosimile che l'agiografo abbia fatto ricorso a molteplici nozioni angelologiche, ben attestate anche — ma non esclusivamente — nei rotoli del Mar Morto. Ci pare che è proprio nell'angelologia che vada ricercato il nesso sotterraneo che, per mezzo delle speculazioni cristologiche ed angelologiche dell'Epistola agli Ebrei, oltre che degli Apocrifi cristiani dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento[34], radica la cristologia angelica[35] degli albori della tradizione patristica allo sfondo giudaico. Se in un filone teologico del giudeo-cristianesimo, viene accolta l''identificazione' del Cristo preesistente con l'arcangelo Michele[36] e se nella letteratura qumranica Michele e Melchisedek sono accomunabili — se non addirittura assimilabili[37] — sulla base dei medesimi

[26] Cfr. M. Delcor, '[Qumrân et découvertes au désert de Juda:] V. Doctrines des esséniens', in: L. Pirot *et alii* (edd.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément* IX (Paris, 1979), coll. 960-980, in particolare p. 972.

[27] Cfr. 1QH iii 35-36; 1QM vii 6; XII 8-9.

[28] Cfr. 2 Mac 10,29-30; 11,8.10 (cfr. 3,24-26). Cfr. M. Delcor, 'Doctrines', col. 970; Id., *Les Hymnes de Qumran [Hodayot]. Texte hébreu, Introduction, Traduction, Commentaire* [Paris, 1962], 41.

[29] Cfr. 1QM x 9-11; 1QS^a ii 8-9.

[30] Cfr. 1QS^a ii 3-9; 1QM vii 6.

[31] Cfr. M. Delcor, 'Doctrines', col. 970; Id., *Hymnes*, p. 41.

[32] Cfr. 1QS viii 5-6; xi 8.

[33] Si legga, ad esempio, 1QS^b iv 25. Cfr. M. Delcor, *Hymnes*, col. 971; B. Gärtner, *The Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 16-30.

[34] Cfr. B. Studer - C. Carletti, 'Angelo', in: A. Di Berardino (ed.), *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* I (Casale Monferrato, 1983), coll. 195-203, in particolare p. 195. Si legga anche M. Simonetti, 'Cristologia giudeocristiana. Caratteri e limiti'; *Augustinianum* 28 (1988), pp. 51-69; ripubblicato in: Id., *Studi sulla cristologia del II e III secolo* (Roma 1993), pp. 7-22, in particolare pp. 8-9 [citato dalla seconda pubblicazione].

[35] Sull'adozionismo della *Engelchristologie*, cfr. A. Orbe, 'Introduzione', in: Id. (ed.), *Il Cristo. I. Testi teologici e spirituali dal I al IV secolo* (Fizzonasco, ^{3}1990), pp. XLVII-LVIII.

[36] Cfr. J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Bonn, 1941), pp. 192-223; J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-christianisme* (Tournai, 1958), pp. 171-177; M. Simonetti, 'Cristologia giudeocristiana', p. 9.

[37] A sostenere la coincidenza di Michele con Melchisedek sono: J.T. Milik, 'Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkîresha'', pp. 142-143; Id., '4Q Visions', p. 86; É. Puech, *Croyance*, II, pp. 548-550; A.S. van

appellativi[38], dell'identica natura 'sovra-angelica' e della somiglianza di funzioni[39], si intravvede la fecondità di uno studio ulteriore incentrato non direttamente sul confronto tra il Cristo di Ebrei e il Melchisedek qumranico, bensì sugli eventuali tratti 'angelici' del Cristo di Ebrei e l'immaginario simbolico dell'angelologia di Qumran.

der Woude, 'Melchisedek', pp. 369-372. Più cauta è la posizione sostenuta da M. de Jonge - A.S. van der Woude, '11Q Melchizedek', p. 305. Infine, a questa tesi si oppone J. Carmignac, 'Le Document de Qumrân sur Melkisédeq', *Revue de Qumrân* 27 (1970), pp. 343-378, in particolare pp. 364-365.

[38] Cfr. 4Q'Amram[b] 3 2-3; '([Io ho] tre nomi [ed essi sono: Michele e Principe della luce e Melkîsedeq; ...)'.

[39] Cfr. le funzioni escatologiche di tipo militare e giuridico espletate da Michele in 1QM xvii 5-9 (ma anche 4Q**491** 11 i 8-18; 4Q**471**) con quelle di Melchisedek in 11QMelch ii 8-11, 13-15, 23-25.

From Justin to Pepys:
The History of the Harmonized Gospel Tradition

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Treatments of the harmonized gospel tradition usually follow one of two paths. Either they focus on only Tatian and his Diatessaron, or they deal with only a single pericope or witness.

Both of these norms will be transgressed in this study, for it seeks to offer an overview — a *tour d'horizon*, if you will — of a literary genre: gospel harmonies. Tatian will, of course, loom large in this scheme, but our survey will not be limited to him and his Diatessaron. Rather, we will take bird's eye view of gospel harmonies, commencing with their *pre*-Tatianic origins in the writings of Justin Martyr (who died sometime between 163 and 167 CE), and continuing down through the late Middle Ages. We will conclude with the Chemnitz-Leyser-Gerhard harmony, published in 1652. Compiled by three generations of Germans, this harmony was not, however, the only one circulating in the seventeenth century, for at the same time the library of the English diarist Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) contained a Middle English manuscript (now in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, catalogued as MS Pepys 2698, and known to scholarship as the 'Pepysian Harmony') which is today recognized as the sole surviving witness in English to Tatian's Diatessaron[1].

1. Justin

To the casual observer it may seem odd to commence with Justin, for the harmonized gospel tradition is usually thought to have commenced with *Tatian*. Why, then, begin with Justin?

The reason is simple. As long ago as 1814, Johann Christian Zahn opined that Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, his 'memoirs of the apostles' — the gospel text from which he frequently (always?) quotes — were, in fact, for all practical purposes, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*[2]. And

[1] *The Pepysian Harmony*, ed. M. Goates (EETS O.S. 157; London, 1922).

[2] J.C. Zahn, 'Ist Ammon oder Tatian Verfasser der ins Lateinische, Altfrankische und Arabische übersetzten Evangelien-Harmonie? und was hat Tatian bei seinem bekannten Diatessaron oder Diapente vor sich gehabt und zum Grunde gelegt'? in *Analekten für das Studium der*

quotations from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* — at least that is the name Epiphanius gives the source he cites in the 30th book of his *Panarion*[3] — show that this now-lost Judaic-Christian gospel was a harmonized work, composed from the three synoptic gospels (or, more likely, early versions of them)[4]. Zahn's suspicion has been echoed by many scholars since then[5]. His hunch was based on textual as well as circumstantial evidence. Let us consider both in turn.

First, the textual evidence. The source Justin is citing shares several distinctive variant readings with the document cited by Epiphanius. Both, for example, report that a 'fire' (πῦρ) or 'light' (φῶς) shone in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism; both have the voice from heaven give the 'full' text of Ps. 2.7 when Jesus is baptized: 'this day I have begotten/generated you'[6]. These textual agreements suggest a common source.

Second, the circumstantial evidence. Justin's gospel citations are difficult to categorize, for they range from fairly lengthy quotations to allusions of a few words. Two characteristics are, however, clear. (1) The longer the citation, the more obvious it is that it is harmonized[7]. Zahn knew this; it is apparent to anyone who examines Justin's text. (2) The harmonizations consist of passages drawn *only* from the three synoptic gospels; Johannine elements are absent. Zahn knew that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, cited by

exegetischen und systematischen Theologie, edd. C.A.G. Keil and H.G. Tzschirner, Band II, Theil 1 (Leipzig, 1814), pp. 206-207.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.12.2-7 and 30.16.4. The quotations are readily available in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 153-158, with notes identifying the sources of the texts harmonized.

[4] Because of what appear to be 'primitive' variants, especially those congenial with a 'low' Christology, and because these same variants appear in our oldest citations from the gospels (*e.g.*, in Justin Martyr), it seems clear that they antedate the 'edition' of the gospels found in P^{75}-B-א. These primitive elements are especially apparent in the baptismal sequence (*Pan.* 30.13.7-8). See also the sources cited *infra*, n. 10.

[5] So H. Olshausen, *Die Echtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien...* (Königsberg, 1823), p. 335; J.R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (Cambridge, 1890), pp. 54, 56; E. Lippelt, *Quae fuerint Justini Martyris ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ quaeque ratione cum forma evangeliorum Syro-Latina cohaeserint* (Halle, 1901), p. 36; A. Baumstark, 'Die syrische Übersetzung der Titus von Bostra und das Diatessaron', *Bib.* 16 (1935), pp. 291-299; A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (NT.S 17; Leiden, 1967), p. 142; D.A. Bertrand, 'L'Évangile des Ébionites: Une harmonie évangelique antérieure au Diatessaron', *NTS* 26 (1980), p. 550; W.L. Petersen, 'Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ', *NTS* 36 (1990), pp. 512-534; M.-É. Boismard with the collaboration of A. Lamouille, *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin* (EtB 17; Paris, 1992). Although not specifically identifying it as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, L. Cerfaux, 'Remarques sur le texte des évangiles à Alexandrie au IIe siècle', *EThL* 15 (1938), pp. 674-82, also detected a harmony anterior to the Diatessaron.

[6] *Pan.* 30.13.7 (*Epiphanius I, Ancoratus und Panarion (1-33)*, ed. K. Holl (GCS 25; Leipzig 1915), p. 350.

[7] This is evident from even the most cursory perusal of the sayings of Jesus quoted by Justin: see Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 33-35, 39-40, 77-78, 80-81, 87, etc.

Epiphanius, also appeared to be a harmony, which also incorporated only synoptic texts.

Zahn was no fool; he drew the obvious conclusion: when Justin set about composing his *Apology* and *Dialogue with Trypho* in the 140s and 150s, his gospel citations were drawn from the already-existing harmonized source known to Epiphanius as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*[8].

This leads us to our first important observation: the harmonized gospel tradition antedates Tatian, and probably even Justin. The oldest harmony of which we know is the harmony used by Justin — presumably the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*[9].

Of this harmony, we can say little, for neither the citations of Justin nor Epiphanius are large in number, and those which are substantial enough to permit analysis of the harmonizations are even fewer. Nevertheless, three assertions can be made concerning it. First, we can assert that it consisted only of material drawn from the synoptics. Second, we can assert that the form of the gospels incorporated into this harmony was different from the text of the gospels found in P^{75}, in the fourth century uncials B and א, and in the later canonical manuscript tradition[10]. This assertion is not based on surmise, but upon empirical textual datum: the 'fire' in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism, and the 'full' citation of Ps. 2.7 (+ 'this day I have begotten you') are only two of several examples[11]. Third, we can assert that this harmony was used by Tatian when he composed his *Diatessaron*, which was to become the most famous gospel harmony of all time. This all-important point will be discussed later.

2. Other pre-Tatianic harmonies

Before we turn our attention to the Diatessaron itself, we **must mention** three other harmonies which would appear to antedate Tatian.

[8] The title given here, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, seems preferable to the one commonly assigned these qutoations by scholarship: the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*. First, Epiphanius himself calls the source he is citing κατὰ Ἑβραίους (*Pan.* 30.3.7 (ed. Holl, I, 336-337)); second, the title *Gospel according to the Ebionites never* occurs in antiquity, but is entirely the creation of modern scholarship.

[9] It is worth noting that Epiphanius even (apparently) confuses the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* with the Diatessaron: λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι (*Pan.* 46.1.8-9 (*Epiphanius II, Panarion haer. 34-64*, edd. K. Holl and J. Dummer (GCS 66; Berlin 1980[2]), pp. 204-205)).

[10] For additional evidence regarding the deviating form of the earliest gospel text, see also: W.L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 14-24, 384-390, 404-414, and *idem*, 'What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?' in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History*, edd. B. Aland and J. Delobel (Kampen, 1994), pp. 136-152.

[11] Cf. A Resch, *Agrapha. Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente* (TU 30 (NF 15), Heft 4; Leipzig 1906; reprinted: Darmstadt 1967), *idem*, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien, I-V* (TU 10.1-5; Leipzig, 1893-98); Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus*.

First, although they are rarely thought of a such, it is clear that the canonical gospels are, in the strict sense, harmonies of earlier material. Whether one is a Griesbachian (who would argue that Matthew came first, followed by Luke, and finally Mark, who harmonized Matthew and Luke), or a 'four-sourcer' (who would argue that Luke and Matthew harmonized 'Q' with Mark, as well as their own individual 'special' traditions ('special Matthew' and 'special Luke')), it is clear that the canonical gospels are harmonies. This applies even to John, which, through unknown means, incorporates certain synoptic material, a 'signs' source (studied by Fortna[12] and others), and, of course, the quasi-poetic Johannine 'Prologue'.

Second, Eusebius mentions a certain 'Ammonius of Alexandria', about whom we know next to nothing. Altaner and Stuiber call him 'ein Zeitgenosse des Origenes'[13]. It is therefore possible that this shadowy figure might be contemporary with Tatian, or even later than him. Eusebius says that Ammonius created a 'gospel dia tessaron, (in which) he set running beside a section of (the Gospel) according to Matthew the same pericope of the other Gospels' (*Ep. ad Carpianum* 1)[14]. Whether this was a real harmony consisting of conflated sources, or only a primitive synopsis in unclear, but opinion favours the latter; if so, then it would not be a real continuous-text harmony.

Third, Jerome reports on another early harmony, this time composed by Theophilus of Antioch. An opponent of Marcion, Theophilus would have been a contemporary of Justin and, therefore, presumably, slightly older than Tatian[15]. In his *Epistula ad Algasiam* (121) 6, Jerome states that 'Theophilus...put together into one work the words of the four gospels'[16]. Nothing more is know of this work, whether it too was a synopsis or a real harmony. We simply know nothing, and hear nothing more of Theophilus' composition.

3. **Tatian and the autograph Diatessaron**[17]

Tatian, 'the Assyrian', as he describes himself, is credited with compiling the most famous gospel harmony in history, the Diatessaron. Briefly, his career is as follows. Our principal source for his life is his only other extant

[12] R.T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source underlying the Fourth Gospel* (SNTS.MS 11; London, 1970).

[13] B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (Freiburg 1980[9]), p. 210.

[14] Most readily available in Nestle-Aland[26] (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, edd. K. Aland et al. (Stuttgart 1979[26]), p. 73*.

[15] Altaner and Stuiber, *Patrologie*, pp. 75-77.

[16] *Saint Jérome, Lettres, tome VII*, ed. J. Labourt (Paris, 1961), p. 30; also in Migne, *PL* 22, p. 1020.

[17] On Tatian and the Diatessaron, see W.L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (SuppVC 25; Leiden, 1994).

work, his *Oratio ad graecos*[18]. He apparently came from the East, from a family of some means. Like Justin Martyr, he became a wandering student, an *auditor* in a series of philosophical schools. He appears to have passed through Greece, and eventually arrived in Rome. Prior to his apprenticeship with Justin, he seems to have read parts of the Septuagint, and was impressed with it. He converted to Christianity and joined Justin's school. After Justin's death (under the Prefect Rusticus, 163-167 CE), Irenaeus tells us that Tatian became 'puffed up with pride', fell under the spell of the gnostic Valentinus, and became an Encratite[19]. Eusebius tells us that the primitive Roman church expelled him from the congregation in 172[20]; Epiphanius reports that he returned to the East, that his teachings had great influence in the regions around Antioch of Daphne, and that he founded a school in 'Mesopotamia'[21]. We know nothing more.

Only a few manuscripts of the Diatessaron link it with Tatian. One manuscript family of the Arabic Harmony does[22], as does Victor of Capua who, although having discovered a manuscript without a title or an author's name, eventually concludes that the work must be the Diatessaron compiled by Tatian[23].

As remarked earlier, there are textual and sequential agreements between Justin's harmony and witnesses to the Diatessaron[24]. Therefore, we may conclude that Tatian did not create his harmony *de novo*, but built on and modified the pre-existing harmony used by his teacher, Justin. There are also circumstantial reasons for concluding that this was the course of events. First, creating a harmony is a big, complex job. If one already exists, why not adapt it? Second, Justin was not an unknown quantity for Tatian, and one can safely assume that Tatian knew the biblical text cited, expounded, and preached by Justin. Its 'variant' readings ('variants' only from our perspective) undoubtedly would have been important to Justin — and, of course, to his student Tatian — for a text which did *not* contain these particular readings would not have lent itself to the particular exegetical interpretations and theology expounded by Justin. Therefore, it would have been quite natural for Tatian to

18 Edition: *Tatian. Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments*, ed. M. Whittaker (OECT; Oxford, 1983).

19 Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* I.28.1 (*Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, Livre I, tome II*, edd. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau (SC 264), pp. 354-56); cp. Eusebius, *h.e.* IV.29.3 (*Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres I-IV*, ed. G. Bardy, I (SC 31), p. 213).

20 Eusebius, *Chron.*, at the year 172 (*Eusebius Werke VII, Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R. Helm, (GCS 47; Berlin 1956²), p. 206).

21 Epiphanius, *Pan.* 46.1.6-8 (edd. Holl and Dummer, p. 204).

22 MSS A B E and Sbath 1020; see Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, p. 67, n. 92.

23 Ibid., pp. 45-49. The 'anonymous' MS is now lost; Victor, however, ordered a copy made from it, and that copy is now known as Codex Fuldensis (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, MS Bonif. 1).

24 W.L. Petersen, 'Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ', *NTS* 36 (1990), pp. 512-534.

have used Justin's harmony as his point of departure when commencing composition of the Diatessaron.

No copy of the Diatessaron in its original form exists today. Its text must be reconstructed from over 160 individual sources, extant in more than a score of languages[25]. One indisputable fact about the Diatessaron, however, is that it incorporated the Gospel of John — something Justin's harmony did not do. We know this not only from the presence of Johannine passages in all of the witnesses to the Diatessaron, but also from a statement by Dionysius bar Salibi, the Jacobite bishop of Marʿas and Amida, who died in 1171. He reports that the Diatessaron was composed by Tatian, and that its *incipit* was 'In the beginning was the word'[26].

Of the autograph Diatessaron, we know very little. Scholarship has long debated its original language and provenance. Let us follow two lines of inquiry (which will eventually converge), one into the question of the Diatessaron's original language, and one into the history of scholarly discussions about the Diatessaron's provenance.

First, the question of the original language. Proceeding in chronological order, the Diatessaron's original language has been given as Greek by Harnack[27], Syriac by Th. Zahn[28], Greek by von Soden[29], Greek by Vogels[30], Syriac by Plooij[31], Latin by Burkitt[32], Greek by Jülicher[33], and Syriac by Baumstark[34]. Burkitt's suggestion of Latin need not detain us here: it never gained any support, and founders on many empirical facts (among others: that Greek was the language of the Roman church when Tatian was in Rome, that no distinctly Latin idioms or variants survive in the Syriac witnesses, etc.). The arguments given for Greek are as follows: (1) the title (τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων) is Greek; (2) Tatian betrays no knowledge of Syriac in his *Oratio* and, in fact, appears a skilled master of Greek; (3) the very idea that a Syriac text (such as

[25] Cp. the 'Catalogue of Manuscripts of Diatessaronic Witnesses and Related Works' (Appendix I) in Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 445-489.

[26] Dionysius bar Salibi, *Comm. in Evv.* (*Dionysii Bar Salibi, Commentarii in Evangelia*, Vol. II, pt. 1, ed. A. Vaschalde (CSCO 95 (Syri 47); Louvain, 1931), p. 173); reprinted with a translation in Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, p. 59.

[27] A. Harnack, 'Tatian's Diatessaron und Marcion's Commentar zum Evangelium bei Ephraem Syrus', *ZKG* 4 (1881), p. 475.

[28] Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron* (FGNK 1; Erlangen, 1881), p. 238, 329.

[29] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments...*, ed. H. von Soden, Teil I, Abt. II (Berlin 1907), p. 1583.

[30] H.J. Vogels, *Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron* (BSt(F) 16; Freiburg, 1911), p. 144.

[31] D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden, 1923), pp. 68-71.

[32] F.C. Burkitt, 'Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies', *JThS* 25 (1924), pp. 128-130.

[33] A. Jülicher, 'Der Echte Tatiantext', *JBL* 48 (1924), pp. 163-166.

[34] Among other places where he makes this assertion, see esp. A. Baumstark, 'Der Tatiantext von Lk. 24,13', *OrChr* 36 (= III.14) (1939), pp. 19-20.

the Diatessaron, if it were originally composed in Syriac) could have influenced the Greek text of the New Testament was, in the word of von Soden 'unmöglich'; (4) the presence of Diatessaronic readings in our earliest Latin texts in Italy and North Africa (in the gospel citations of Novatian, in the 'Roman Antiphonary', and in the many manuscripts of the Vetus Latina[35]) suggests an early translation into Latin — which is thought to have been more likely from a Greek than a Syriac autograph.

Observe, however, that all of these are purely *rhetorical* arguments. Further, it must be pointed out that *all* of them have been — in some cases, for more than a century — rebutted by *empirical* evidence. As to (1) the Greek title: already in 1888, Theodore Zahn pointed out that Tertullian's Latin work *Scorpiace* (Σκορπιακή) nevertheless bore a Greek title[36]; this was not unusual in antiquity — or today. As to (2), the fact that Tatian never mentions his knowledge of Syriac in his *Oratio*: this is an *argumentum e silentio*; to the contrary, even on the face of it, his self-description in the *Oratio* as being 'an Assyrian'[37] suggests acquaintance with an Eastern language. Regarding (3), the thesis which underlies this argument — namely, von Soden's theory that the 'pure' gospel texts had been corrupted by a single influence, Tatian's Diatessaron[38] — is now dismissed by textual critics as nonsense (and correctly so)[39]. Therefore, the corollary drawn from this flawed thesis, namely, that this corrupting source had to have been Greek, is a *non liquet*. Finally, regarding (4), the presence of readings in the oldest Latin texts which parallel readings in the Diatessaron is beyond dispute[40]. That the translation must have been from *Greek* into Latin is, however, certainly disputable. Already in 1881 Theodore Zahn had noted that the mid-fifth century Latin author Gennadius of Marseille obviously has access to Syriac literature in Latin translation, for Gennadius lists *in Latin* the titles of the *Demonstrations* of Aphrahat, which were written about a century before, in Syriac. No Greek or Latin transltion of the *Demonstrations* is

[35] Diatessaronic variants in these sources have been noted by, among other scholars, A. Baumstark ('Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron', *OrChr* 27 (= III.5) (1930), 1-14; 'Tatianismen im römischen Antiphonar', *OrChr* 27 (= III.5) (1930), 165-174), D. Plooij (*A Primitive Text* and *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden, 1925)), F.H. Chase (*The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* (London, 1893)), and H.J. Vogels (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland* (NTA 8.1; Münster, 1919)).

[36] Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestametlichen Kanons*, Vol. I.1 (Erlangen/Leipzig, 1888), pp. 418-420.

[37] Tatian, *Or*. 42 (ed. Whittaker, pp. 76-77).

[38] H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments...*, Teil I, Abt. II, 1633: 'Tatian's Diatessaron ist im Grund die einzige Quelle für alle irgend bedeutsameren Abwandlungen des Evv-Textes'.

[39] Von Soden has ignored the common tendency of scribes to harmonize gospel passages spontaneously and unconsciously, and the tendency to revise the text to make it agree with later theology: because major variants *antedate* the Diatessaron (in Justin, for example), it is impossible to attribute 'all' significant variants in the gospels to a single source, Tatian.

[40] See the evidence in the sources cited *supra*, n. 35.

known to exist, and no Greek or Latin source (other than Gennadius) lists the titles[41]. In 1888 Zahn adduced additional evidence, citing the fact that a Syrian businessman was appointed bishop of Paris about 590 (according to no less a source than Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* (X.26), who also reports Syriac, Latin, and Hebrew being used in the city of Orléans in 585 (*Hist. Fr.* VIII.1)). Zahn also cited Augustine's reference to Ambrose of Milan's practice of having hymns sung in their original 'oriental' setting (*Conf.* IV.7 (*sic!* should be IX.7))[42].

It is obvious that while the rhetorical arguments for Greek might initially appear impressive, empirical evidence exists to rebut each. But there is also *textual* evidence to suggest that Greek is not the Diatessaron's original language: consider the following example.

Luke 10.33-34 consists of part of the Parable of the Good Samaritan. The standard Greek text is presented below:

(33) Σαμαρίτης δὲ τις ὁδεύων (+ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐκείνῃ 477*) ἦλθεν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν [αὐτὸν] ἐσπλαγχνίσθη, (34) καὶ προσελθὼν κατέδησεν τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ ἐπιχέων ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, ἐπιβιβάσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον κτῆνος (+ et r^2) ἤγαγεν (+ δὲ 1047) αὐτὸν εἰς πανδοχεῖον καὶ ἐπεμελήθη αὐτοῦ.

(33) *And* a certain Samaritan, traveling (+ *in the same way* 477*), came upon him *and* seeing, he pitied (*him*). (34) *And* coming, he bound up his wounds, pouring oil *and* wine; *and* he set him on his own mule (+ and 1047 r^2) he led him into an inn *and* cared for him.

The Latin Vulgate is virtually identical with the Greek:

(33) Samaritanus *autem* quidam iter faciens, venit secus eum: *et* videns eum, misericordia motus est. (34) *Et* appropians alligavit vulnera eius, infundens oleum, *et* vinum: *et* imponens illum in iumentum suum, duxit in stabulum, *et* curam eius egit.

(33) *But* a certain Samaritan as he was journeying, came beside him *and* seeing him, he was moved by pity. (34) *And* approaching, he bound up his wounds, pouring on oil *and* wine: *and* placing him on his beast, he led to an inn *and* took care of him.

As can be seen in both the Greek and the Latin, there are six conjunctions in these two verses. The grammatical construction is good Greek, with five finite verbs, and five participles.

Due to the facts that (1) large portions of the autograph Diatessaron agreed verbatim with the early Greek gospels out of which the Diatessaron (and Justin's harmony) was created, and that (2) throughout the transmission history of the Diatessaron, scribes have been assimilating its deviating readings to the Greek canonical text, Diatessaronic research is always a search for 'what should *not* be there'. In the case of investigating the original language of the Diatessaron, that means hypothesizing that the Diatessaron was origi-

41 Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 311-313.

42 Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, I.1, pp. 415-418.

nally composed in *Greek*, and then seeking evidence to invalidate that assumption.

Because of the possibility that the Eastern witnesses to the Diatessaron had Semitic elements introduced into them when they were translated from this hypothesized Greek original Diatessaron, it is easiest to commence our investigation with the Western Diatessaronic witnesses. In the case before us, *if* the Diatessaron were originally composed in Greek, *then* the text of its Western witnesses should comport quite closely with the features of Greek grammar and syntax found in the parallel passage in the Greek gospels, for their ancestry would have been entirely Western (Greek gospels → Greek autograph Diatessaron → Latin translation of Diatessaron → Western vernacular harmonies [Middle Dutch, Old High and Middle High German, Middle English, etc.]). Let us look at the evidence. Below is the text of the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony for Luke 10.33-34.

Doe gheschide dat en samaritaen quam gaende *al din seluen wech*; *en* alse hi denghenen sach so ontfarments *hem*; *en* hi ghinc ten ghenen daer hi lach *en* bant hem sine wonden *en* ghoeter in olie *en* wyn *en* dar na so sette hine op syn part *en* vurdene in ene herberge *en* plach syns[43].

Then it happened that a Samaritan came going also *that same way*; *and* when he saw that man, he took pity *on him*, *and* he went to the man where he lay, *and* bandaged his wounds, *and* poured oil *and* wine *into them*: *and* after that he set him on his horse, *and* carried him into an inn, *and* took care of him.

Examination shows that the number of conjunctions has grown (from six to nine), and the grammatical structure has also changed: what were participles in the Greek and Latin have now become finite verbs. It should also be noted that the Liège Harmony interpolates 'that same way' as well as two pleonastic pronouns: 'on him' and 'into them'. It could be argued that Middle Dutch, perhaps, requires these changes for syntactic or idiomatic reasons. A look at the Middle High German Zürich Harmony will tell us whether these changes might be Dutch idioms.

Do geschach das ein Samaritani kam gande *den selben weg*. *vnd* do gein gesach do wart er mit barmherzekeit bewegt *vnd* gieng zv ime da er lag *vnd* bant ime sine wunden *vnd* gos *dar in* oele *vnd* win *vnd* dar nach saste er in vf sine viche *vnd* furte in eine herberge *vnd* pflag sin[44].

Then it happened that a Samaritan came going *the same way*. *And* when he saw that man he was moved with compassion *and* went to him where he lay *and* bound up his wounds *and* poured *in them* oil *and* wine *and* after that sat him on his beast *and* went to an inn *and* cared for him.

[43] *The Liège Diatessaron*, edd. D. Plooij, C.A. Phillips, A. Bakker, et al. (VNAW 31.1-8 (Parts 1 & 2 are erroneously labeled VNAW 29); Amsterdam, 1929-70), pp. 482-83.

[44] *Das Leben Jhesu*, ed. C. Gerhardt (CSSN series minor, tome I, Vol. 5; Leiden 1970), p. 107.

Here, in a different Western vernacular harmony, we find the same features we saw in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony: there are nine conjunctions, the participles have been transformed into finite verbs, and 'the same way' and 'in them' have been interpolated.

It is apparent that these features, which are also found in other Western vernacular harmonies related to the Diatessaron[45], are not derived from the Greek or Latin gospel tradition, for they are totally absent from them[46]. Whence, then, do they come? Let us look at the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, and see if they can assist us.

The Arabic Harmony is one of the most important Eastern witnesses to the Diatessaron. Its text runs as follows:

Et l'un des samaritains, pendant qu'il marchait, arriva à l'endroit ou il était *et* le vit *et* eut pitié *de lui*. *Et* il approcha et banda ses blessures *et* y versa du vin *et* de l'huile. *Et* il laissa fit monter sur l'âne *et* l'amena à l'hôtellerie *et* prit soin de lui[47].

Here we note the same number of conjunctions — nine — that we found in the Liège and Zürich Harmonies; we also note the interpolation of 'on him'. As in the Western harmonies, the extra conjunctions are necessary because the (Greek) participles have been made into finite verbs. Let us look next at the Curetonian Syriac (Syr[c]).

ܫܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܚܕ ܟܕ ܪܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܡܛܐ ܠܘܬܗ. ܚܙܝܗܝ، ܘܐܬܪܚܡ
ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܐܬܩܪܒ ܘܚܒܫ ܡܚ̈ܘܬܗ. ܘܐܪܩ ܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܚܡܪܐ ܘܡܫܚܐ. ܘܐܪܟܒܗ
ܥܠ ܚܡܪܗ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܦܘܬܩܐ ܘܬܪܣܝܗ.

But a certain Samaritan, when he was journeying *that same way and* arrived by him, saw him *and* had compassion *on him and* he drew nigh *and* bound up his wounds *and* poured *upon them* wine *and* oil *and* made him ride on his ass *and* brought him to an inn *and* nourished him[48].

This Vetus Syra gospel also has nine conjunctions, *exactly* the same number as the Western Diatessaronic witnesses. The Greek participles have been transformed into finite verbs, as happens so often in Syriac, which (like Hebrew)

[45] This reading and the additional evidence (from the Venetian and Tuscan Harmonies in the West, and from the Persian Harmony and Syr[s.pal] in the East) are discussed in detail in Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 390-397.

[46] The only possible Greek source for the variant 'in the/that same way' in MS 477, which, however, reads it only in the *prima manus*; the corrector removed the interpolation. But more telling is the *date* of MS 477: the thirteenth cent., precisely the century in which the Liège Harmony was copied (*c*. 1280) and which saw a flourishing of harmonies in Europe (see the quotation of Plooij, cited *infra*, n. 108). The older Eastern sources (*e.g.*: Syr[c], the Arabic Harmony) could not have been influenced by MS 477*. Rather, 477* itself seems to have been influenced by the harmonized tradition, but the corrector expunged the intrustion.

[47] *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmardji (Beyrouth, 1935), p. 329.

[48] *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. F.C. Burkitt (Cambridge, 1904), I, p. 315.

disdains subordination and prefers parataxis. We note the same interpolations: 'that same way', 'on him', and 'upon them', which we found in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony. Other Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses with some or all of these features are the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (Syr^{pal}), the Persian Harmony, and the Sinaitic Syriac (Syr^{s}).

The unique details which we observed in the Western harmonies are unparalleled in the entire Greek and Latin gospel manuscript tradition; therefore, these features cannot have been borrowed from the Greek or Latin manuscript tradition. The unique details noted in the Western harmonies are found in *multiple languages* in the West (*e.g.*, Middle Dutch, Middle High German, Middle Italian); therefore, it cannot be argued that they are the result of grammatical or idiomatic changes, required by a particular Western language. When we turn to the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, we find *precisely* the *same* changes there as well: in Syriac, Persian, and Arabic. In the East, these changes are understandable, for all of them are common in translation literature: when Greek texts are translated into Syriac, the number of participles is reduced; this reduction requires the addition of conjunctions to link the finite verbs; pleonastic pronouns abound, the result of suffix pronouns in the Semitic languages.

If the Diatessaron were originally composed in *Greek*, then why does the text of the *Western* Diatessaronic tradition agree with *no* Greek or Latin gospel manuscript? If the Diatessaron were originally composed in Greek, then why do the *Western* Diatessaronic witnesses display — against all the Greek and Latin gospel manuscripts — the distinctive features of a *Semitic* language: parataxis and pleonastic pronouns? And finally, if the Diatessaron were originally composed in Greek, then why do the variant readings in the *Western* Diatessaronic tradition sometimes find their *only* parallel in *Eastern, Semitic*-language witnesses? The answer is clear. The Diatessaron was not composed in Greek.

Both the circumstantial evidence, then, as well as the internal linguistic and textual evidence are unequivocal: *Tatian's* Diatessaron was originally composed in a Semitic language, almost certainly Syriac. Until this empirical evidence has been proven wrong, and some other, reasonable explanation for these 'Syriasms' in *Western* harmonies has been found, it is to be hoped that scholars would refrain from claiming that Greek is the original language, or that 'experts' favour Greek as the original language. Consider the *evidence*, not the received *opinion* which, as demonstrated above, rests on no firmer a foundation than rhetoric.

Having settled the question of the original language, let us take up the second line of investigation, the question of provenance. Here we find a most interesting situation. Other than Th. Zahn, who found for Syriac, and argued that Tatian composed his harmony in Mesopotamia, virtually *all* scholars concluded that Tatian composed his harmony in *Rome*. But here things get

interesting. Harnack said it had been composed in Greek in Rome; but he concluded that a Syriac translation had been made back in the East at a very early date, by a person (or persons) unknown[49]. Vogels said Greek and Rome, but then argued that Tatian himself had made a 'ziemlich wortgetreue' translation into Syriac once back in the East[50]. Von Soden found the same: Greek in Rome, but then Tatian made a Syriac translation once back in the East[51]. Plooij argued for Syriac and Rome, but then stated that a Latin translation must have been made, which was 'nearly contemporary' with the Syriac original[52]. Jülicher also found for Greek and Rome, but also suggested that Tatian (or a younger contemporary) had translated the Diatessaron into Syriac[53]. Burkitt, of course, found for Latin and Rome, but then contended that Tatian had produced a 'second, revised edition' in Syriac once back in (or on his way back to) the East[54]. Baumstark said Syriac and Rome, but said the Syriac original had been immediately translated into Latin[55].

The fact that all of these scholars, regardless of what they considered the autograph language to have been, found it necessary to posit a virtually simultaneous translation into some other language, strongly suggests that something is defective with this model. Like all previous researchers, the present writer also struggled to reconcile the evidence concerning the original language of the Diatessaron with the problem of its provenance. And like all previous scholars, he too was confounded. But then it occurred to him to ask a different question: not *which* (language or place), but *why*: *Why* had all these scholars found it necessary to posit a translation virtually simultaneous with the issuance of the Diatessaron? The answer to this question clarified much.

The reason virtually all scholars felt obliged to posit *two* Diatessarons, one, the original, in language 'A', and a second one, a translation, in language 'B', was that they needed to account for the virtually simultaneous appearance of what they presumed to be 'Diatessaronic' readings in two different languages, in two widely separated geographic areas. They needed to account for the presence of 'Diatessaronic' readings, on the one hand, in Latin in Rome[56], and,

[49] A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der greichischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter* (TU 1.1-2; Leipzig, 1882), pp. 214-215 and 226, n. 289; cp. Harnack's statements in 'Tatian's Diatessaron und Marcion's Commentar zum Evangelium bei Ephraem Syrus', *ZKG* 4 (1881), pp. 492-494.

[50] H.J. Vogels, *Die altsyrischen Evangelien*, p. 144.

[51] H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments...*, Teil I, Abt. II, p. 1583.

[52] D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, pp. 72-74; cp. Plooij, *A Further Study*, pp. 3, 43-44.

[53] A. Jülicher, 'Der Echte Tatiantext', pp. 166-170.

[54] F.C. Burkitt, 'Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies', pp. 127-130, esp. 129-130.

[55] A. Baumstark, 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück griechischen "Diatessaron"textes', *OrChr* 36 (= III.14) (1939), p. 115, n. 1.

[56] Cp. the evidence in the sources cited *supra*, n. 35.

on the other hand, in Syriac in the East[57]. The hypothesis of a translation almost simultaneous with the issuance of the original also allowed for revision of the original in the translation. F.C. Burkitt, for example, called the translation into Syriac a 'second edition', into which Tatian had introduced 'changes and improvements'[58]. This device allowed Brukitt to account for the differences in sequence of pericopes and, occasionally, different readings. Anton Baumstark, detecting two quite different Diatessaronic traditions in the West, even toyed with the idea that there had been 'zwei von Hause aus verschiedenen Übersetzungen eines lateinischen Harmonietextes'. He later rejected the idea, but was still troubled by the differences[59].

It was here that the new evidence of Tatian's dependence upon Justin offers a more satisfactory solution. Rather than the *Diatessaron* being composed in Rome (so Harnack, von Soden, Vogels, Plooij, Jülicher, Baumstark, Vööbus), and leaving *its* imprint on the earliest Latin gospel citations and texts, it was *Justin's* harmony[60] — a work which, in many respects, was largely indistinguishable from *Tatian's* harmony, the *real* Diatessaron[61] — which bequeathed these distinctive variants and harmonizations to the earliest Latin gospel text. This hypothesis also explains the phenomenon first noted by Burkitt — the difference in sequence of harmonization between some Eastern and Western witnesses to the Diatessaron[62], and also the problem which puzzled Baumstark: the seeming presence in the West of *two* harmonized gospel traditions[63].

Working from Justin's harmony — which *was* a Greek harmony, and which *was* composed in or saw prominent circulation in Rome in the 140s through 160s — Tatian created, in Syriac, something which Burkitt described very

[57] Today it is agreed by all who have investigated the texts that the Diatessaron antedates the Vetus Syra. The point was first proven by F. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente. Der griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrers* (Leipzig, 1885), esp. pp. 72-73; it was confirmed by F.C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Cambridge, 1904), Vol. II, 5-6; and again by M. Black, 'The Syriac Versional Tradition', *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland (ANTT 5; Berlin, 1972), 127. The Diatessaron obviously antedates Ephrem, who wrote a commentary on its text; Aphrahat, our earliest Syrian church father, also appears to cite the Diatessaron (see the study of Tj. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (2 vols., Meppel, 1975), esp. Vol. I, p. 350).

[58] F.C. Burkitt, 'Tatian's Diatessaron', p. 130.

[59] He suggests two archetypes in A. Baumstark, 'Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron''-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts', *OrChr* 33 (= III.11) (1936), 87; the citation is from Baumstark's 'Der Cambridger Text des mittelniederländischen *Leven van Jezus*,' *OrChr* 35 (= III.13) (1938), pp. 120-121, in which he withdrew the opinion voiced in the earlier article. His abiding discomfort is voiced in 'Der Tatiantext von Lk. 24,13', *OrChr* 36 (= III.14) (1939), p. 23, n. 1. See further, Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 231-234 and 236-238.

[60] Which might have been the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

[61] This overlap is due, of course, to Tatian's incorporation of Justin's harmony into the 'real' Syriac 'Diatessaron'. Justin's harmony, which excluded Johannine elements, should not be called a dia-*tessaron*, for it does not harmonize *four* gospels.

[62] F.C. Burkitt, 'Tatian's Diatessaron', p. 115.

[63] See the references to Baumstark, *supra*, n. 59.

well, a 'second edition', revised and enlarged. But it was a second, revised edition of *Justin's* harmony, not Tatian's Diatessaron[64]. Working on his way back to the East or in the East, Tatian augmented his beloved teacher's harmony with the Gospel of John. At points, of course, this called for a *resequencing* of Justin's harmony — which explains the differences between East and West. After a brief interval, Tatian issued *his* harmony, the real 'Diatessaron', in Syriac. Nevertheless, because its roots lay in Justin's harmony, it shared many textual agreements — in variants, sequence, and 'extra-canonical' readings — with Justin's Greek harmony.

At a later date, this *Syriac* harmony of *Tatian* — the real 'Diatessaron' of Tatian — was introduced into Europe, in its original Syriac. In the West, it was translated directly from Syriac into Latin, as Th. Zahn and Plooij argued[65]. This accounts for the 'Syriasms' in the text of the Western harmonies — as we have already seen in our example from the Parable of the Good Samaritan. In the West, however, its text became intertwined with that of its ancestor — namely, Justin's Greek harmony — which by this time had also been translated into Latin. These two documents — Justin's harmony and Tatian's Diatessaron — spawned a clutch of medieval harmonies, which we shall examine presently. Here, however, let us summarize the genesis of the Diatessaron.

Tatian's Diatessaron is a harmony, originally composed in Syriac, almost certainly in the East. (This explains the familiarity of the Eastern church with Tatian's harmony, while it remains unknown in the west until Victor of Capua in 546 CE. Readings in the Vetus Latina, Novatian, and the 'Roman Antiphonary', previously and mistakenly attributed to the Diatessaron, should be regarded as stemming from Justin's Greek harmony.) Tatian's Diatessaron was built upon the foundations of Justin's Greek harmony of the synoptics. (This explains, first, the empirical textual agreements between Tatian's harmony and Justin's gospel citations; second, it also explains how supposedly 'Diatessaronic' readings exist in the earliest Latin gospel text: they are not 'Tatianisms' but 'Justinisms'.) Tatian enlarged Justin's harmony, adding pericopes from the Gospel of John, and resequencing it to suit. (This explains how the two families of harmonized texts, Eastern and Western, have so much in

[64] Recently, Tj. Baarda, 'A Staff Only, Not a Stick. Disharmony of the Gospels and the Harmony of Tatian (Matthew 10.9f; Mark 6.8f; Luke 9.3 & 10.4)', *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. J.-M. Sevrin (*BETHL* 86; Louvain, 1989), p. 332, has argued that Tatian, of necessity, before creating his Syriac harmony, would have 'to make first a Greek synopsis of his sources...the next step was to combine and harmonize all the textual elements of his harmony which then could be translated into Syriac'. If Tatian used Justin's harmony (which was, of course, a Greek document), then these preliminary steps ('make a Greek synopsis... (and then) harmonize all the textual elements') which Baarda attributes to Tatian would be obviated, for Justin (or the compiler of Justin's harmony) would have already accomplished them.

[65] See *supra*, nn. 41, 42, and 52; recall Zahn's empirical evidence for direct Syriac-to-Latin translations.

common, yet still differ enough to catch the eye of Burkitt). Introduced into Europe in its original Syriac form, the Diatessaron was translated into Latin, and spawned any number of copies and vernacular translations (hence the Syriasms in Western vernacular harmonies), and began a long process of supplanting, coöpting, and merging with the pre-existing copies of Justin's harmony. (This accounts for Baumstark's wondering if there might have been *two* versions of *Tatian's* Diatessaron in the West: there were not, but there *were* two *harmonies* in the West: Justin's and Tatian's). These two traditions were combined in varying proportions in various locales[66]. It would seem that Justin's harmony continued to have a lasting imprint on the *Western* harmonized tradition, discernible to the eye alerted to that fact.

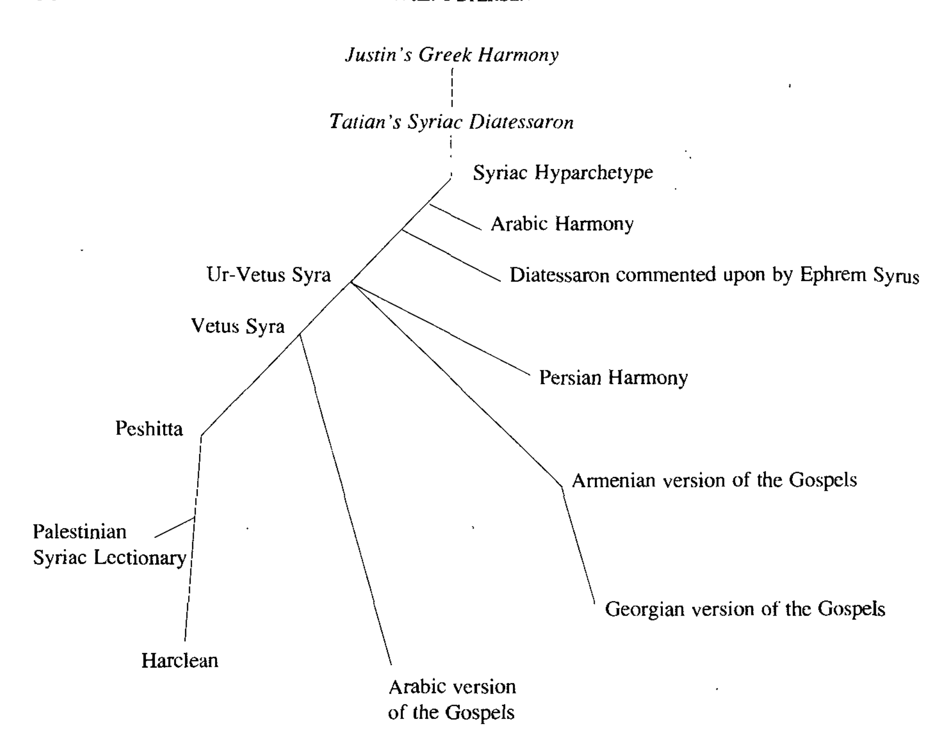
4. The Dissemination of the harmonized traditions

In the beginning there was the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Where and when it was composed, we do not know. It was a harmony which incorporated the synoptics. Justin knew it in Rome in Greek and cited from it: it was his 'gospel'. Tatian revised this, introducing Johannine readings, and translated the resulting work into Syriac, which he introduced into the East. Figure 1 traces the Diatessaron's dissemination in the Orient. A large number of copies must have been made from the Syriac autograph, for the Diatessaron quickly became the standard gospel of the Syrian church[67]. As one might expect, these early copies underwent redaction and modification, leading to textual variations within the Diatessaronic tradition itself. Although Ephrem, who died in 373 CE, composed a commentary on the Diatessaron, Baumstark suggested that, by Ephrem's time, many of the 'original' Diatessaronic readings had already been 'edited out' of the harmony that came into Ephrem's hands. As evidence he adduced a number of passages where the Arabic Harmony gave a 'non-standard' (*i.e.*, deviating) reading, while Ephrem's *Commentary* presented the reading of the Peshitta[68]. This suggested that the roots of the Arabic Harmony are deeper in the Diatessaronic tradition than are the roots of the Diatessaron commented upon by Ephrem.

[66] For example, in one study (W.L. Petersen, 'Textual Evidence', pp. 529, 532, 533-534), seven out of eleven readings whch displayed agreement between the harmonized gospel tradition and Justin, seven were found in Justin and a single western source: the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony, generally considered the leading Western witness to the text of the Diatessaron. This suggests that there is a particularly strong link between the Liège Harmony and Justin's harmony — a link which is not present in other Western Harmonies, such as the Venetian and Tuscan Harmonies in Middle Italian, or the Middle High German Harmonies.

[67] See *infra*, n. 102.

[68] A. Baumstark, 'Zur Geschichte des Tatianstextes vor Aphrem', *OrChr* 30 (= III.8) (1933), pp. 1-12.



STEMMA OF THE EASTERN DIATESSARONIC TRADITION
FIGURE 1

A similar situation seems to prevail when one considers the relation of the Vetus Syra to the Persian Harmony and to the oldest Armenian gospel texts. Both the Persian Harmony and the oldest gospel texts in Armenian evidence a greater number of Diatessaronic variants and more Ditaessaronic harmonizations than do Syr^s and Syr^c. At the same time, experts consider it more likely that the Persian Harmony — which has its own distinct, non-Tatianic sequence of harmonization, and which seems to be the original work of an anonymous harmonist — is dependent on separated Syriac gospels than directly upon a Syriac harmony. Similarly, while it is possible that a Syriac Diatessaron was translated into Armenian, the current consensus favours a translation from the separate Syriac gospels. Yet, since both the Persian Harmony and the oldest Armenian gospel texts contain *more* Diatessaronic variants than the Vetus Syra, they must derive for a point in the tradition anterior to the Vetus Syra. This means we must hypothesize and 'Ur'-Vetus Syra, namely separate Syriac gospels which were more heavily 'tinctured' (to use the word of J.N. Birdsall) with Diates-

saronic readings than are the extant Vetus Syra manuscripts. It is from such a tradition that the Persian Harmony and the Armenian gospel text derives.

Since Georgian Christianity was imported from Armenia, it is not surprising to find that Diatessaronic readings also appear in the oldest gospel texts in Georgian; experts suggest that a separate Armenian gospel text — redolent with Tatianisms — was the base from which the Georgian translation was made.

Wherever Christianity was imported from Syria, there the Diatessaron's text seems to follow. Arabic-language Christianity is no exception, and many manuscripts of the separate gospels in Arabic also contain Diatessaronic readings.

Finally, all of the later Syriac versions (the Peshitta [Syr^{p}], the Jerusalem or Palestinian Lectionary [Syr^{j} or Syr^{pal}], and the Harclean [Syr^{h}]) betray Diatessaronic influence; it is still quite apparent in the Peshitta. Although this imprint diminishes with time, it nevertheless remains. Additionally, all of the early Syrian fathers (Aphrahat, Ephrem), early Syrian Christian literature (the *Doctrina Addai*, the *Liber Graduum*, etc.), as well as many of the later Syrian fathers continue to cite the Diatessaron (sometimes by name), and quote it with reverence (even as late as the ninth century).

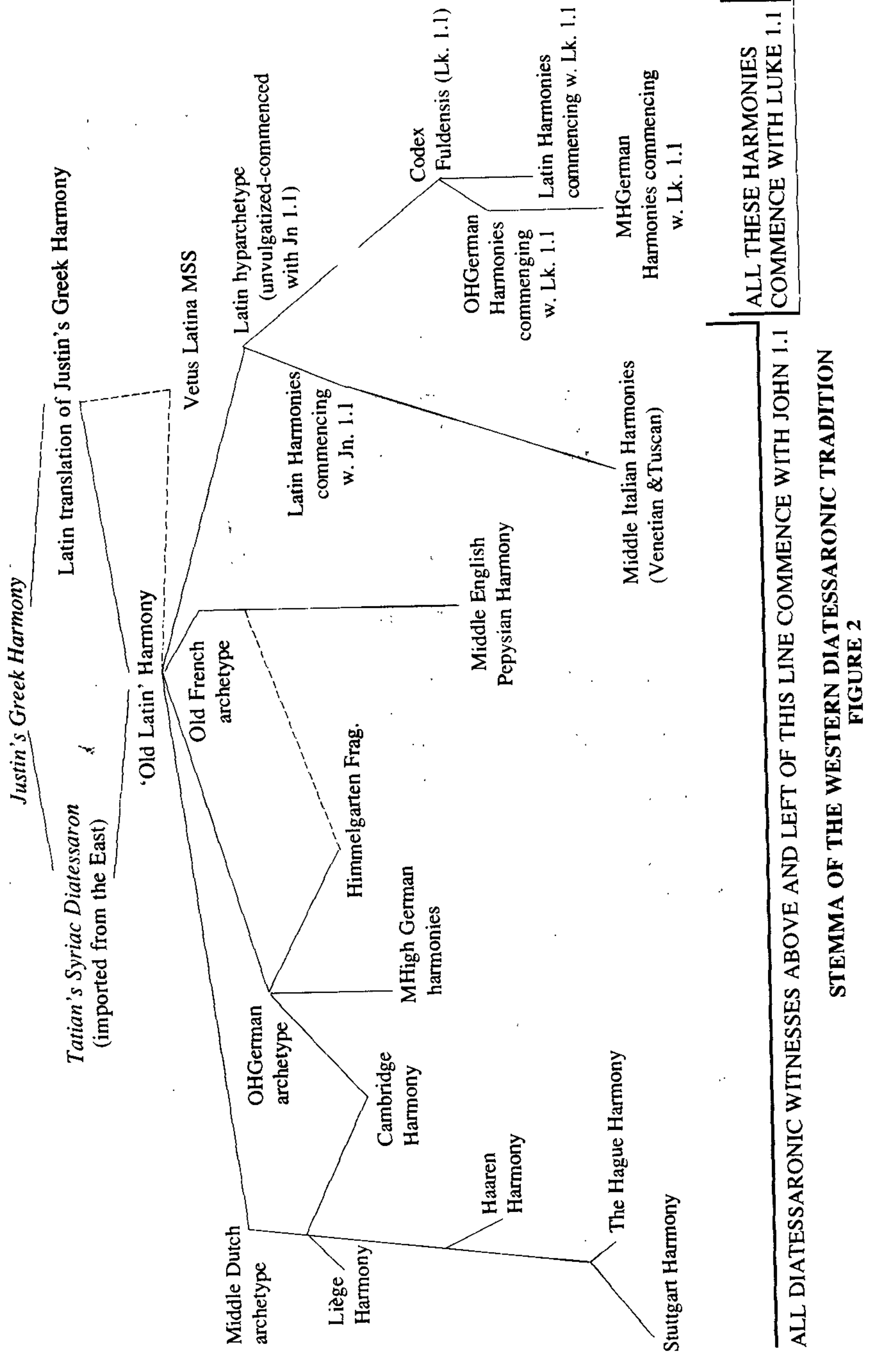
Before leaving the East, attention must be drawn to two other eastern harmonized traditions. Many manuscripts of the Harclean version of the gospels (Syr^{h}) contain a harmony of the Passion Narrative, which is apparently unrelated to the Diatessaronic tradition. Plooij, in fact, wondered if the Dura Fragment, thought by some to be from a Greek Diatessaron, might, in fact, have been a Greek translation of such a Syriac harmony[69]. Second, although scholarship commonly references three manuscripts of the Arabic Harmony (MSS A B E), and another four are catalogued (MSS O, Sbath 1020, Sbath 1280, and the 'Beirut Fragments' [Jesuit Library, MS 429]), and another five are mysteriously mentioned in passing by G. Graf as 'im Privatbesitz'[70], the catalogue of the library of the Syrian cleric Paul Sbath lists a manuscript (MS 1029; sixteenth cent.) as an Arabic gospel harmony, apparently unrelated to the Diatessaron[71]. Whether it is connected with the Persian Harmony, that other Eastern outlier which is clearly translated from a Syriac *Vorlage*, is unknown.

Figure 2 traces the dissemination of the Diatessaron in the West.

[69] D. Plooij, 'A Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek', *ET* 46 (1934-35), p. 476.

[70] G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Vol. I (StT 118; Città del Vaticano, 1944), p. 154; cp. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 133-138.

[71] P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Vol. 2 (Héliopolis. 1928), pp. 141-143; cp. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, p. 136, n. 195.



STEMMA OF THE WESTERN DIATESSARONIC TRADITION
FIGURE 2

Lurking in the background is Justin's Greek harmony, incorporated, on the one hand, into Tatian's Diatessaron and, on the other hand, independently translated into Latin. Once Tatian's Diatessaron had been imported from the East and been translated into Latin, these two Latin harmonies began to influence each other and their progeny.

Whether the Greek Dura Fragment is or is not related to the Diatessaron has been disputed. If it is from a Diatessaron, then its date (pre-256/257 CE) means that it stood in very close proximity to the autograph (Syriac) Diatessaron. In that case, one would have to add a Greek translation of the Diatessaron to the stemma. This Greek translation, however, does not seem to have played any further role in the dissemination of the Diatessaron in the West.

Over a century of scholarship has demonstrated convincingly, by means of abundant textual examples, that Codex Fuldensis, the Latin harmony copied under the direction of Victor of Capua, is *not* the 'Stammhandschrift' of all Western harmonies[72]. Rather, it is clear that a much older Latin version of the Diatessaron once existed, one whose readings show a much greater affinity with the text of the Syriac Diatessaron cited by Ephrem in his commentary, and translated into Arabic in the Arabic Harmony. Plooij called this lost Latin harmony an 'Old Latin' Harmony, because of the 'Old Latin' (= Vetus Latina) character of its text. Because they share variants with this now-lost 'Old Latin Harmony' (and, therefore, with Ephrem and the Arabic Harmony), but *not* with Codex Fuldensis, we must trace the ancestry of the Middle Dutch, Middle Italian, and *some* Old High German, Middle High German, and Latin harmonies back to this mysterious source. The litmus test used in arranging this stemma is the incipit of the harmony. As noted, the autograph Diatessaron began with John 1.1 (bar Salibi asserts this; the first verse commented upon by Ephrem in his *Commentary* is John 1.1; the Arabic Harmony commences with John 1.1). The *incipit* of Codex Fuldensis, however, is Luke 1.1-4. The Middle Dutch family of Harmonies all commence with John 1.1, and contain many agreements with Eastern witnesses (*e.g.*, with the Arabic Harmony, Ephrem, the Persian Harmony) which are, however, lacking in Codex Fuldensis. Of the Dutch harmonies, the Liège Harmony is usually considered the closest to the now-lost Middle Dutch archetype, while the Stuttgart and The Hague Harmonies are the most 'Vulgatized' — that is, conformed to the standard gospel text.

The same situation exists with the German Harmonies. The Middle High German Zürich Harmony commences with John 1.1; therefore, it cannot stem

72 This was asserted by the eminent Germanist, E. Sievers, in the preface to his edition of Codex Sangallensis: *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch, mit ausführlichem Glossar* (BADLD 5; Paderborn, *1872*¹; *1892*²; 2nd edition reprinted, Paderborn, 1960), xviii. This erroneous opinion continues to be repeated (e.g., H. de Boor, *Die deutsche Literatur von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Beginn der höfischen Dichtung* (München, 1949), 42), long after it has been disproven by empirical textual evidence.

from Codex Fuldensis. And although they are in Middle High German, the 'Himmelgarten Fragments' show connexions with the ancient Eastern traditions found in the Middle Dutch harmonies, especially with the Middle Dutch Cambridge Harmony. Therefore, these witnesses stem from the lost 'Old Latin' Harmony, not Codex Fuldensis.

The lone English witness to the Diatessaron, the Middle English 'Pepysian Harmony', preserves many 'Eastern' readings; it is, for example, the sole Western witness to preserve the 'light' at the baptism of Jesus. This indicates that it too descends not from Codex Fuldensis, but from the 'Old Latin' archetype. Interestingly enough, it also proves the existence of a now-lost Old French Harmony, for translation errors show that the Pepysian Harmony was translated from an Old French archetype, not directly from Latin.

Even in Latin itself, we find manuscripts (*e.g.*: Munich Clm. 7,946; Munich Clm. 10,025, Leipzig Cod. lat. 192, Leipzig Cod. lat. 193, Berlin theol. fol. 7) which commence with John 1.1, not Luke 1.1-4. These too must stem from the lost 'Old Latin' harmony. It is from this Latin family of manuscripts which commence with John 1.1 that the Middle Italian family of harmonies must descend: the lone manuscript of the Venetian Harmony, and the 26 manuscripts of the Tuscan Harmony.

Then there is Codex Fuldensis, the thoroughly 'Vulgatized' Latin harmony which commences with Luke 1.1, and whose text is described as a 'very pure Vulgate'. Despite this adulteration, the sequence of harmonization — although tampered with — often matches that of other Diatessaronic witnesses. Codex Fuldensis is indeed the 'Stammhandschrift' of some Latin, Old and Middle High German harmonies, including the famous bilingual Codex Sangallensis (Latin-Old High German).

Finally, we come to the separate manuscripts of the gospels in the pre-Vulgate or Vetus Latina version. These often betray harmonizations and variant readings which are identical with those in Diatessaronic witnesses — but also sometimes with variants in Justin's harmony. Depending upon the date at which the Syriac-to-Latin translation of the Diatessaron was made, these Vetus Latina manuscripts may be reflecting influence from the Diatessaron, or from Justin's pre-Tatianic harmony.

5. Non-Diatessaronic, post-Tatianic harmonies

Commencing in the fourth century and running parallel with but — as far as we now know — independent from the Diatessaron, there are a series of harmonies wich bear mention. Some of them have seen little investigation; others have been studied, but not for their textual complexion. Therefore, it is possible that some student may yet uncover in one of them a link with Justin's harmony or with Tatian's Diatessaron.

First, proceeding chronologically, there is a Latin harmony composed in hexameters by a Spanish cleric, Juvencus, about 330 CE. Because of its early date and language, it should be a prime target for the young graduate student interested in investigating the harmonized gospel traditon in the early church. Editions are available from Cassander (1537), Migne (PG), Marold (1886), and Huemer (1891)[73].

Second, we posses an *Evangelienbuch*, a 7416 line Old High German poem by Otfrid of Weissenburg (*c*. 800-870), commonly known by the short title *Krist*[74]. This work, which presents a harmonized 'life of Jesus', has, however, never been critically examined for connexions with other harmonized traditions. In 1868, E. Windisch mentioned it in connexion with another poetic, harmonized 'life of Jesus', the Old Saxon poem titled *Heliand*[75]. Since that time, *Krist* has occasionally be mentioned by Diatessaronic scholars and adduced for a reading or two[76]. Because of its date — which is close to that of the *Heliand* — and the fact that Otfrid was a student of Rabanus Maurus and visited Fulda (the bishop who may have copied [or ordered copied] Codex Sangallensis, and the place where so much copying of manuscripts related to harmonies in exactly this period took place[77]) — it should be investigated by a Germanist.

Third, we posses a Latin harmony composed by the chancellor of the University of Paris, Johannes Gerson (* 1363-† 1429)[78]. The title of his work, *Monotessaron*, suggests, perhaps, a knowledge of the Diatessaron, as does its method of signaling the source of a pericope. Gerson used a single letter to indicate the gospel being cited: M R L J, for respectively, the four gospels in their usual order[79]. This is the same system and these are the same letters used

[73] Juvencus, *Gai Vetti Aquilini Ivvenci, Evangeliorum Libri Qvattvor*, ed. I. Huemer (CSEL 24; Pragae/Vindobonae/Lipsiae, 1891; reprinted: New York, 1968).

[74] *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, edd. O. Erdmann and L. Wolff (Tübingen, 1962⁴).

[75] E. Windisch, *Der Heliand und seine Quellen* (Leipzig, 1868), passim.

[76] G. Quispel occasionally adduced some of its readings in his *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden, 1975): e.g., pp. 126, 128. Quispel has mentioned to the present author that he feels textual parallels with the Diatessaronic tradition are few in Otfrid; the sequence of harmonization, however, has not been investigated.

[77] On Rabanus Maurus, see E. Schröter, *Walahfrids deutsche Glossierung zu den biblischen Büchern Genesis bis Regum II und der althochdeutsche Tatian* (dissertation, Halle; Halle, 1926; reprinted: Walluf (bei Wiesbaden) 1973), pp. 143-147; E. Reuss, 'Fragments littéraires et critiques relatifs à l'histoire de la Bible Française', *RThPC* 2 (1951), p. 9, esp. n. 2. On Fulda as the centre of 'Tatian' copying, see J. Rathofer, '"Tatian" und Fulda. Die St. Galler Handschrift und der Victor-Codex', in *Zeiten und Formen in Sprache und Dichtung. Festschrift für Fritz Tschirch zum 70. Geburtstag*, edd. K.-H. Schirmer and B. Sowinski (Köln/Wien, 1972), pp. 337-56, and *idem*, 'Die Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelientextes auf den althochdeutschen "Tatian". Abkehr von der Methode der Diatessaronforschung', *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter* (Festschrift K. Langosch), edd. A. Oennerfors et al. (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 256-308.

[78] J. Gerson, *Monotessaron*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. L.E. Dupin (Antwerp, 1706), Vol. 4, pp. 83-202; also in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris, 1973), Vol. 9, pp. 245-373.

[79] On this detail, and on Gerson's work in general, see M.H. de Lang, 'Jean Gerson's Harmony of the Gospels (1420)', *NAKG* 71 (1991), pp. 35-47 (here, 38).

by one family of the Arabic Harmony (MSS O E and Sbath 1020) to indicate its sources[80]. A preliminary study of Gerson's harmony by M. de Lang considered the possibility of a connexion with the Diatessaron, but found none[81]. Her negative finding, however, is based on her study of the preface provided by Gerson himself, in which he indicates his indebtedness to Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, and makes no mention of Codex Fuldensis or the Western Diatessaronic tradition. She did not conduct a structural or textual investigation; therefore, her pronouncement must be regarded with some skepticism, for until the *Monotessaron*'s sequence and variants are examined, a cautious scholar must refrain from making any categorical assertions about the *Monotessaron*'s dependence upon or independence from the Diatessaronic tradition.

Fourth, in 1523, the humanist Othmar Nachtigall, known as Luscinius (* 1480-† 1537), produced a harmony[82] which was mentioned in passing by Th. Zahn in connexion with the Diatessaron[83]. No investigation into its structure or variants has been conducted to date. D. Wünsch, in his article on 'Evangelienharmonie' in the *TRE*, describes it as a 'Bearbeitung der verbreiteten Epitomeform des abendländischen *Diatessaron*'[84]; Wünsch (who offers no source or evidence for this statement) seems to be basing his assertion on the title of the work (*Evangelicae historiae ex qvatvor evangelistis...narratio ex Amonii Alexandrini fragmentis...*).

Fifth, Andreas Osiander (* 1498-† 1552) also composed a harmony, this time in Greek and Latin. It appeared in 1537[85]. Osiander's preface stresses the labours he devoted to its composition, suggesting that he did not reference earlier harmonies. The complexity of creating a harmony, however, is great, and one cannot help but wonder if, in his moments of frustration, he availed himself of other harmonies. Osiander's harmony treats similar events as separate events: he does not try to homogenize the parallel accounts into a single episode.

Finally, sixth, during the life of Samuel Pepys, the Chemnitz-Leyser-Gerhard harmony appeared[86]. Titled *Harmonia IV evangelistarum* (1652), it had been begun by Martin Chemnitz (* 1522-† 1586), who reached the Sermon on the Mount before he died. The work was carried on by Polykarp Leyser († 1610),

80 Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 136-137.

81 M.H. de Lang, 'Jean Gerson's Harmony', pp. 42-43.

82 *Evangelicae historiae ex qvatvor evangelistis perpetvo tenore continuata narratio ex Amonii Alexandrini fragmentis quibusdam...* (Vindelicum, 1523).

83 Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 313-315.

84 *TRE* Vol. 10 (Berlin/New York, 1982), p. 630.

85 A. Osiander, *Harmoniae evanglicae libri IV Graece et Latine* (Basel, 1537).

86 See H.J. de Jonge, 'Sixteenth-century Gospel Harmonies: Chemnitz and Mercator', in *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse: Actes du troisième colloque international sur l'histoire de l'exegese biblique au XVIe siècle (Genève, 31 août-2 septembre 1988)*, edd. I. Backus and F. Higman (Études de philologie et d'histoire 43; (Genève, 1990), pp. 155-66.

who got as far as the Resurrection of Lazarus. Johann Gerhard (* 1582-† 1637) took up the task upon Leyser's death, and saw it to completion[87].

6. Motives for harmonization

By now it is apparent that the 'harmonized gospel tradition' is (1) probably older than even Justin, is (2) much broader than Tatian and his Diatessaron, and is (3) active even as late as the seventeenth century, when new harmonies were still being composed. What prompted the rise and perpetuation of this widespread yet distinctive genre of Christian literature? Many answers have been offered, and they are as diverse as the harmonized tradition itself.

No conjectures have been offered to explain the creation of the harmony used by Justin, but — given the proximity in time and geography — it is fairly safe to presume that they would be similar to those which inspired Tatian. Therefore, we commence with the motives suggested for the creation of the Diatessaron. Many have been proffered: [1] evangelization (Plooij[88], Jülicher (for the Syriac version only)[89]), [2] efficiency (J.C. Zahn[90], Jülicher (for the Syriac version only[91], Petersen[92]), [3] 'scientific interest' in creating an accurate 'history' of events (Preuschen[93], Baarda[94]), [4] ecclesiastical/liturgical use (Th. Zahn)[95], [5] polemic/apologetic purposes (Jülicher (for the Greek version only[96]), Preuschen[97], Baarda[98]), and [6] a philosophic love of unity (Elze[99], Baarda[100]). Let us once again examine each in turn.

[87] For other less significant late medieval, Reformation, and post-Reformation harmonies, see summary by D. Wünsch, 'Evangelienharmonie', in *TRE*, Vol. 10, pp. 630-636.

[88] D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden, 1923), p. 73.

[89] A. Jülicher, 'Der Echte Tatiantext', pp. 166-167.

[90] Zahn, 'Ist Ammon oder Tatian', p. 173.

[91] A. Jülicher, 'Der Echte Tatiantext', pp. 166-167.

[92] W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist* (CSCO 475 (Subs. 74); Louvain, 1985), p. 21.

[93] E. Preuschen, *Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians: Das Diatessaron und seine Bedeutung für die Textkritik der Evangelien* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 9, Abh. 15; Heidelberg, 1918), pp. 61-62.

[94] Tj. Baarda, 'ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ-ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ: Factors in the Harmonization of the Gospels, Especially in the Diatessaron of Tation', in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, ed. W.L. Petersen (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 3; Notre Dame [Indiana], 1989), pp. 148-151.

[95] Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Vol. I, Pt. 1 (Erlangen/Leipzig, 1888), pp. 387-389, 405, 408.

[96] A. Jülicher, 'Der Echte Tatiantext', p. 166.

[97] E. Preuschen, *Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians*, pp. 61-62.

[98] Tj. Baarda, *Vier = Eén: Enkele bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de harmonistiek der Evangeliën* (Kampen, 1969), 12; see also his remarks in 'ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ-ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ', pp. 151-154.

[99] M. Elze, *Tatian und seine Theologie* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 9; Göttingen, 1960), p. 126.

[100] Tj. Baarda, 'ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ-ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ', pp. 145-147.

First, evangelization. A text in the language of the common folk is obviously a great boon to evangelization. At an early stage, the gospels in the West sloughed off their Greek dress, and put on a Latin form. Later, in the medieval period, when Latin was increasingly becoming the language of the upper classes, and the church was expanding among the wretches who inhabited the swamps of Oxford, Münster, and Utrecht, a text in Middle High German or Middle Dutch or Middle English was preferable. Therefore, evangelization could have been a motive not only in the earliest periods of textual transmission, but also throughout the transmission history of the Diatessaron.

Second, efficiency. By eliminating duplications and similar passages, the text of the four gospels could be reduced in size. J.C. Zahn cited the savings in 'Zeit, Geld, und Muhe', while Jülicher cited only the cost savings. Copying a single, more compact text was more efficient than having four repetitious gospels prepared[101].

Third, scientific interest in creating a single, accurate account. Ancient historians, rather like conteporary ones, attempt to conflate reports, fitting them into a framework which had been deemed the most likely and best attested. In the view of Preuschen and Baarda, Tatian and the other harmonists regarded the individual gospels almost as 'field dispatches'; it was the task of the harmonist to take this raw 'intelligence' and, by critically sifting the conflicting 'unedited' gospel bulletins, to create the definitive 'white paper' report of events.

Fourth, Theodor Zahn, who felt that the Diatessaron had been composed in the East in Syriac, noted that it was in official ecclesiastical use in the Syrian church until the second quarter of the fifth century (between 425 and 450)[102]. He infers that it had been created for official liturgical and ecclesiastical use. (Interestingly, this position runs counter to the opinions of Plooij, J.C. Zahn, and Jülicher (in the East), who found that it was created for private, popular use, and — in the words of Plooij — 'never intended for ecclesiastical use').

Fifth, because of the nature of the criticisms levelled against Christianity by the likes of Celsus (who was a contemporary of Tatian), Julian the Apostate, and others, it has been suggested that harmonies were created as a proleptic strike against one's critics. Everyone knows that there are contradictions in the gospels, in addition to stunning inconsistencies and irreconcilable chronologies: How long was Jesus' ministry? Were or were not the Twelve to take a ῥάβδος (cp. Matt 10.10 with Mark 6.8) on their journeys? If, however, one handed the critic only *one* gospel, then the chances of being hung on the petard of contradictions and inconsistencies was vastly reduced.

[101] This point has been contested by Tj. Baarda, 'ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ-ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ', pp. 143-145.

[102] Theodoret of Cyrrhus states this, and the 'Canons of Rabbula' infer the same: cf. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 41-45 for the evidence and discussion.

Finally, sixth, the idea of philosophical unity as a guiding force in Tatian's life has been suggested. Indeed, in his *Oratio ad graecos*, Tatian again and again contrasts the 'unity' of Christian truth with the 'disunity' of pagan religion and philosophy[103]. If he applied this same principle to the biblical text, then his desire for unity might have been an impetus to produce a harmony.

Turning to the later medieval hrmonies, we are better informed. Gerson offers a preface to his harmony, in which he specifically sets out his motivation. As De Lang has described it, he was seeking to fulfill Augustine's aims, as set out in *De consensu evangelistarum*. The aim was to remove all conflicts between the gospels, by showing how the varying accounts were each correct, and could be combined[104]. (Tatian, by contrast, excises parts of different accounts, and sometimes adopts one evangelist's version over another). The close study of the gospels necessary to achieve this end was good, in Gerson's eyes; first, it would result in a 'correct' history of Jesus' life and, second, it would mean that dogmatic theology would be Biblically based. In this, De Lang sees Gerson and his harmony as a forerunner of Renaissance humanism and the Protestant emphasis on Biblical study as a necessary prerequisite to dogmatic theology[105].

Osiander's harmony stands in direct contrast to Gerson's earlier work, for it sought to distinguish each and every event, rather than conflate them. For Osiander, who saw the Holy Spirit active in each word in the gospels, and who, therefore, saw significance in the *differences* among the gospels, there were, indeed, *four* Anointings at Bethany, not one. Contending that each evangelist had preserved the events and their sequence in proper chronological order, Osiander's harmony omitted nothing, conflated nothing, but sought to interleave the events in a way that made sense[106].

The Chemnitz-Leyser-Gerhard harmony was constructed for more traditional purposes than Osiander's harmony. Chemnitz began with three goals: (1) to defend the gospels against criticisms because of their contradictions (apologetic; already described as a possible motive for Tatian), (2) to present an accurate, edifying biography of Jesus' life (also already described as a possible motive for Tatian), and (3) to interest the reader in the 'historicity' of the gospels themselves[107]. Unlike Osiander, who kept parallel events separate, Chemnitz combined them into a single account. Chemnitz's challenge was to order the events, using critical principles: should the Anointing at Bethany be placed early in Jesus' ministry (following Luke's positioning of the event), or late in the ministry (following the account of Matthew and Mark).

[103] Cf. *Or*. 12 (ed. Whittaker, 25).

[104] M.H. de Lang, 'Jean Gerson's Harmony', pp. 36-37.

[105] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[106] Cp. H.J. de Jonge, 'Sixteenth-century Gospel Harmonies', pp. 156-160, and D. Wünsch, 'Evangelienharmonie', pp. 631-633.

[107] H.J. de Jonge, 'Sixteenth-century Gospel Harmonies', pp. 156-157.

Of this panoply of motives, which were operative in the nascence of the harmonized gospel genre, and its growth over the millennia? Probably all of them. Note that Jülicher distinguished between the motives for creating harmonies in the West (polemic) and the East (a premilinary tool for evangelization, before the separate gospels could be translated). This motive Jülicher suggested for the East (evangelization), was also suggested by Plooij for the sudden, unexpected flowering of gospel harmonies in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries[108]. To isolate a single cause is to ignore the complexity and diversity of the harmonized tradition both diachronically (from the second to the seventeenth centuries) and synchronically (East and West in the second or third century, or in the thirteenth): what may have motivated Tatian may not have motivated the creator of the harmony used by Justin, and the motives of the thirteenth century copyist of the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony may not have been those of the copyist of the harmony commented upon in the fourth century by Ephrem Syrus.

Conclusion

While the history of the harmonized tradition is broad, diverse, and sometimes convoluted, these are the very characteristics which should draw scholars to study it. It is a broad movement because harmonization has been popular throughout the history of Christianity. It is a diverse movement because the conditions which evoked the harmonies were diverse, and the techniques of harmonization were also diverse (compare Osiander's approach with that of Tatian, and both of them with the model of Chemnitz). It is a convoluted tradition because, save for the first four centuries of Syrian Christianity, harmonies never had an official, ecclesiastical role. As such, they flourished outside of the church's control. They therefore stand as unique benchmarks, mirroring both the lay person's and the scholar's view of the life of Jesus at various times and in various places in the history of Christianity.

[108] D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, pp. 65-66: 'With the exception of two or three manuscripts...all Latin Harmony manuscripts are of the end of the 12th or of the 13th century; only a few of them are later. At the same time the great revival for the preaching of the Gospel to the people took place, for which purpose a harmonized Text of the Gospels was most convenient'.

La chaîne grecque sur l'Exode: Description générale et problèmes spécifiques

F. PETIT, Louvain

Pour l'Exode comme pour la Genèse, le contenu primitif de la chaîne correspond en gros à ce que Procope de Gaza présente sous forme de commentaire continu dans son *Épitomé*[1]: la documentation de base est globalement la même. L'identification des sources de Procope est donc grandement facilitée par l'analyse de la chaîne parallèle.

Mais dans tous les manuscrits caténiques connus à ce jour, des apports étrangers se sont ajoutés au fonds originel. Il convient de les distinguer de la chaîne proprement dite, car ils ont leur valeur propre.

Les fragments de Sévère d'Antioche

Un premier supplément est un lot considérable de fragments repris à Sévère d'Antioche. Certains sont assez étendus. Une quarantaine au moins sont extraits des *Homélies cathédrales*; plusieurs aussi proviennent de sa correspondance. Dans la section relative à l'Exode, cet apport sévérien a pénétré tous les rameaux de la tradition caténique, y compris ceux dont il était absent pour la Genèse. Mais on n'en trouve pas trace chez Procope, dont Sévère était pourtant exactement contemporain. L'identification de ces fragments et le contrôle de leur fidélité textuelle se font d'après la tradition syriaque de Sévère. La plupart de ces textes sont encore inédits dans leur langue d'origine, le grec[2]. Ils méritent, à mon sens, d'être publiés en 'corpus' distinct: ils représentent la lecture, très orientée, que faisait de l'Exode un monophysite modéré, dans la lignée théologique de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, trois quarts de siècle après le travail du caténiste.

[1] La section sur l'Exode de l'*Épitomé* de Procope n'a jamais été éditée dans le texte grec. *PG* 87, c. 511-590, reprend seulement la traduction latine que Conrad Gesner (Claudius Trasybulus) publia à Zurich en 1555; les textes grecs insérés de place en place sont repris à l'édition de Nicéphore (voir ci-dessous, note 3). Le recours à la tradition manuscrite est donc indispensable. Le plus ancien ms (Munich gr. 358, IX[e] siècle) est probablement l'archétype de toute la tradition conservée; l'Exode y occupe les f. 165 r à 246 r. Les feuillets perdus de ce document ont été récemment retrouvés à la Bibliothèque universitaire de Bâle, où ils portent la cote O. II. 17 [a] (Omont 85).

[2] On peut cependant les lire dans l'édition de Nicéphore (voir note suivante), dispersés dans la chaîne.

La Collectio Coisliniana

Un second lot de textes, étrangers à la chaîne primitive et ignorés de Procope, se retrouve dans une seule classe de manuscrits caténiques, la plus largement diffusée, le type III de la classification Karo-Lietzmann, souvent appelée aussi 'chaîne de Nicéphore'[3]. Cet apport, majoritairement antiochien, a pour axe et inclut les *Questions* de Théodoret de Cyr. L'ensemble a sa propre tradition manuscrite, totalement indépendante de la chaîne. J'ai appelé cette compilation *Collectio Coisliniana*[4]. Elle couvre tout l'Octateuque. Pour l'Exode comme pour la Genèse, elle forme l'ossature du type III, qui l'a étoffée en y imbriquant une sélection d'extraits repris de seconde main à un exemplaire caténique, de manière à constituer un commentaire plus complet du texte biblique[5]. Nous parlerons plus loin du caractère des extraits caténiques contenus dans le type III. Retenons seulement ici que, pour l'Exode comme pour la Genèse, le type III est un hybride: c'est fondamentalement un excellent témoin de la *Collectio Coisliniana*, mais pour la chaîne il représente seulement une tradition secondaire et dérivée.

Revenons à cette collection. Que contient-elle en ce qui concerne l'Exode? En plus des *Questions* de Théodoret[6], on y trouve seulement une petite trentaine de textes, dont plus de la moitié sont mis au nom de Diodore de Tarse. A côté de lui, Isidore de Péluse, Acace de Césarée, Théodore de Mopsueste, Gennade de Constantinople, Clément d'Alexandrie et l'historien juif Flavius Josèphe sont chacun représentés par une seule citation. C'est donc un ensemble assez maigre, surtout si on lui compare la section relative à la Genèse, où la même collection compte plus de trois cents textes. S'y ajoutent, de façon très inattendue, quatre très longs extraits de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, dont on a peine à croire qu'ils appartiennent originellement à la collection. L'examen révèle que ces sections cyrilliennes sont constituées chacune de plusieurs citations partielles mises bout à bout, provenant toutes des *Glaphyra*. Pour les textes qu'elle attribue à Diodore, Acace, Théodore et Gennade, la collection est l'unique témoin connu. Ceux de Diodore ont été édités avec grand

[3] La seule chaîne grecque imprimée sur l'ensemble Octateuque-Rois est communément appelée 'chaîne de Nicéphore' (du nom de l'éditeur), ou 'Catena Lipsiensis' (du lieu de l'édition): Nicephoros Hieromonachos Theotokis, Σειρὰ ἑνὸς καὶ πεντήκοντα ὑπομνηματιστῶν εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον καὶ τὰ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, 2 vol., Leipzig, 1772-1773. Pour la Genèse et l'Exode, elle repose sur un manuscrit caténique du type III. Conjointement à son ms de base, Nicéphore a utilisé le principal manuscrit de Procope, dans le but de compléter la chaîne.

[4] La section relative à la Genèse a été éditée: *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum.* II: *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, ed. F. Petit (CCSG 15), Turnhout et Louvain, 1986.

[5] Le texte biblique adopté par le type III est classé par Wevers comme C-Gruppe; ce n'est pas celui de la chaîne primaire, qui est classé comme O-Rezension (*Exodus*, ed. Wevers, pp. 40-41).

[6] Dans la *Collectio Coisliniana*, le texte des Q. de Théodoret est souvent raccourci et comporte des variantes caractéristiques par rapport à la tradition du texte pur: *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos et A. Saens-Badillos, Madrid, 1979, pp. XXIV-XXVI (Tipo C).

soin par Deconinck (1912), qui ignorait la tradition propre de la collection mais les a trouvés dans le type III de la chaîne. Cette édition déjà ancienne peut être améliorée.

Venons-en à la chaîne proprement dite.

Le fonds caténique primitif et la tradition primaire.

Pour l'Exode, la tradition primaire de la chaîne est réduite à trois manuscrits, tous très partiels.

Le premier est le manuscrit du Sinaï, dont le contenu a déjà été édité[7]. Sa section caténique relative à l'Exode compte cinquante morceaux et ne dépasse pas *Ex.* 2, 18. Son texte est médiocre, mais exempt de retouches systématiques.

Le deuxième manuscrit est conservé à Bâle[8] . Complet pour la Genèse, il est tronqué pour l'Exode; il s'interrompt à la fin du chapitre 14, juste avant le Cantique de Moïse. Pour l'Exode comme pour la Genèse, le manuscrit de Bâle représente un rameau appauvri de la chaîne[9]; en revanche, c'est un des mieux fournis en scolies, notamment en données hexaplaires[10]. Quant à la qualité textuelle, il accuse une nette tendance aux retouches, d'ordre grammatical et stylistique; celles-ci sont cependant sans réelle gravité et ne permettent pas de parler d'un texte véritablement altéré.

Le troisième manuscrit se trouve à Saint-Pétersbourg (Leningrad)[11]. Pour l'Exode, la chaîne y est remplacée par les *Questions* de Théodoret[12], avec toutefois une exception pour le Cantique de Moïse (chap. 15, 1-21), qui n'est pas commenté par Théodoret[13]; à cet endroit, le commentaire est repris à la tradition proprement caténique. Cette section[14] compte une trentaine de textes, pro-

[7] *Sinaï gr. 2*, fin du XII[e] siècle; sigle biblique: 708. La section caténique relative à l'Exode occupe les f. 78 r-82 v. *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum.* I: *Catena Sinaitica*, ed. F. Petit (CCSG 2), Turnhout et Louvain, 1977, pp. 257-306. Pour l'intrusion des Q. de Théodoret dans ce ms, voir F. Petit, *Une chaîne exégétique peu connue: Sinaï gr. 2. Description et analyse*, dans *Studia codicologica* (Festschrift Marcel Richard, II; T.U. 124), Berlin, 1977, pp. 341-350.

[8] *Bâle, Universitätsbibliothek A.N. III. 13(Omont 1)*, X[e] siècle; sigle biblique: 135. La section de l'Exode occupe les f. 216 r-268 v. La partie ancienne du ms s'interrompt en Ex. 12, 49 (f. 263 v). Un cahier complémentaire (f. 264-268), dont l'écriture est plus tardive (XIII[e] siècle, selon Rahlfs), reprend le texte biblique en Ex. 13, 1 et poursuit jusqu'en Ex. 15, 1 avec la chaîne correspondante, le dernier verset commenté étant Ex. 14, 31. Dans la section de l'Exode, l'intrusion des Q. de Théodoret se limite aux trois premières.

[9] Voir le tableau comparatif donné en *Catena Sinaitica* , pp. 322-323.

[10] Les scolies marginales du ms de Bâle sont bien connues des biblistes.

[11] *Saint-Pétersbourg (Leningrad), Bibliothèque publique, gr. 124*, XIII[e] siècle; sigle biblique: 628. La section de l'Exode occupe les f. 125 v A-149 r A.

[12] Le texte de Théodoret dans ce ms n'a pas les omissions caractéristiques de la *Collectio Coisliniana* (voir ci-dessus, note 6).

[13] Seuls les v. 5 et 10 font l'objet d'une brève allusion dans la Q. XII (ed. Fernandez Marcos, p. 106, l. 17-23).

[14] Aux f. 133 v A 27-134 v B 47.

longeant sans hiatus le contenu du manuscrit de Bâle. Le scribe lui a donné un titre en grande capitale (Ὠδὴ Μωϋσέως) et en a marqué le début et la fin par un discret ornement.

Après le v. 21 du chapitre 15, on ne connaît plus aucun témoin de la tradition primaire de la chaîne. Il faut le savoir et utiliser ce dont on dispose, c'est-à-dire le type III, en tenant compte de son caractère secondaire et dérivé.

La tradition secondaire ou type III

Cette branche de la tradition est représentée par plus de vingt manuscrits complets[15]. Certains couvrent même tout l'Octateuque. Ce n'est donc pas la rareté des témoins qui fait problème.

Les textes caténiques repris de seconde main par le type III sont issus du rameau représenté par le manuscrit de Bâle. Celui-ci, rappelons-le, se caractérise par deux traits spécifiques: un texte légèrement retouché, un contenu appauvri. La parenté entre le type III et le rameau de Bâle se constate aux retouches textuelles. Mais le type III est plus riche que l'exemplaire de Bâle, et dérive donc d'un modèle plus complet.

Le type III ne se contente pas d'emprunter, il lui arrive de remanier. Et c'est bien là que réside la difficulté. Il n'est pas rare de trouver dans le type III des doublets, c'est-à-dire à la fois un fragment littéral et une rédaction abrégée du même texte, les deux parfois juxtaposés, parfois éloignés l'un de l'autre[16]. Plus souvent encore, la citation littérale manque et le type III ne donne qu'un texte remanié. Identifier ce type de citation peut devenir un problème redoutable. D'autant plus que les récritures combinent parfois deux fragments différents.

Le caractère hybride du type III aboutit à des situations déroutantes. J'en donnerai deux exemples. Après la Question XIV de Théodoret, commentant l'épisode où Moïse rencontre un ange menaçant (*Ex.* 4, 24-26), la *Collectio Coisliniana* attribue un texte assez long à Diodore de Tarse (ed. Deconinck, n° 63). La tradition caténique quant à elle atteste un fragment plus court, qui se révèle à l'examen fait de la simple juxtaposition de deux phrases reprises littéralement à ce même texte (*ed. cit.*, n° 63, l. 22-24 et 38-40); mais la chaîne le met au nom de Jean Chrysostome. Le type III contient les deux, à quelques lignes de distance, avec les deux attributions divergentes. Autre exemple. Certains textes de Cyrille se présentent dans le type III sous trois formes différentes: les longs extraits, formés d'un découpage recomposé des *Glaphyra*, provenant de la *Collectio Coisliniana*; les citations caténiques des mêmes pas-

[15] La liste la plus commode à consulter est celle de Wevers (ed. *Exodus*, p. 8-14), qui signale parmi les mss bibliques ceux qui contiennent un commentaire caténique. On dépasse la vingtaine si on y ajoute les copies de la Renaissance.

[16] Je n'avais pas pris la mesure du phénomène quand j'ai édité la *Catena Sinaitica* . Pour l'Exode, je n'ai pas repéré alors la présence d'une rédaction remaniée pour les fragments E 10, 12 ab, 21, 26, 34 et 42.

sages, reproduites telles quelles; enfin les mêmes fragments caténiques, mais dans la rédaction abrégée propre au type III. Ces répétitions sont véritablement accablantes et déséquilibrent la chaîne.

Les auteurs cités par le caténiste ne dépassent pas la quinzaine. Les Alexandrins ont la part belle: Philon, Origène, Didyme, Grégoire de Nysse, Cyrille; plus ponctuellement aussi quelques autres, notamment les auteurs d'homélies pascales comme Grégoire de Nazianze. L'exégèse antiochienne est représentée avant tout par Eusèbe d'Émèse, dont le commentaire est continûment exploité; on sait que ce texte important, source immédiate du commentaire de Diodore de Tarse, est conservé seulement dans une version arménienne pleine d'embûches[17].

Ce rapide survol a pour seul but de permettre une exploitation rationnelle de la chaîne sur l'Exode, en attirant l'attention sur le fait que la seconde partie est transmise dans des conditions nettement moins favorables que la première.

[17] Ed. V. Hovhannessian, Venise, 1980. Cette version est actuellement étudiée de très près par R.B. ter Haar Romeny, de l'Université de Leyde.

Quelques remarques sur la méthode apocryphe[1]

Marek STAROWIEYSKI, Varsovie

1. Les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament forment un groupe d'écrits assez hétérogène, par ex. les évangiles, différents entre eux-même, se distinguent des épîtres apocryphes, un groupe lui aussi assez différencié, et les apocalypses apocryphes sont diverses des actes apocryphes. Mais, bien que nous ayons affaire à un groupe d'écrits assez variés, des éléments communs les caractérisent: c'est ce que j'appelle la méthode apocryphe.

Dans cette communication je voudrais mettre ensemble les éléments qui ont influencé la naissance d'un genre littéraire qui s'appelle apocryphes.

2. Les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament sont des œuvres pour la plupart narratives, étroitement liées avec la Bible.

Il sont parallèles aux livres du Nouveau Testament, c'est à dire que nous avons des évangiles, des actes des Apôtres, des lettres et des apocalypses apocryphes, et aussi quelques œuvres difficiles à classifier.

Leurs auteurs se donnent pour des personnages bibliques. Nous avons donc par ex. un évangile que devait écrire Thomas l'Apôtre ou l'Apocalypse écrite par Pierre et une autre par Paul.

Leur contenu est biblique, c'est à dire, qu'il se concentre soit sur les personnages de la Bible comme Jésus, Marie, les Apôtres, sur d'autres personnages comme Joseph d'Arimathée, Nicodème, Hérode soit sur des épisodes bibliques, comme l'enfance de Jésus ou les vies des Apôtres et autres.

Leur contenu est modelé sur la Bible, par ex. les discours des Apôtres imitent la façon de prêcher de Jésus: dans les 'Actes de Paul et Thècle' nous trouvons des bénédictions semblables aux bénédictions du Sermon sur la Montagne[2]. Les miracles accomplis par les Apôtres sont aussi modelés sur les miracles de Jésus.

Abbréviations:
ANT - *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*, réd. M. Starowieyski, 1,1/2 (Lublin, 1980).
ClAp - M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992).

[1] Il n'existe aucune édition plus au moins complète des textes des apocryphes. La traduction la plus complète de l'ensemble des apocryphes est celle italienne de M. Erbetta, *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, 1-4 (Casal Monferrato, 1966 - 1981). Pour les évangiles apocryphes cfr traduction polonaise: *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*, 1,1-2, réd M. Starowieyski (Lublin, 1980). Je renvoie à cette œuvre à cause de sa riche bibliographie.

[2] M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 1 (Leipzig, 1891; Hildesheim 1972[6]), 239s. Cfr Mt 5,6-11.

Leur doctrine est biblique. Souvent elle consiste en une exégèse narrative du Nouveau Testament ou ils donnent des explications des fragments plus difficiles de la Bible.

Leur language aussi est biblique, assez semblable à celui du Nouveau Testament et de la Septante et on y trouve les mêmes tournures que dans la Bible.

La 'biblicité' d'une façon générale est donc la première caractéristique de la méthode apocryphe.

3. Les 'auteurs des apocryphes se donnent souvent pour des personnages bibliques: comme Apôtres et autres personnages[3]; nous y trouvons même des lettres écrites par Jésus et Marie[4]. Ces personnages ont donc une double autorité: celle que leur donne leur place dans la Bible et celle des témoins oculaires des faits décrits dans leurs œuvres.

Parmi ces 'auteurs' bibliques nous avons affaire aussi bien à des personnages connus et importants, comme Pierre, Paul ou Jacques, qu'avec des personnes moins connues, comme Barthélémy, Marie Madeleine ou simplement mentionnées comme Linus[5], Clément[6] ou Prochore[7], avec une nette préférence pour ces derniers, particulièrement dans les œuvres gnostiques transmettant les révélations que leur a donné Jésus après sa résurrection pour les transmettre aux élus. En citant des personnages peu connus ou seulement mentionnés dans le Nouveau Testament, les auteurs des apocryphes sont moins liés par les épisodes bibliques[8].

Si l'auteur n'est pas lui-même un personnage biblique, il affirme son lien supposé avec les Apôtres ou autres témoins oculaires comme sont: 'Méliton de Sar-

[3] On trouve plusieurs œuvres qui portent les noms des Apôtres: p.ex. Jean Théologien (Evangeliste) devait composer un 'Transitus' (*ClAp* 101), éd. K. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae* Leipzig 1866; Hildesheim 1966), pp. 95-112. Le 'Protévangile de Jacques' (*ClAp* 50) éd. E. de Strycker (S H 33; Bruxelles, 1961) est l'œuvre de Jacques le Majeur cfr. *ANT* 1,205s. 'La vie de Joseph' (*ClAp* 60), trad. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha* (Leipzig 1876; Hildesheim 1966), pp. 122-139, cfr 123,139 a été racontée aux Apôtres par Jésus lui-même; ils l'ont écrite et déposée dans une bibliothèque à Jérusalem. Nicodème devait être l'auteur de l'évangile qui porte son nom (*ClAp* 62), éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., 313; *ANT* 1,423-426. Joseph d'Arimathée est l'auteur d'une 'Narratio' sur les deux larrons (*ClAp* 76), K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., p. 359; *ANT* op. cit., 2, pp. 489-493 et d'un 'Transitus' (*ClAp* 116), éd. K. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, op. cit., 113-123; *ANT* 2, pp. 580-586.

[4] Sur la correspondance de Jésus et d'Abgar, cfr. A. Desremaux, *Correspondance de Jésus et d'Abgar* (Turnhout, 1993). La correspondance de Marie et S. Ignace d'Antioche, cfr M. Erbetta, op. cit., 3,144.

[5] Cfr 2 Tm 4,21.

[6] Cfr Ph 4,3.

[7] Cfr Ac 6,5.

[8] Nous avons des informations sur plusieurs évangiles de ce type, comme: l'Evangile de Judas, Traditions de Matthieu, Questions de Madeleine, Evangile de Madeleine, cfr. A. Santos de Otero, *Los evangelios apocryphos* (Madrid, 1988[6]), pp. 27-70; *ANT* 2, pp. 80-87. L'Evangile de Barthélemy (*ClAp* 63), cfr J.D. Kaestli, P. Cherix, *Evangile de Barthélemy* (Turnhout, 1993). Une version des 'Actes de Jean' a été écrite par un Prochore (*ClAp* 218); il s'agit probablement du diacre Prochore (Ac 6,5), éd. T. Zahn (Erlangen 1880; Hildesheim 1985).

des', auteur d'un 'Transitus' qui se réfère à Leucius[9]; les prêtres et les diacres d'Achaïe qui décrivent la mort de S. André[10]; l'Abdias, un disciple des Apôtres qui aurait vu personnellement Jésus — il devait écrire le célèbre recueil des actes des Apôtres[11]. L'auteur peut se référer aux traditions anciennes, comme le fait ps. Juvenalis dans l''Histoire Euthymiaque'[12] ou aux livres anciens, dont le ps. Jérôme fait le résumé dans l'introduction à l'évangile du ps. Matthieu[13].

La plupart des personnages bibliques sont Juifs, donc leurs écrits devraient être écrits en hébreu, ce qui leur donne un caractère mystérieux et l'autorité de la 'veritas hebraica'. Nous trouvons donc dans les textes grecs ou latins des citations hebraïques qui devaient démontrer une connaissance de la langue hebraïque par leurs auteurs[14]. Ces textes devaient être traduits de l'hébreu en grec ou en latin, et leur traducteurs devaient être des personnes célèbres comme Julien l'Africain, S. Jerôme, Chromace ou Héliodore; pour autentifier leurs œuvres, ils leurs donnaient des lettres introductives[15].

Il y a aussi un groupe d'écrits apocryphes qui se donnent pour des écrits officiels des Romains, écrits en grec ou en latin comme la correspondance de Pilate avec Tibère ou, au moins, donnant des résumés de documents officiels[16].

L'auteur, personnage biblique, témoin oculaire, transmetteur de la révélation, c'est la deuxième caractéristique de la méthode apocryphe.

4. Ces auteurs en tant que témoins oculaires, pouvaient et avaient le droit de compléter les données bibliques. Il y a à cela une double raison: *théologique* et provenant d'une pure *curiosité* humaine.

a./ *Théologique*. Le Nouveau Testament est concentré sur la personne de **Jésus Christ**. Or, les informations sur Jésus, telles que nous les avons grâce aux Evangiles restent fort incomplètes, même sur des points aussi fondamentaux que l'incarnation et la passion.

[9] *ClAp* 111; ée. K. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, op. cit., pp. 124-136; *ANT* 2, pp. 573-580.

[10] Ed. M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum*, op. cit. 2,1, 1-37; cfr note 2; *CiAp* 226.

[11] *Historia certaminis Apostolorum*, Introduction et 6,15, éd. J.A. Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburgi, 1703), 288s., 628s. (*ClAp* 104).

[12] *ClAp* 104. SCh 80, pp. 168-174. Il s'agit ici de Juvenal, premier patriarche de Jérusalem, au Ve siècle.

[13] Ed. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., 51-53; A. de Santos Otero, op. cit., p. 238.

[14] Dans les 'Actes de Pilate' 1,4, éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., p. 219, on trouve une citation en hébreu. Cette œuvre devait être écrite aussi dans cette langue, cfr Introduction, ibidem 210-212, de même que Ps. Matthieu 'a beato Matthaeo evangelista hebraice scriptus et a beato Ieronimo presbytero in latinum translatus', éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., 51, et l'histoire des Apôtres de Ps. Abdias, cfr note 11.

[15] Julien l'Africain devait traduire l'œuvre de Ps. Abdias, cfr note 11; sur S. Jerôme et Héliodore cfr note 13.

[16] L''Anaphore de Pilate' (*ClAp* 65) se donne pour un document officiel envoyé par Pilate à Rome, éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., pp. 435-442: *ANT* 2, pp. 463-466. Lettres de Pilate à et vice versa (*ClAp* 67), A. de Santos Otero, op. cit., pp. 466-471; ANT 2, pp. 473-477; la 'Paradosis Pilati' (*ClAp* 66), donne une description de l'effet que devait produire à Rome l'arrivée de l''Anaphore', K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., pp. 449-455; *ANT* 2, pp. 466-468.

La description de la naissance de Jésus est lacuneuse; nous n'avons que de rares informations sur Marie et Joseph; les autres épisodes de l'enfance et de la jeunesse de Jésus sont aussi fragmentaires. Les apocryphes ont complété ces informations par de nombreux textes sur cette période de la vie de Jésus, comme la 'Naissance de Marie' ('Protévangile de Jacques'), l''Evangile de l'Enfance de Thomas' et leurs plusieurs remaniements dans plusieurs langues de l'antiquité chrétienne, qui donnent des descriptions vivantes de la vie de Jésus et de Marie[17]. Le problème de la naissance de Jésus se trouvait au Ier et IIe siècle au centre d'accusations contre les chrétiens de la part des Juifs et des païens. Le 'Protévangile de Jacques', un des plus célèbres apocryphes constitue une réponse narrative à ce problème[18].

Nous savons également peu sur la passion et la résurrection de Jésus. Dans les Evangiles il nous manque une description de sa résurrection — ce qui est complété par l''Evangile de Pierre'[19]. Dans plusieurs livres du Nouveau Testament, en outre, on trouve de mystérieuses paroles sur la descente de Jésus aux enfers et auprès des morts[20]. Ce fait a aussi intéressé les premiers écrivains chrétiens comme Ignace d'Antioche, Méliton de Sardes ou Irenée[21]. Les apocryphes expliquent ce fait dans la pittoresque et célèbre description de la descente de Jésus aux enfers pour en faire sortir les justes[22].

On y trouve aussi d'autres problèmes théologiques à résoudre et compléter, comment par ex. expliquer la signification théologique du baptême de Jésus ('Evangile arabe de Jean')[23] ou comment peut-on parler de 'frères' et 'sœurs' de Jésus et en même temps affirmer la virginité de Marie, comme le fait clairement Ignace d'Antioche déjà au début du IIe siècle[24]. Il est intéressant de

[17] 'Protévangile de Jacques' (*ClAp* 50), la meilleure édition: E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques* (SH 38; Bruxelles, 1961); sur les remaniements latins cfr E. Amann, *Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins* (Paris, 1910); *ANT* 1, pp. 175-207. L''Evangile de Thomas' (*CiAp* 57), éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., pp. 140-180, *ANT* 2, pp. 254-276.

[18] Origène, *Contre Celse* 1,28; 1,32 etc. GCS 2,79; 83 etc.; J.B. Aufhauser, *Antike Jesus Zeugnisse* (Bonn, 1913); *ANT* 1,178.

[19] *CiAp* 13; éd. M.G. Mara (SCh 201; 1973); *ANT* 2, pp. 407-419.

[20] 1 Pt 3,18; Mt 27,52; Luc 23,43; Eph 4,8-10, cfr H.C. Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (Toronto, 1983), 5, qui cite d'autres textes du Nouveau Testament qui pourraient donner une base scripturaire pour la 'Descente aux enfers'. Cfr R. Gounelle, 'Pourquoi, selon l'Evangile de Nicodème, le Christ est descendu aux enfers?' dans: *Le mystère apocryphe*, réd. J.D. Kaestli, D. Marguerat (Genève, 1995), pp. 66-84.

[21] Sur la descente aux enfers chez les Pères de l'Eglise cfr les articles dans les encyclopédies théologiques qui donnent aussi une bibliographie du sujet, comme p.ex. A. Grillmeier, 'Höllenstieg', *LThK* 5 (1960), p. 453; E. Peretto, 'Discesa agli inferi', dans: *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, 2 (1983), pp. 989-990.

[22] *ClAp* 62; éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., pp. 323-332 (grec); pp. 389-462 (grec); pp. 389-432 (latin); *ANT* 2, pp. 444-460.

[23] Chap. 33, trad. L. Moraldi, *Vangelo Arabo apocrifo* (Milano, 1991), pp. 115-120.

[24] *ANT* 1,191.

comparer le contenu du 'Protévangile de Jacques' et les arguments de Celsus[25].

D'autres problèmes théologiques touchent l'**Eglise** fondée sur les Apôtres, particulièrement S. Pierre. Ici nous nous trouvons devant un paradoxe: d'un côté le Nouveau Testament souligne fortement le rôle des Apôtres[26], d'autre part on n'y trouve que de rares informations sur ceux-ci, sauf, peut-être, dans le cas de S. Pierre et S. Paul. Ici aussi les informations sont très incomplètes, car la Bible ne nous donne, par ex., pas d'informations au sujet de leur mort. Il fallait donc compléter ces informations.

Les Apôtres étaient envoyés par le Christ pour faire des disciples de toutes les nations, comme nous le trouvons chez S. Matthieu[27] ou à toute la créature comme l'a noté S. Marc[28]. L'Evangile devait être proclamé jusqu'aux extrémités de la terre[29], donc à tous les peuples et à toutes les créatures. Les actes apocryphes des Apôtres sont donc un développement narratif de ces paroles de Jésus, complété selon les connaissances géographiques de cette époque et modelé par les aventures des romans hellénistiques. Si donc l'Evangile devait être proclamé à toute la créature, nous ne sommes pas étonnés que selon les apocryphes par. ex., S. Jacques le Majeur connaissait non seulement les langues des peuples auxquels il devait prêcher l'Evangile, mais aussi celles des animaux[30] et Philippe avait parlé avec un chevreau et un léopard[31].

Aux côtés des Apôtres nous trouvons les 7 Diacres connus par nom[32] et les 70 ou 72 Disciples désignés par le Seigneur[33], mais dont nous ne connaissons pas les noms. Les Diacres et les Disciples jouaient un rôle important dans l'Eglise naissante. Ils devaient donc eux aussi sortir de leur anonymat. Le problème a été résolu assez simplement: aux Disciples on a donné des noms, pris, en grande partie, aux Epîtres de S. Paul et avec les Diacres on a fait d'eux évêques de villes importantes du monde méditerranéen. Ainsi les lecteurs du Nouveau Testament ont obtenu des informations sur les personnes saluées par

[25] Cfr note 18.

[26] Jésus a personellement appelé les Apôtres (Luc 6,12; Ac 1,2), ce que souligne S. Paul dans les inscriptions de ses lettres (1 Cor 1,1; 2 Cor 1,1; Gal 1,1; Eph 1,1). Sur l'Eglise fondée sur les Apôtres cfr Eph 2,20; 1 Cor 12,28, etc.; sur S. Pierre cfr Mt 16,18 et autres.

[27] Cfr Mt 28,19.

[28] Cfr Mc 16,15.

[29] Cfr. Ac 1,8; Rom 10,28.

[30] *Contendings of the Apostles*, transl. E.A.W. Budge, London 1901, p. 305s.: 'Now when James came unto them he preached unto the people of each tribe in the tongue of their native land, for our Lord had given unto the Apostle the knowledge of every tongue, and by the help of the Holy Spirit (James) understood the languages not only of men, but also of the beasts, and of the animals of the wilderness, and of the birds of heaven when they conversed in their speech'.

[31] Actes de Philippe 96-101, éd. M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum*, op. cit., 202, pp. 37-39. *ClAp* 250.

[32] Act 6,5.

[33] Luc 10,1-12.

S. Paul dans ses lettres. Les listes des Apôtres et des Disciples du Seigneur nous donnent un exemple de ce procédé[34].

Il reste d'autres problèmes théologiques et exégètiques dans la Bible, comme les sentences difficiles ou peu claires, les épisodes compliqués que les chrétiens discutaient probablement entre eux. Les apocryphes donnaient une occasion de les résoudre. Les auteurs des apocryphes les expliquent dans les discours insérés dans le texte même ou dans les questions et les réponses des personnages de ces œuvres[35]. Cette méthode ressemble à un genre littéraire populaire dans l'Antiquité tardive, les 'Quaestiones et responsiones'[36].

Il serait intéressant de pouvoir donner une analyse plus détaillée de ces fragments didactiques comme sermons et questions, mais aussi des prières et des fragments poétiques particulièrement dans les actes apocryphes des Apôtres.

On comprend donc la méthode théologique employée par les auteurs des apocryphes: ils tâchent de résoudre les problèmes théologiques du moment à travers des récits; nous nous trouvons donc devant une théologie narrative. Les compléments du Nouveau Testament par les apocryphes servaient en premier lieu à expliquer des idées théologiques. On comprend donc que la question: est-ce-que les apocryphes sont des œuvres théologiques ou narratives, est mal posée. C'étaient des œuvres théologiques qui, à travers des récits, transmettaient la théologie. Les apocryphes donc étaient des œuvres théologiques mais en même temps des œuvres narratives.

Cette couche théologique est plus dense et plus riche dans les apocryphes les plus anciens. Avec le temps la narration vainquit la partie théologique qui devint de plus en plus pauvre, tandis qu'on développait les descriptions des

[34] Il existe plusieurs listes des Apôtres et des Disciples du Seigneur. Elles ont été publiées par T. Schermann (Leipzig, 1907). Après cette édition d'ensemble des textes grecs et latins, imparfaite mais unique, on en a publié d'autres: Ch. Turner, *JThS* 15 (1914) 53-65; B. de Gaiffier, *ABol* 81 (1963) 98-116; ('Breviarium Apostolorum' — un article important qui donne une vue d'ensemble, sans édition); Idem, dans: *L'Homme devant Dieu, Mélanges H. de Lubac* (Paris, 1963), 365-371 (texte latin), M. van Esbroeck, *ABol* 86 (1968), pp. 139-150 (texte géorgien); F. Halkin, 'Une liste grecque des douze églises fondées par des Apôtres', *ABol* 86 (1968) 332, cfr 88 (1970) 140; L. Leloir, CChrAp 4, 1986, 711-773 (listes arméniennes); F. Dolbeau, *AB* 104 (1986) 299-314; Idem, 'Deux opuscules latins relatifs aux personnages de la Bible antérieurs à Isidore de Séville, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 16 (1986) 83-139; Idem, *AB* 108 (1990) 51-70 (textes latins); Idem, 'Listes latines d'Apôtres et des disciples, traduites du grec', *Apocrypha* 3 (1992) 259-279; Idem, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le "De ortu et obitu apostolorum"', *Augustinianunm* 34 (1994), pp. 91-107; J. Bitchakdjian, 'Une liste arménienne des soixante douze disciples du Christ dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *Etudes orientales* 9/10 (1991), pp. 70-74; M. van Esbroeck, *Augustinianum* 34 (1994), pp. 109-199 (9 importantes listes orientales).

[35] Dans l''Evangile de Nicodème' on trouve plusieurs questions posées par les Juifs. Un exemple typique est le chap. II,3 où on trouve 3 objections: Jésus est né de l'adultère, sa nativité a provoqué le massacre des innocents à Bethléeme, Marie et Joseph devaient s'enfuir en Egypte, car ils n'étaient pas acceptés par le peuple, K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., 234.

[36] Cfr. C. Curti, 'Quaestiones et responsiones', dans: *Dizionario patristico*, op. cit., 2,2952-2962.

miracles de plus en plus bizarres qui devinrent avec le temps des feux d'artifice sans sens ni contenu théologique.

b./ Cependant, même si l'intention principale des apocryphes restait théologique, leurs auteurs voulaient aussi satisfaire la *curiosité* toute humaine des lecteurs et des auditeurs de la Bible. Il faut se rappeller que la Bible était lue et relue et constituait la lecture la plus importante des chrétiens qui la connaissaient parfois par cœur et voulaient savoir tous les détails de la vie de Jésus, de Marie, des Apôtres et des autres personnages de la Bible. Les descriptions des détails de l'enfance de Jésus se transformaient en histoire de ses espiègleries[37]. On s'intéressait à la vie de Syméon[38], à celle de Joseph d'Arimathée[39], de Pilate[40], d'Hérode[41]; on tâchait de savoir la raison de la condamnation du bon et du mauvais larron[42]. En décrivant les aventures des Apôtres on y insérait des noms de personnes connues à travers les lettres de St. Paul comme Hermogène, Démas et autres[43]. Clément mentionné seulement dans une lettre de S. Paul, devint le personnage principal du Roman Clémentin[44]. Ainsi les noms reçoivent des histoires tandis que les personnes anonymes obtiennent des noms: ainsi la femme de Pilate devient Proc(u)la[45]. L'information sur la belle-mère de S. Pierre se développe en histoire de la fille de l'Apôtre[46]. On a composé des lettres aux Corinthiens qui manquent dans le 'Corpus Paulinum'; en

[37] Dans l''Evangile de Thomas' (de l'enfance) ou dans ses remaniements et traductions tardives on trouve des miracles de plus en plus bizarres, cfr *ClAp* 57 (éditions et traductions); *ANT* 1,254-276.

[38] L''Evangile arabe de Jean' VII,9-VIII,8, trad. L. Moraldi, op. cit., pp. 61-63, *ClAp* 44.

[39] L''Histoire de Joseph d'Arimathée', éd K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., pp. 459-470. ClAp 76.

[40] On trouve plusieurs informations sur Pilate dans l''Evangile de Nicodème', mais surtout dans le 'Cycle de Pilate', éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., pp. 433-458. Un 'Martyre de Pilate' éthiopien dernièrement publié par R. Beylot, *PO* 45,4 (204) (1993), donne une version nouvelle de la légende de Pilate.

[41] Cfr note 40. Il existe en outre une correspondance entre Pilate et Hérode, *ANT* 2.472-477, partiellement en syriaque.

[42] L''Evangile arabe de Jean' X, trad. L. Moraldi. op. cit., 68-70; L''Evangile arabe de l'Enfance' 23, *Evangiles Apocryphes*, 2, trad. P. Peeters (Paris, 1914), 26-28; L''Histoire de Joseph d'Arimathée', passim, cfr note 39.

[43] Dans les 'Actes de Paul et Thècle', éd. M. Bonnet, op. cit., 1,235ss., Hermogène (2 Tm 1,15) et Démas (Col 2,14; 2 Tm 4,9; Phil 24) deviennent ennemis de S. Paul à Iconium.

[44] Ph 4,3: 'collaborateur' de S. Paul, 'dont le nom figure au livre de vie'. Sur le roman Clémentin et ses plusieurs versions cfr *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* nr 1015. Edition critique GCS 42 et 51.

[45] Le nom de Proc(u)la figure dans l''Epître de Pilate à Hérode', éd. J.A. Robinson, *Apocrypha anaectota* (TSt 1; 1897), 71; *ANT* 2,428, dans la 'Paradosis' 9, éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., p. 454 et dans le 'Martyre de Pilate' éthiopien, cfr note 40. Cfr E. Fascher, *Das Weib des Pilatus* (Halle, 1951).

[46] Cfr Mt 8,19 par. L'histoire de la tragédie de la belle fille de Pierre se trouve dans un fragment des actes coptes de Pierre, M. Erbetta, op. cit., 140. Le nom de Pétronille elle reçut dans la légende tardive (V^{e}-Ve siècle), cfr BS 10 (1968), pp. 514-521.

y ajoutant une épître aux Laodiciens[47]. La phrase sur les révélations de S. Paul a été le fondement d'une apocalypse miraculeusement retrouvée à Tarse, qui porte son nom[48]. Des courts épisodes se développent en longues scènes, des épisodes anonymes reçoivent des acteurs: l'homme qui demande à Jésus la permission d'ensevelir son père c'est Jacques le Majeur; l'information que Jean connaissait l'archiprêtre reçoit une explication parce qu'après la mort de Zébédé il a acheté une maison sur le Sion dont la moitié a été louée à Caiphas[49]. On pourrait prolonger cette liste.

Ajoutons ici que dans les traductions orientales des apocryphes on s'intéressait particulièrement aux épisodes liés à l'Orient. Ainsi, pour ne donner que deux exemples, la fuite en Egypte, courte note dans l'Evangile, se transforme dans les évangiles de l'enfance arabe et arméniennes en une longue description de ce voyage, pleine des aventures et des miracles les plus bizarres[50]. On pourrait dire la même chose sur l'histoire des Rois-Mages[51].

Nous pouvons donc constater l'existence d'une autre note caractéristique des apocryphes — le complément des écrits du Nouveau Testament pour mieux les expliquer théologiquement, souligner leur contenu et satisfaire en même temps la curiosité des fidèles.

5. Nous avons vu le mécanisme de la naissance des apocryphes. Mais dans quel but ont-ils été écrits?

La littérature chrétienne ancienne avait un seul but: aider à la propagation de la Bonne Nouvelle. Les apocryphes aussi étaient écrits en fonction de la propagation du christianisme de la manière possiblement la plus efficace. Mais leurs auteurs n'étaient pas des écrivains ou des théologiens. De plus — leur théologie était souvent assez primitive et leur orthodoxie assez suspecte, mais ils étaient des chrétiens fervents et pleins de zèle dans les limites de leurs possibilités dans la propagation de la foi. Parler du gnosticisme des apocryphes en général, même si on y trouve ici et là des éléments gnostiques, est une exagération.

[47] Le lettres de S. Paul appartiennent probablement aux 'Actes de Paul', éd. M. Testuz (Cologny-Genève, 1959), cfr *ClAp* 211, IV. S. Paul, dans la lettre aux Colossiens à diverses reprises mentionne les fidèles de Laodicée (2,1; 4,15ss.) et ordonne d'envoyer cette lettre à Laodicée. Lettres aux Laodiciens, cfr *ClAp* 305.

[48] 2 Cor 12,2. Apocalypse de Paul 1-2, éd. K. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, op. cit., pp. 34-69 (texte grec), M.R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota* (TSt 3; 1893), pp. 10-42 (texte latin). Cfr *ClAp* 325.

[49] Ces épisodes racontent Hipolyte de Thèbes et Epiphane le moine: F. Diekamp, *Hippolytus von Theben. Texte und Untersuchungen* (Münster, 1898): Chronik V, p. 6s., cfr p. 113-118; *Epiphanii Monachi, Edita et inedita*, cura A. Dressel (Parisiis-Lipsiae, 1843), Vita Mariae, p. 33, 35s.; nr. 18 et 20, PG 120, 208s.

[50] Cfr Mt 2,13-15; Evangile arabe de l'enfance 9-35, éd. M.E. Provera (Gerusalemme, 1973), 75-113; *ANT* 1,288-292. Evangile arménien 15-16, trad. P. Peeters, *Evangiles apocryphes*, 2 (Paris, 1914), 161-189; *ANT* 343-353.

[51] Mt 2,1-12. On trouve de longues histoires des Rois-Mages dans l'Evangile arménien 11, trad. P. Peeters, op. cit., 130-150; *ANT* 1,333-339; dans un évangile géorgien traduit par G. Peradze, *ANT* 1,156-160, cfr. *CLAp* 47; dans un fragment uïgourien, *ANT* 1,252s.

Prenons quelques exemples.

Les bizarres miracles dans l''Evangile de Thomas' (de l'enfance) sont presque proverbiaux. On a cherché leur genèse dans le gnosticisme pour expliquer les méchants miracles de l'enfant Jésus. Peut-être elle s'y trouve... Mais il y a aussi une autre explication, plus simple: l'auteur, un théologien assez maladroit, a voulu expliquer aux gens simples (peut-être aux enfants) la toute puissance de Jésus. Cette hypothèse n'est pas toute gratuite: l'histoire de Jésus faisant des oiseaux d'argile et les faisant voler se trouve dans les 'Légendes de Jésus' de Selma Lagerlöf et dans les calendriers, même du XX[e] siècle, destinés aux enfants[52].

Un autre exemple. Dans les actes des Apôtres apocryphes on trouve deux éléments qui se suivent presque régulièrement: les miracles accomplis par les Apôtres et les discours qui, partant des faits accomplis, les expliquent[53]. Le miracle donc montre la puissance de Dieu présent dans l'Apôtre et inspire l'intérêt du lecteur ou de l'auditeur, tandis que le discours l'explique. Les discours dans les apocryphes jouent un rôle très important, de même que chez les historiens anciens, mais malheureusement jusqu'à présent ils n'ont pas attiré l'attention des chercheurs et restent assez mal exploités. Nous avons donc devant nous un schéma catéchétique qui fonctionne aussi dans la catéchèse moderne: l'exemple et son application; nous le trouvons également dans la théorie de l'homilétique.

On peut donner encore un exemple dans le domaine de l'apocalyptique chrétienne: la responsabilité pour les crimes et les péchés individuels est présentée à travers de terribles et effrayantes images des souffrances des condamnés dans l''Apocalypse de Pierre'[54].

En fin un exemple d'un autre domaine, celui des épîtres apocryphes. Au IV[e] siècle le christianisme était considéré encore comme la religion des gens simples et incultes. Il fallait donc montrer qu'il existait une culture chrétienne. Pour le montrer St. Jérôme a écrit le 'De viris illustribus', et il explique son but dans l'introduction. Dans les apocryphes on trouve le même problème mais exposé différemment: les lettres du grand Sénèque (symbole du paganisme) à S. Paul (symbole du christianisme), pleines de respect pour son correspondant sont écrites d'égal à égal[55]; ce fait devait montrer la valeur du christianisme.

[52] C. Poupon a parlé de la méthode catéchétique dans les apocryphes pendant la Conférence sur les apocryphes tenue à Genève-Lausanne en mars 1995. Son intervention doit paraître dans les actes de cette conférence publiés dans la revue 'Apocrypha'.

[53] On le voit assez bien dans les 'Histoires apostoliques' du Ps. Abdias et dans les autres actes des Apôtres apocryphes.

[54] Le texte dans: E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha* I, Bonn 1933, 8-15. M. Starowieyski, S. Kur, *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne*, 2 (1984) 48-77 (traduction polonaise du texte grec et éthiopien, introduction et bibliographie). Cfr *ClAp* 317.

[55] Le 'De viris illustribus': a été publié plusieurs fois; la dernière édition, avec une traduction italienne, faite par A. Ceresa Gastaldo (Biblioteca Patristica 12; Firenze, 1988). Dans la même collection l'édition de la correspondance de Sénèque et S. Paul: *Epistolario apocrifo di Seneca e san Paolo*, a cura di L. Bocciolini Palagi (Biblioteca Patristica 5; Firenze 1985).

On pourrait ici multiplier les exemples.

Le succès des apocryphes montre que la voie choisie par leurs auteurs n'était pas mauvaise, et le peuple lisait les apocryphes malgré les anathèmes des Pères de l'Eglise, qui devaient finalement capituler devant le fait accompli et même les citer, quoique discrètement[56]. On ne sait pas exactement quel rôle jouaient les apocryphes dans la propagation du christianisme; nous avons vu que le 'Protévangile de Jacques' était employé dans la lutte contre les païens et les Juifs.

Nous avons donc la quatrième caractéristique de la méthode apocryphe: le but didactique ou catéchétique.

6. Comme nous l'avons déjà vu, les apocryphes sont des œuvres bibliques. Il faut maintenant souligner un aspect de cette 'Biblicité' — l'exégèse biblique dans les apocryphes.

Le but des apocryphes n'était pas seulement de compléter le contenu de la Bible, mais aussi de l'expliquer. Il y a donc dans les apocryphes une exégèse, mais différente de celle qu'on trouve dans les œuvres exégétiques comme celles d'un Hippolyte, Origène ou autres exégètes de l'époque patristique. L'explication de la Bibles faite par ces Pères était une exégèse conceptuelle, exprimée par des raisonnements, celle des apocryphes était imaginaire, c'est à dire, elle expliquait la Bible à travers des images[57].

Prenons quelques exemples. Dans le 'Protévangile de Jacques' Marie, assise sur le trône, file de l'écarlate et de la vraie pourpre pour qu'on puisse tisser le voile pour le temple. Trône, écarlate, pourpre sont les symboles du roi, le mot 'tisser' dans les Psaumes est employé pour désigner la formation de l'enfant dans le sein de la mère. Le voile, dans la 'Lettre aux Hébreux' et chez les Pères de l''Eglise signifie le corps du Jésus. Parle-t-on ici de la formation du roi dans le sein de Marie? Il y a ici un autre motif: entre les accusations faites aux chrétiens on trouve entre autres celle que Marie, mère de Jésus, avait une origine vilaine — en montrant que Marie tisse le voile pour le temple avec des matières aussi nobles et de plus, avec les filles des familles les plus nobles, l'auteur, semble-t-il, voulait montrer la noble origine de la Mère de Jésus[57].

Selon l''Evangile de Ps. Matthieu' à l'entrée de Jésus en Egypte, les idoles dans les temples sont tombées par terre et se sont brisées. L'auteur montre

[56] Cfr. M. Starowieyski, 'Les apocryphes chez les écrivains du IV[e] siècle', dans: *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae* (Warszawa - Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983), pp. 132-141.

[57] Protévangile de Jacques 10-11: trône, écarlate, pourpre — sont considérés généralement comme symboles du roi; la chair du Christ est appelée 'voile' (gr. katapetasma) dans Hbr 10,20; 'Tisser', 'Filer' — mode de parler de la formation d'un corps d'enfant dans le sein de la mère (Ps 139,20). Celse a affirmé que Marie était une pauvre fille, d'origine obscure et qu'elle tissait pour gagner sa vie. Le 'Protévangile' affirme, au contraire, qu'elle était d'origine davidique, donc royale et qu'elle filait un voile pour le temple avec les matériaux les plus nobles. On a accusé Jésus qu'il était né d'adultère, alors que le 'Protévangile' défend non seulement la virginité de Marie, mais aussi sa chasteté rituelle: elle ne touchait ni terre ni nouritures impures, car elle était nourrie par les Anges, ce que souligne 'Protévangile' à plusieurs reprises.

ainsi que Jésus est le Messie à l'entrée duquel 'toutes les statues de ces dieux sont par terre brisées' selon Isaïe[58].

De nouveau on pourrait ici multiplier les exemples. Dans les apocryphes, particulièrement dans les plus anciens, on trouve une exégèse narrative qui pourrait être objet d'une étude intéressante.

7. Enfin quelques mots sur la formation des apocryphes du Nouveau Testament. Il faut ici distinguer trois couches: biblique, folklorique et historique.

a./ Le matériel principal pour construire un apocryphe est constitué, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, par la **Bible**. L'auteur d'un apocryphe le compose autour des personnages bibliques (Jésus, Marie, les Apôtres, etc.) en employant aussi des noms de l'Ancien Testament, comme Anne, Joachim et autres. Les personnages dans ces apocryphes reçoivent des traits bibliques: Anna — ceux des femmes de l'Ancien Testament, Joseph — ceux des patriarches, etc. Il reprend aussi le matériel narratif pour le refaire, l'adapter et en créer de lui de nouveaux épisodes, p.ex. prenant des détails de description des miracles de Jésus il compose des récits des miracles des Apôtres. Il prend les discours de Jésus pour les mettre, complètement refaits, dans la bouche des Apôtres, ou il les centonise pour créer de nouveaux discours.

Vu le rôle principal de la Bible dans les apocryphes, la première tâche d'un chercheur dans ce domaine est de retrouver toutes les attaches à la Bible: citations, allusions, expressions, etc. Ces éléments consituent le vrai canevas de l'apocryphe.

b./ Mais la Bible n'est pas la seule source des apocryphes. Les éléments **folkloriques** en sont une autre, comme la célèbre histoire d'un jeune homme changé en âne qu'on trouve dans l''Evangile arabe de l'enfance' — motif bien connu chez Lucien de Samosate et Apulée[59], ou comme l'information que S. Jacques le Majeur connaissait le sermon des animaux dans les actes apocryphes éthiopiens des Apôtres — nous trouvons le même motif dans la 'Vie d'Apollonios de Tyane' de Philostrate[60]. En outre on trouve dans les apocryphes des motifs des romans hellénistiques[61]. La recherche des sources littéraires et folkloriques des apocryphes reste à faire.

c./ On ne peut pas affirmer à priori qu'on ne trouve pas d'éléments **historiques** dans les apocryphes. Est-ce-que les noms des parents de Marie dans le 'Protévangile de Jacques' sont historiques? C'est possible, en connaissant le

[58] On trouve dans plusieurs évangiles de l'enfance l'épisode des monuments de dieux brisés: Ps. Matthieu 23, éd. K. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, op. cit., p. 23; Evangile arabe 10, éd. P. Peeters, op. cit., pp. 10-12; Evangile arménien, 15,16; 16,4; 17,1, ibidem. 171; 181; 190.

[59] Evangile arabe de l'enfance 20-21, trad. P. Peeters, op. cit., pp. 21-25. On trouve le même motif dans la littérature chrétienne: 'Historia Lausiaca' 17,6-9, éd. G.J.M. Bartelink (Milan, 1974), 72-74; 'Historia monachorum in Aegypto' 21,17 éd. J. Festugière (SH 53; Bruxelles, 1971), p. 128; Apulée a refait en latin un roman grec de Lucien de Samosate.

[60] Cfr note 30.

[61] R. Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und romanhafte Litteratur der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1932; 1969).

goût des Juifs pour les généalogies. Est-ce-que les descriptions des voyages des Apôtres ont un fondement historique? On trouve quelques éléments historiques dans les 'Actes de Thècle et Paul' et dans les 'Actes de Thomas'; il y en a donc peut-être d'autres. En tout cas, il nous semble qu'avant d'établir l'histoire du texte des apocryphes et de donner de bonnes éditions critiques, comme celles que nous recevons dans la série 'Corpus Christianorum', on ne peut pas dire grand chose en cette matière.

L'histoire du texte des apocryphes est extrêmement compliquée, car les apocryphes constituent un 'perpetuum mobile' — ils sont en évolution: on y ajoute de nouveaux épisodes, on change l'ordre des chapitres, les détails dans les épisodes et même les épisodes entiers ainsi que les noms des personnages; en traduisant les œuvres, ou mieux, en les paraphrasant, on leur donne un caractère local. Les discours aussi sont changés selon les circonstances et les problèmes du milieu pour lequel les apocryphes sont écrits.

On peut toutefois indiquer deux lignes plus au moins générales de cette évolution:

— l'élément miraculeux augmente et les miracles perdent leur caractère théologique;
— une théologie gnosticisante et primitive évolue vers une théologie plus développée, censurée des éléments gnostiques[62].

8. Nous avons souligné quelques éléments de la méthode apocryphe. Il faut ici ajouter que les apocryphes ne sont pas un genre littéraire limité à l'époque ancienne. Les mêmes traits caractéristiques qu'on trouve dans les apocryphes de l'époque ancienne, on les retrouve dans les œuvres du moyen-âge et de l'époque moderne, même si l'on change les accents — les uns sont plus soulignés à une époque, les autres à une autre. La liste des œuvres qui ont des caractéristiques des apocryphes, ou les emploient, est longue et compte aussi bien des œuvres de grands écrivains, dont quelques-uns ont reçu le prix Nobel (Selma Lagerlöf ou Henryk Sienkiewicz) que de modestes récits des calendriers populaires.

J'ai donné à cette communication un titre modeste 'Quelques remarques sur la méthode apocryphe' car je crois qu'avec le développement des études sur la structure littéraire des apocryphes, ce sujet pourrait être fortement augmenté.

[62] Il est fort interessant de comparer les actes apocryphes des Apôtres originaux et les fragments qui en restent et leurs remaniements latins dans le Ps. Abdias. Les fragments poétiques des actes de S. Thomas ont disparu complètement dans la vie de S. Thomas chez le Ps. Abdias. La même chose a eut lieu pour les 'Actes de Jean'.

Early Antiochene Commentaries on Exodus

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In the coming years, research into the history and method of the Antiochene School may be expected to focus more on the first books of the Bible[1]. New perspectives are being opened by Françoise Petit's editions of the *Catena* on Genesis[2] and the *Collectio Coisliniana*[3], while Hovhannessian's edition of an Armenian translation of Eusebius of Emesa's *Commentary on the Octateuch* is also deserving of mention here[4]. The latter text gives us the opportunity to examine a complete Antiochene commentary on the first parts of the Old Testament, written by one of the first concrete representatives of the Antiochene School. Moreover, it enables us to better evaluate the collection of fragments in the *Catena*, and to identify a number of extracts in Procopius's ἐπιτομή and in the commentary of the ninth-century Syrian exegete Išoʿdad of Merv, who had independent access to Eusebius's work[5].

As Mlle Petit will be addressing this conference on her research into the Greek *Catena* on Exodus[6], I should like to present here the Exodus part of this Armenian text[7]. Until recently, only the Greek fragments of Eusebius of Emesa,

[1] An example of this renewed interest is L. Van Rompay's 'Antiochene Biblical Interpretation: Greek and Syriac', to be published in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays* (Louvain. 1997).

[2] Two volumes have been published so far: *La Chaîne sur la Genèse. Édition Intégrale* 1. *Chapitres 1 à 3*, ed. F. Petit (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 1; Louvain, 1991) and 2. *Chapitres 4 à 11* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 2; Louvain, 1993).

[3] *Catenae Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum* 2. *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, ed. F. Petit (CCG 15; Turnhout-Louvain, 1986).

[4] *Eusèbe d'Émèse* 1. *Commentaire de l'Octateuque*, ed. V. Hovhannessian (Venice, 1980).

[5] A presentation of the Armenian text may be found in H.J. Lehmann, 'An Important Text Preserved in MS Ven. Mekh. no. 873, Dated A.D. 1299 (Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Historical Writings of the Old Testament)' in T. Samuelian and M. Stone (edd.), *Medieval Armenian Culture* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies; Chico CA, 1983), pp. 142-160; on its relation to the other witnesses for Eusebius's commentary, see my '"Quis Sit ὁ Σύρος" Revisited' in A. Salvesen (ed.), *Hexapla and Fragments: Papers given at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 1994* (forthcoming). A French translation of the Genesis and Exodus parts will be published by Prof. J.J.S. Weitenberg and the present author.

[6] Cf. above, pp. 97-101.

[7] Ed. Hovhannessian, pp. 97-124. There are a number of texts in Devreesse's edition of the Greek Catena fragments (*Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois (fragments tirés des chaînes)* (Studi e Testi 201; Vatican City, 1959), pp. 82-94) that cannot be traced

Acacius of Caesarea, and Diodore of Tarsus were known from the fourth-century Antiochene School. The Armenian translation of Eusebius's commentary enables us to broach the following questions: To which genre does his commentary belong? How does an Antiochene exegete like Eusebius deal with the various narrative and legislative parts of the book of Exodus? And finally, what is the place of his commentary in the wider context of early[8] Antiochene exegesis?

Eusebius's Commentary on Exodus

With respect to genre, the Genesis part of Eusebius's *Commentary on the Octateuch* is a selective commentary. As it deals with only a limited number of difficult passages, this type of commentary is less extensive than the full commentary, which examines each and every phrase. It is closely related to the genre of the ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις[9]. In fact, Eusebius's commentary should probably be identified with the collection of ܐܬܠܐ (ζητήματα) on the Old Testament mentioned by ʿAbdišoʿ bar Brika (early fourteenth century) in his catalogue of the writings of the Fathers[10].

The first half of the Exodus part of the *Commentary*, dealing with Exod 1-6, also fits into this genre. Eusebius closely follows the order of the book, selecting certain passages for discussion. His methods are typical of the Antiochene School[11]. He strives to uncover the meaning of the text on a historical,

in the Armenian translation. In this respect, the situations in Genesis and Exodus differ significantly: in Genesis, there are only a very small number of Greek fragments with a clear attribution to Eusebius that are not found in the Armenian text. The style betrays some of the Greek fragments on Exodus as being extraneous to the commentary, that is, either they were written by another author, or they were part of some other work (e.g., ed. Devreesse, pp. 86-91, ad 3:2, 4:24, 4:25 and 4:29). One fragment should be attributed to Severus of Antioch (ed. Devreesse, p. 93, ad 8:16). In the case of the group of fragments which centre around Stephen's speech in Acts (ed. Devreesse, pp. 83-85 ad 2:1-10, 2:12-13, 2:15 and 3:1), Eusebius's lost 'Homily on Saint Stephen' springs to mind. — It is not insignificant that *none* of the fragments in question are found in Išoʿdad. However, if a few fragments are indeed left which formed part of the commentary, this would not substantially alter our present picture; the considerable gaps which we will be discussing in a moment remain.

[8] I do not use this term in the sense of the traditional distinction between an 'Early' and a 'Late' Antiochene School. This periodization can no longer be maintained. See my 'Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis and the Origins of the Antiochene School', to be published in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis* (see note 1).

[9] On the distinction between these types of commentaries, see Van Rompay, 'Antiochene Biblical Interpretation'.

[10] 'Carmen Ebedjesu Metropolitae Sobae et Armeniae Continens Catalogum Librorum Omnium Ecclesiasticorum' in *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, 3, 1, ed. J.S. Assemani (Rome, 1725), pp. 3-362; this text on p. 44 (cap. 36).

[11] On Antiochene methods, see Chr. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der Antiochenischen Exegese* (Theophaneia 23; Cologne-Bonn, 1974) and F.M. Young, 'The Rhetorical Schools and their Influence on Patristic Exegesis' in R. Williams (ed.), *The Making of*

factual level; that is, he is interested in the actual events and their sequence, and in the intention of the writer. He is fully alive to the context, coherence and logic of the story. Eusebius often paraphrases the text. He also makes use of passages from other books of the Old Testament in which the same words are used, or where comparable events take place. He does not allow allegorical explanations, but has found other ways to go beyond the plain sense of the Greek text. Thus he assumes that Scripture sometimes uses a certain expression to convey (οἰκονομεῖν) something else, and he accepts a limited number of typologies. Another device to the same end is the use of readings from 'ὁ Σύρος' and 'ὁ Εβραῖος'[12]. The fact that we do not find as many of these readings here as in the Genesis part of the commentary may have to do with a tendency which is becoming discernible in this part of the commentary and which is much stronger in the second half. I am referring to the author's tendency to lose interest in the course of events and in the exact wording of the biblical text, and to turn to themes of a more universal significance. Thus the phrase 'Who has given man a mouth to speak, or who has made the dumb and the deaf?' (Exod 4:11) is used as a means of introducing a long discourse on the origin of disabilities: has God indeed created them, are they a retribution for our sins? The place of the phrase in the biblical context is not dealt with.

Indeed, from Exod 7 onwards, Eusebius's commentary becomes more and more thematic. First, he deals only briefly with a few aspects of the plagues, going on to discuss Pharaoh's hard-heartedness. The work is now coming close to a homily, its main aim being to explain that God is lenient and indulgent. This may be seen as an implicit polemic against the Marcionites, a dispute which is also one of Eusebius's concerns in the commentary on Genesis. In connection with the discussion of hardening of the heart, Eusebius explains God's dealings with his people: he discusses dissuasion, retribution, and the remission of their sins, citing from Exod 19, 20, 24, 32-34 and from other books of the Bible. This exposition may have awakened Eusebius's interest in God's revelations to Moses on Mount Sinai: he does not pick up the thread of the story, but deals first with a few questions on this subject. He asks how

Orthodoxy; Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 182-199. Compare also L. Diestel's classic account in his *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), pp. 129-141. Although founded on Buytaert's outdated edition of Catena fragments, J.A. Novotný's 'Les fragments exégétiques sur les livres de l'Ancien Testament d'Eusèbe d'Émèse', *OCP* 57 (1991), pp. 27-67, is nevertheless a useful review of Eusebius's exegetical principles.

[12] On this issue, see H.J. Lehmann, 'The Syriac Translation of the Old Testament — as Evidenced around the Middle of the Fourth Century (in Eusebius of Emesa)', *SJOT* 1 (1987), pp. 66-86; my 'Techniques of Translation and Transmission in the Earliest Text Forms of the Syriac Version of Genesis' in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij, *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 8; Leiden [etc.], 1995), pp. 177-185 and '"Quis Sit ὁ Σύρος" Revisited'.

these revelations took place, when they took place, and why they lasted twice forty days. After this, he does not return to the episode in the desert, but decides to deal with some of the laws in the Book of the Covenant. To the end of the work, the idea that we are reading a homily rather than a commentary continues to haunt us.

It appears that many chapters in the latter part of Exodus are not dealt with at all, and, if one were expecting a commentary that follows the course of the biblical narrative, the commentary would appear quite disordered. I believe that the explanation for this situation lies in the subject matter of the book of Exodus. First of all, the same event happens twice: Moses has to go and receive the law on two different occasions. These two occasions are closely connected but the chronological order is in fact broken up by the long description of the Tabernacle and the sacrifices. An exegete may feel called upon to bring together what seems to have become separated. More important, however, is the fact that there are fewer themes of universal interest in Exodus than in Genesis, with its description of the Creation, the Fall and the stories of the Patriarchs. As a reader, it is more difficult to identify with the grumbling people in the desert, than with someone like Abraham. Thus Eusebius is not interested in the particulars of the trek through the desert, but rather selects the themes which do have importance for him: the way God deals with Moses, how He treats sin and, in particular, the fact that all this, even laws which may seem harsh, demonstrates that God is benevolent and merciful.

Although one may maintain that the texts are used for purposes of explanation, rather than being explained themselves, this does not mean that Eusebius has betrayed the Antiochene principles in the second part of his commentary. The interpretation of the texts he cites, is still restricted to the historical level as defined above. It is precisely this which explains his limitations: at the historical level, the descriptions of the Tabernacle and the sacrifices are not particularly interesting for him as a Christian, and since he opposes allegorism, he is not able to use these passages for any other purpose. It is Theodore, more than half a century later, who first couches, it seems, an allegorical interpretation in an acceptable, that is, typological form, thereby restoring sense to this passage for the Antiochenes[13]. We can illustrate this point by placing the *Commentary on Exodus* within a wider context. Thus Origen, whose philological work must have been a source of inspiration for Eusebius, faithfully follows the order of the book until the desert episode. Then he selects themes which he finds interesting, abandoning the order of

[13] See for this text R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (Studi e Testi 141; Vatican City, 1948), pp. 25-27. Gennadius (*PG* 85, 1663-1666) and Theodoret (*Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, ed. N. Fernández Marcos and A. Sáenz-Badillos (Textos y Estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros'; Madrid, 1979), Quaestio 60 in Exodum, pp. 139-144) also give a typological interpretation.

the chapters, just as Eusebius does. As an allegorist, however, Origen is able to use the description of the Tabernacle, and indeed does so[14]. In its aversion to allegorism, Ephrem's *Commentary on Exodus* offers a better parallel to Eusebius's. Let us therefore take a closer look at this contemporary and fellow countryman of his.

Ephrem the Syrian

Ephrem is often dealt with in an appendix to the Antiochene School[15], as his exegesis is in many respects congenial with Antiochene ways[16]. Like Eusebius, he keeps to the plain sense in his *Commentary on Exodus*[17], and more than once, they ask the same questions and give similar answers. He chooses only six examples from the laws of the Book of the Covenant and does not appear to be interested in the descriptions of the Tabernacle: chapters 25-31 are condensed to a few lines[18]. Moreover, both Eusebius and Ephrem tenaciously defend human free will. Yet there are certain differences. The genre of Ephrem's commentary is not found among the Antiochenes. It is a kind of selective commentary, but one does not get the impression that he has skipped anything: rather it is a paraphrase of the narrative parts of Exodus, following the order of the book quite closely. There is no place for the philological interests which we find in Antiochene commentaries. All this results in a text that may be read on its own, without the biblical text at hand. Ephrem often fills the gaps in the narrative with aggadic material, some of which can also be found in Jewish sources. We sense among the Antiochenes a growing aversion to these traditions. In closing, let us now turn to two fourth-century exegetes who wrote on Exodus and are seen as full representatives of this Antiochene School, Acacius and Diodore.

[14] *Origène. Homélies sur l'Exode*, ed. et trans. M. Borret (SC 321; Paris, 1985).

[15] See for example Diestel, *Geschichte*, pp. 137-139 and A. Harnack and W. Möller†, 'Antiochenische Schule', *RE* 1 (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1896), (592-595) p. 595.

[16] A thorough description of Ephrem's position vis-à-vis the Antiochene School may be found in Van Rompay, 'Antiochene Biblical Interpretation'.

[17] *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum Commentarii*, ed. R.M. Tonneau (CSCO 152/Syr 71; Louvain, 1995); trans. idem (CSCO 153/Syr 72; Louvain, 1995). French translation: 'Commentaire de l'Exode par Saint Ephrem', trans. P. Féghali, *Parole de l'Orient* 12 (1984-1985), pp. 91-151. English translation by Amar: *St. Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works*, trans. E.G. Mathews, jr., J.P. Amar and K. McVey (The Fathers of the Church 91; Washington, 1994), pp. 215-265. On this commentary, see A. Salvesen, 'The Exodus Commentary of St. Ephrem' in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *SP* 25 (Louvain, 1993), pp. 332-338.

[18] The last part of the commentary has always been thought lost, but in keeping with the foregoing, we may perhaps assume that Exod 35-40 was not dealt with at all.

Acacius of Caesarea

There is very little on which to assess the relation between Eusebius and Acacius in Exodus: Devreesse[19] gives only two fragments of the work of the latter. If these two texts, probably taken from a book of σύμμικτα ζητήματα, are representative of his work, we may conclude that he was interested in the same topics as Eusebius: he goes into the matter of Pharaoh's hard-heartedness, and also refers to the retribution of errors in connection with Exod 20:5-6. There are also many similarities in the method and the questions asked. In the text on retribution, for example, Eusebius and Acacius cite largely the same texts from Ezekiel and Deuteronomy. Yet their answers are not completely the same: Eusebius places greater stress on individual human responsibility than Acacius does. The similarities in the problems posed and the method may be due to the fact that they had the same teacher, Eusebius of Caesarea.

Diodore of Tarsus

Jerome called Diodore a follower of Eusebius of Emesa, and indeed, we now know that for his commentary on Genesis, Diodore depended heavily on Eusebius[20]. In the thirteen preserved fragments on Exodus[21], Diodore seems to be more independent. His subject matter is still roughly the same as that of Eusebius, and again he can be shown to have used the Emesene's work in a few instances[22], but we find no texts that have simply been copied, as is regularly the case in Genesis.

Conclusion

Eusebius often uses the expression 'some say...others...'. Although in some cases this may be no more than a rhetorical device, it still raises the question of his predecessors. However, unless new texts are found, the study of the various witnesses of Eusebius's *Commentary on the Octateuch* gives us the earliest picture yet of an Antiochene exegete at work — and a very complete one at that[23].

19 *Les anciens commentateurs grecs*, pp. 117-121.

20 F. Petit, 'La tradition de Théodoret de Cyr dans les chaînes sur la Genèse', *Mus* 92 (1979), (281-286) p. 284.

21 See J. Deconinck, *Essai sur la Chaîne de l'Octateuque avec une édition des commentaires de Diodore de Tarse qui s'y trouvent contenus* (BEHE 195; Paris, 1912).

22 See fragments 61, 62, 63 and 70 in Deconinck's edition.

23 My investigations in this field are supported by the Foundation for Research in the Field of Philosophy and Theology, which is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Research (NWO).

The Fourth Century Reaction against Allegory

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This subject is one that has intrigued me for some time, and I shall both summarize previously published conclusions[1], providing further evidence to support them, and make additional proposals[2].

It has been a mistake to suppose that the Antiochenes reacted against allegory on similar grounds to the rejection of allegory in the modern period. Furthermore, the associated attempt to reclaim their use of typology has been misplaced insofar as it has been dependent upon modern definitions of the difference between allegory and typology in terms of 'history'. This 'negative' argument, involving the rejection of the characteristic descriptions found in most commonly used textbooks and studies, is more fully treated elsewhere[3]; suffice it to say here that Antiochene exegesis is full of 'dogma' deduced from texts, that they constantly seek the 'moral meaning', and that they both recognised the metaphoricity of language and accepted prophetic references. This paper will eventually add the argument that they were primarily concerned with precisely those aspects of the Christian story which modern exegetes tend to regard as 'mythological'. Its principal concern, however, is to enquire further about the grounds and motivation of the attack on allegory.

Previously I have argued for a methodological account, suggesting that the approach to texts in rhetorical and philosophical schools was different, and that the Antiochenes represent rhetorical methods against the philosophical approach of the Alexandrians[4]. In order to demonstrate this I first attempted to reconstruct from Quintilian and others the exegetical moves standardly made in class as pupils studied with first the *grammaticus* and then the *rhetor*. The

[1] I refer to the following articles: Frances M. Young, 'The Rhetorical Schools and their influence on Patristic Exegesis', in Rowan Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy. Essays in honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 182-199 and 'Typology', in *Crossing the Boundaries. Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce & David E. Orton (Leiden, 1994), pp. 29-48.

[2] Some are already offered in my book, *Biblical Exegesis and the formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, forthcoming); this will be the published version of the Speaker's Lectures given in the University of Oxford, 1992 and 1993.

[3] In the works already noted, especially 'Typology'.

[4] Especially in 'Rhetorical Schools'. It is, of course, true that it is hard to sustain a stark contrast between rhetorical and philosophical schools. There was much mutual influence and many shared interests. But it is a helpful paradigm for delineating certain differences in approach and methodology, and has some basis in the material from Antiquity.

standard distinction was between τὸ μεθοδικόν and τὸ ἱστορικόν, the former dealing with matters of language and text, the latter with background material. Τὸ μεθοδικόν was concerned, then, with the correct reading and construal of the sentences, with the proper sense of the words, especially the archaic terms of a classic like Homer, often using etymology in order to tease this out, and also with things like stylistic devices, especially figures of speech; while τὸ ἱστορικόν did not attempt to distinguish historical background as such from other bits of erudite information which might throw light on the text – it embraced astronomy, geography, natural history, music, anything and everything, including myths and legends, that might satisfy the curiosity of the enquirer (ἱστορεῖν is, after all, 'to enquire'). There is no doubt that the Antiochene commentaries are packed with material belonging to τὸ μεθοδικόν and τὸ ἱστορικόν.

My second argument for taking seriously the issue of exegetical methodology was drawn from a close examination of Eustathius' treatise, *The Witch of Endor and against Origen*, the earliest text which attacks the use of allegory. What I found, to my surprise, was that the treatise in fact accuses Origen of being too literal, of paying too much attention to the verbal details of the text, so drawing false conclusions by not attending to the narrative logic of the whole. Eustathius argues that the story does not imply that Samuel came up from Hades at all — rather the witch played upon the mad mind of Saul so that he seemed to see Samuel; one should certainly not make deductions about the resurrection, as Origen had. In an aside, Eustathius suggests that it is scandalous to take this story literally and allegorize other key biblical narratives. But the principal charge apparently concerns piecemeal interpretations.

I now find confirmation that there was a methodological issue provided by the little known handbook by one Adrianos, entitled *Isagoge ad sacras scripturas*[5]. This is a work devoted to methods of scriptural interpretation. It bears no explicit marks of the controversy, so probably post-dates it, but it clearly belongs to the Antiochene tradition. What Adrianos is concerned to do is to analyse the particular literary characteristics and idioms of Hebrew texts. His first section deals with the διάνοια of scripture. Here he is working with the standard rhetorical distinction between the wording and the sense. He enquires, in particular, how God's ἐνέργειαι are represented by human attributes — in other words, he deals with the anthropomorphic language of the Bible and its underlying sense, which is to be distinguished from the λέξις of the text. No more than Origen does he take literally references to God's eyes, mouth, hands, feet, anger or passions, nor indeed to God sitting, walking, or being clothed, but he never employs the term 'allegory' to describe what he is

[5] I am indebted to R. Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (Habilitationsschrift, posthumously published, Stuttgart/Berlin/Koln/Mains, 1984) for drawing my attention to this work, which is found in Migne, *PG* 98.1273-1312.

doing when he suggests that it is God's knowledge which is expressed in the phrase 'God's eyes on us', and God's mercy in the suggestion that God has ears to hear.

Adrianos' second section concentrates on λέξις, the wording and style, noting the use of metonymy, epitasis, parable, simile and metaphor, rhetorical questions, and so on. The third section looks at the principles of σύνθεσις, and after providing examples of ellipsis, tautology, antistrophe, hyperbaton, transposition, epitasis and pleonasm (every point discussed in this treatise is in fact illustrated by quotations from the scriptural text), he turns to τρόποι, covering the great list of figures of speech distinguished in ancient theory. The list begins with metaphor, parable, syncrisis, hypodeigma, goes on through periphrasis, anakephalaiosis, prosopopoia and hyperbole, then irony, sarcasm, ainigma, paraenesis — I forebear providing the full list of around two dozen. In the midst of all this appears allegory, treated to but 4 lines where, for example, hyperbole merits 16. In other words, allegory is recognised as a figure of speech, but not treated as very important. In the classic passages on allegory, particularly those which discuss Paul's use of the word ἀλληγορούμενα in Gal. 4.25[6], the Antiochenes accept allegory as a figure of speech, but maintain the principle that it must only be identified in texts where something in the text itself demands it[7]. Adrianos sees no need to press the point.

Adrianos also confirms that meaning is grounded in the ἀκολουθία of the text. He uses the analogy of a steersman — the interpreter is blown about if not fixed on the goal. One must begin with the normal sense of words, but one gets a sure and certain outcome by paying attention to scriptural idioms, the figures, tropes, etc., which he has detailed, and by taking the ἀκολουθία seriously. The διάνοια of the words must be earthed in the order found in the body of the text, and the θεωρία must be grounded in the shape (σχῆμα) of that body, and thus the limbs and their synthesis can be discerned properly,

[6] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *On the Minor Epistles of St. Paul*, ed. H.B. Swete (Cambridge, 1880-82), vol. 1, pp. 73 ff; Theodoret on Gal.4.24, Migne, *PG* 82.489; Chrysostom on Gal.4.24, Migne, *PG* 61.662. Cf. Diodore on the Psalms, Prologue and Preface to Ps. 118; the text of the former is found in CCG, vi, while both were published by L. Mariès, 'Extraits du Commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les Psaumes', *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 9 (1919), pp. 79-101. K. Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (Sources of Early Christian Thought. Philadelphia, 1984), has performed an important service in making available in translation the key statements on exegesis found in Theodore and Diodore. As he notes (in the introd. p. 21) the attribution of this material on the Psalms to Diodore is highly probable, though the material comes from an 11th century ms. under the name of Anastasius of Nicaea.

[7] According to Robert M. Grant with David Tracy, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible* (2nd ed. revised and enlarged, London, 1984; chapters 1-15 originally published in 1963), p. 66, 'John Chrysostom observes that "everywhere in scripture there is this law, that when it allegorises, it also gives the explanation of the allegory".' Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 60, provides the Greek of the quotation and the reference: In Is. v.3, Migne, *PG* 56.60 (Bultmann's 't.vi.54, 55' corrected — clearly he meant the 6th vol. of Chrysostom in Migne, which is vol. 56, and his col. numbers do not correspond with the edition available to me).

and nothing is seen beyond the body. Adrianos seems to be suggesting that any insight into the meaning of the text must inhere in the text looked at in its completeness.

Now clearly this usually means that, as Adrianos puts is, the διάνοια corresponds with the ὑπόθεσις of the wording (ῥήσεων) so that the interpretation is according to the λέξις — examples of the application of this principle to prophetic texts, such as Jer. 31.31 ff, show that the prophetic meaning is the literal meaning. But it also seems to confirm another suggestion I have made[8], namely that the difference between Antiochene and Alexandrian exegesis lies in the way perceived deeper meanings were taken to relate to the surface of the text. The difference may be characterized as that between an 'ikonic' and a 'symbolic' relationship. An 'ikon' represents and images the underlying reality, a 'symbol' is a token, with no necessary likeness. Allegory took words as discrete tokens, and by de-coding the text found a spiritual meaning which bore no relation to the construction of the wording or narrative. Antiochene exegesis embraced typology and prophecy, morals and dogma, but only by allowing that the sequence of the text mirrored or imaged the realities discerned by θεωρία. The whole σχῆμα is important.

There are, then methodological issues, and Adrianos confirms my previous conclusions. But two objections may be raised against the position I have outlined. The first is that the Antiochenes had no exclusive rights to these standard methods of philological analysis: the Cappadocians, and others such as Cyril of Alexandria, so successfully married these literary/rhetorical methods with allegorical exposition that they are often said to be eclectic in their methods, and indeed, Origen himself used all these methods[9], and was as well trained in them as the Antiochenes. The second is that the denial of historical interest overlooks the fact that ancient critics were not only familiar with a literary genre called ἱστορία, but with traditions which taught budding lawyers to present arguments for and against the plausibility of narratives — as Eustathius remarked, Greek children learn to distinguish between fact and fiction.

One thing that somewhat blunts the last point, is the fact that Origen used these critical techniques not to preclude but rather enhance his allegory, for they helped to uncover the ἀπορίαι in the text which signalled the Holy Spirit's intention that a meaning other than the impossible literal one should be sought[10]. But clearly the larger issue of how history was understood in the ancient world cannot be passed over. The fact that Lucian could write a treatise objecting to the rhetorical excesses of writers claiming to produce history[11] confirms both the point that ancient readers of this genre expected to be told 'true

[8] In the Speaker's Lectures, to be published, as noted above.

[9] Bernhard Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe* (Basel, 1987).

[10] See R.M. Grant, *The Earliest Lives of Jesus* (London, 1961)

[11] Lucian, *How to Write History*, ed. and Eng. tr. by K. Kilburn, **Loeb Classical Library, vol.** vi of Lucian's works, pp. 2-72.

stories' in an 'objective' way[12] — though clearly they often got questionable ones; indeed, novelistic romances parodied the conventions of 'history'[13] — and also the point that plain factuality was not regarded as the aim either. Even Lucian suggests that the historian, 'if a myth comes along', should tell it but not believe entirely: his advice is 'make it known for the audience to make of it what they will'. History was a descriptive narrative intended to improve as much as inform. The genre embraced not just past events, but all kinds of other information — geographical, cultural, technical, strategic, you name it; and it was supposed to be useful, to explore moral issues, and the interplay of fate and fortune in the affairs of men. The Antiochenes could not have had the anxiety about historicity that has bothered modern scholars, with their detective model of historical research. Nevertheless, there was ancient discussion about the plausibility of narratives, and it is important to realise that Diodore was as anxious as Origen about a talking serpent[14].

That must suffice as reply to the second objection on this occasion. But the reply has itself confirmed the first, namely that Origen and others shared the same methodology as the Antiochenes but came to different conclusions. It is this which makes my final point the more telling, since we have to ask why the methodological issues were taken up. Few get passionate about mere methodology!

I am increasingly convinced that what developed into a methodological discussion was motivated by doctrinal imperatives, though not principally the theological differences identified by Greer[15]. It is noticeable that the charges against allegory time and again rehearse a catalogue of stories whose allegorization gives offence: this catalogue always includes, on the one hand, the narratives of Creation and Paradise, and on the other, the expectation of the resurrection of the body and the Kingdom of God. This is true already in Eustathius; it is most evident in Epiphanius and Jerome; it recurs in the classic discussions of allegory in the Antiochene material[16]. The Antiochene reaction against allegory occurs in the same century as the first Origenist controversy. I suspect that methodological issues with respect to exegesis were addressed precisely to support a defense of the over-arching narrative of the

[12] M.J. Wheeldon, '"True Stories": the reception of historiography in antiquity', in *History as Text*, ed. Averil Cameron (London, 1989), pp. 36-63.

[13] Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Novel*, An Introduction (Eng. tr. by Christine Jackson-Holzberg, London, 1995).

[14] Diodore, Pref. to Ps. 118.

[15] Rowan A. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia. Exegete and Theologian* (Westminster, 1961); and *The Captain of our Salvation. A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (Tübingen, 1973).

[16] For Epiphanius, see my discussion of the work referred to above, *On the Witch of Endor*; for Epiphanius and Jerome, see Elizabeth A. Clarke, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992), which stimulated this proposal; for the Antiochenes, see the texts referred to above, and my discussion of them in the forthcoming book based on the Speaker's lectures.

Rule of Faith, or by then, the creeds, against the excessive spiritualising implicit in Origen's allegory[17].

It was not history as such, nor even simply Christological docetism, that lay at the heart of the attack on allegory, though the threat to realism, materialism and the body was certainly felt. It was largely to do with taking seriously the beginning and ending of the overarching story that gave meaning to the Christian life. This was not to be treated as a mirage or a parable. A talking serpent was not after all fatal, for the speaker was, of course, the devil in serpent's guise. The Antiochenes cared more about the narrative logic of the whole biblical text than about historicity or literalism. Hence their anxiety about the very aspects of the biblical story that modern historians would be most disposed to treat as mythological.

[17] One might also explore the impact of the Anthropomorphite issues raised by the Origenist controversy. No doubt it meant that sensitivities about the anthropomorphic language of the Bible had to be addressed, but not by adopting the Origenist solution. Adrianos' treatise would seem to be proposing an alternative methodological approach via the identification of scriptural idioms in speaking of the divine. The Cappadocian and Syrian response was theological: God chose to clothe the divine self in human language in order to communicate with humanity. Cf. the discussion in my Speaker's Lectures.

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Le discernement selon Saint Jean Cassien

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Dans la préface de ses *Conférences (Collationes Patrum)*, Saint Jean Cassien précise qu'après avoir présenté le côté extérieur et visible de la vie des moines, il passe maintenant aux 'dispositions de l'homme intérieur, invisibles au regard', telles qu'elles lui furent révélées par de saints hommes qui passaient leur vie dans l'ascèse et la contemplation de Dieu, soit dans la solitude, soit dans la paix des monastères[1].

Pour Saint Jean Cassien, la contemplation de la pureté divine représente le sommet de la perfection et la voie qui y mène lui fut montrée par les vénérables anachorètes dont il a partagé la vie et qu'il eût pour maîtres. 'Ce doit être le but premier de nos efforts, l'immuable dessein et la passion constante de notre cœur, d'adhérer toujours à Dieu et aux choses divines'[2]. Dans l'Évangile, Marthe et Marie représentent deux ministères distincts: l'un, pratique, utile, lui aussi, évidemment, l'autre, considéré 'la bonne part', qui consiste à écouter les paroles du Sauveur et à L'adorer. 'Vous voyez, dit Cassien, que le Seigneur établit le bien principal dans la seule 'théorie', c'est-à-dire dans la contemplation divine. Il suit que les autres vertus pour utiles et bonnes que nous les proclamions, doivent pourtant, selon nous, être mises au second rang, parce que c'est en vue d'elle seule que, toutes, elle sont pratiquées'[3].

La contemplation divine est simple et une et à son premier degré consiste en la contemplation d'un petit nombre de saints. Celui qui veut progresser s'élèvera de cette contemplation pour parvenir à ce qui est unique, c'est-à-dire à la contemplation de Dieu. Avec l'aide de la grâce divine, il pourra dépasser les actes et les ministères des saints eux-mêmes, pour ne se nourrir que de la connaissance du Dieu unique et de Sa beauté.

Jusqu'à ce degré spirituel, celui qui s'adonne à l'ascèse doit subir l'assaut des pensées et en retenir celles qui lui sont nécessaires. Tout d'abord, il doit connaître les trois principes de nos pensées, à savoir: Dieu, le démon et nous-mêmes. A cet effet, il est nécessaire de scruter incessamment le fond de notre cœur, afin que ne s'y glisse de pensée qui, n'étant pas purifiée par le feu divin

[1] Jean Cassien, *Conférences* I-VII, Introduction, texte latin, traduction et notes par Dom E. Pichéry ('Sources Chrétiennes', no. 42; Paris 1955), Praefatio, p. 75.

[2] Idem, *Conlatio I*, VIII, p. 85.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 86.

de l'Esprit Saint, prendrait de façon trompeuse les dehors de la piété et mettrait ainsi en danger les fruits des labeurs spirituels. Dans ce processus de connaissance, un rôle capital revient à la grâce de la discrétion ou du discernement, vertu qui a la primauté entre toutes les vertus.

Saint Jean Cassien accorde une importance particulière à la vertu du discernement, exposant dans sa Seconde Conférence, par la bouche de l'abbé Moïse, l'enseignement au sujet de cette vertu, 'de sa grandeur éminente et son utilité, non seulement par des exemples quotidiens, mais par les antiques oracles de nos Pères'[4]. Certes, dans d'autres *Conférences* aussi, il revient sous différentes formes sur le sujet du discernement, pour en montrer l'importance dans l'économie du salut.

Pour parler du bien de la discrétion et de sa vertu, Saint Jean Cassien précise qu'il considère opportun tout d'abord d'en marquer l'excellence par les dires des Pères, puis, après avoir connu l'opinion et l'expérience des prédécesseurs à ce sujet, de même que les exemples de ceux dont la chute, ancienne ou récente, n'eût d'autre cause que le défaut de cette vertu, il se propose d'en montrer finalement les avantages et les bienfaits. De cette manière, c'est-à-dire en tenant compte de la valeur de cette vertu, qui est un très haut présent de la grâce divine, prend naissance en nous le désir de la posséder et de nous y perfectionner. Le discernement est étroitement lié au pouvoir du Saint Esprit. Cassien dit: 'C'est une vertu très haute, que l'esprit humain ne saurait atteindre par lui-même; nous ne pouvons la tenir que de la largesse divine'[5]. Il fait partie des dons du Saint Esprit et, à ce sens, l'Apôtre Paul, après avoir énuméré ces dons, dit: 'à un autre (a accordé) le discernement des esprits' (I Co. 12, 10), montrant par cela que ce don n'est rien de terrestre ou de petit, mais un très haut présent de la grâce divine.

Pour montrer la prééminence du discernement, Saint Jean Cassien relate une conférence de quelques anciens en présence du Saint Antoine, au sujet de la perfection. Les anciens discutèrent longuement quelles voies, quelles observances pourraient garder le moine à l'abri des pièges et des embûches du diable et le faire monter d'un pas assuré et sans défaillance aux sommets de la perfection. Certains proposèrent la voie du jeûne et des veilles, d'autres le renoncement total aux choses de ce monde, d'autres recommandèrent l'anachorèse, c'est-à-dire l'éloignement dans la solitude du désert, d'autres encore, la pratique de la charité, l'amour du prochain. Prenant la parole, Saint Antoine convint que toutes ces pratiques sont utiles à ceux qui s'efforcent de parvenir jusqu'à Dieu. Mais, ceux qui les ont pratiquées ne sont pas toujours parvenus au résultat souhaité, nombreux étant tombés dans l'illusion ou la détresse. 'Les œuvres des vertus que vous avez nommées surabondaient en eux; l'absence de la seule discrétion fit qu'elles ne purent persévérer jusqu'à la fin. On ne voit

[4] *Ibidem*, XXIII, p. 107.
[5] Idem, *Conlatio II*; I, p. 111.

pas, en effet, d'autre cause à leur chute, sinon que, n'ayant pas eu la chance d'être formés par des anciens, ils ne purent acquérir cette vertu laquelle, se tenant également éloignée des deux excès contraires, enseigne le moine à marcher toujours par une voie royale et ne lui permet de s'écarter ni à droite, dans une vertu sottement présomptueuse et une ferveur exagérée, qui passent les bornes de la juste tempérance, ni à gauche, vers le relâchement et le vice, et, sous prétexte de bien régler le corps, dans une paresseuse tiédeur de l'esprit'[6].

Ce n'est pas par hasard que Saint Jean Cassien invoque l'opinion du grand Antoine au sujet du discernement. Comme Saint Antoine, il est, lui aussi, un homme de la pratique et non de la théorie. La personne de Saint Antoine, sa piété et son ascèse étaient, certes, bien connues aux moines de l'époque et il est à supposer que sa *Vie* aussi, écrite par le saint patriarche d'Alexandrie, le grand Athanase, fût connue par Cassien. Dans cette *Vie*, l'auteur relate qu'après vingt années d'ascèse sévère dans la solitude de la montagne, Antoine était 'intègre, égal avec soi, comme quelqu'un qui est guidé par le discernement et établi en ce qui est propre à la nature'[7]. En effet, le bienheureux Antoine était parvenu à discerner les mauvais esprits, les démons, qui s'efforcent par tous les moyens à empêcher les chrétiens de monter au ciel, d'où ils sont tombés. 'C'est pour cela, souligne Saint Antoine, qu'il est besoin de beaucoup de prières et d'ascèse pour que celui qui ait reçu de l'Esprit Saint le don du discernement des esprits puisse connaître leurs secrets... car nombreuses sont leurs ruses et innombrables leurs embûches'[8].

Les témoignages tirés de la Sainte Ecriture ou de la tradition des Pères sont invoqués dans un système de pensée presque identique par le grand théologien alexandrin Origène. Il dit: 'quant aux pensées qui nous viennent du cœur, comme un souvenir des actes passés ou une contemplation de ce qui fut, nous constatons que parfois elles sont issues de nous-mêmes, d'autres fois nous sont insufflées par les puissances du mal, et d'autres fois nous sont envoyées par Dieu même ou par Ses saints anges'[9]. Et, à l'appui de ses affirmations, Origène offre des arguments scripturaires. Il cite également le *Pasteur* d'Hermas, où il est affirmé que l'homme est accompagné par deux anges; lorsque dans nos cœurs surgissent de bonnes pensées, c'est le signe qu'elles nous sont envoyées par le bon ange. Si les pensées sont mauvaises, c'est l'ange du mal qui nous les envoie (Préceptes XXI, 1-2). *L'Epître* dite de Barnabas donne le même enseignement quand elle parle des deux voies: la voie de la lumière et celle des ténèbres, pour lesquelles sont désignés des anges différents: pour la voie de la lumière, les anges de Dieu, pour la voie des ténèbres, les anges de Satan. Origène précise que ce que ces anges nous

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 113.
[7] Saint Athanase le Grand, *Vie de Saint Antoine*, XIV.
[8] Ibidem, XXII.
[9] Origen, *De principiis* III, 2, 4, éd. Koetschau, pp. 250-251.

envoient dans le cœur, les pensées, soient-elles bonnes ou mauvaises, ne produisent que 'de l'émotion ou une stimulation', qui nous pousse vers le bien ou le mal. Mais l'homme a la possibilité de repousser les bons ou les mauvais esprits qui agissent sur lui, grâce à son libre arbitre qui peut écarter les mauvaises pensées qui l'assaillent, mais aussi la grâce divine qui nous appelle vers le bien, car 'la faculté du libre-arbitre demeure intacte dans un cas comme dans un autre'[10].

On voit qu'Origène met l'accent sur le libre-arbitre comme centre du discernement, qui demeure intacte et ne se diminue nullement par l'intervention des bons ou des mauvais esprits[11]. Au contraire, Evagre le Pontique, le renommé disciple d'Origène, souligne l'emprise des démons sur l'âme si celle-ci n'est pas affermie par l'ascèse, par la charité qui guérit de la colère, par la prière qui purifie l'esprit et par le jeûne, qui anéantit l'envie. Celui qui méprise les trois pensées funestes pour l'âme — la gourmandise, l'avarice et la vaine gloire — qui résument toutes les autres pensées sataniques, porte en lui 'l'éclat de la lumière divine qui affermit la force intellectuelle de l'âme pendant la prière'[12].

On ne peut pas affirmer avec certitude que Saint Jean Cassien eût connu directement l'œuvre d'Origène; il n'y a non plus de preuve qu'il eût rencontré Evagre, renommé parmi les moines égyptiens et qui s'endormait dans le Seigneur à l'époque où Cassien quittait les moines égyptiens. Mais, il est à supposer que l'enseignement d'Evagre circulait parmi les moines, dont certains étaient des admirateurs d'Origène, et qu'ainsi l'érudit moine de Dobroudja pût entrer en contact avec la doctrine de ces deux grands théologiens. L'affirmation d'Evagre que 'l'éclat de la lumière divine affermie le pouvoir intellectuel de l'âme', chez Cassien est équivalente au don du discernement. Il dit: 'C'est la discrétion qui est appelée dans l'Evangile l'œil et la lampe du corps. *La lampe de votre corps*, dit le Sauveur, *c'est votre œil. Si votre œil est simple tout votre corps sera lumineux; mais si votre œil est mauvais, tout votre corps sera ténébreux* (Mt 6, 22-23). Elle discerne, en effet toutes les pensées de l'homme et ses actes, examine et voit dans la lumière ce que nous devons faire. Si cet œil intérieur est mauvais, en d'autres termes, si nous manquons ou de science ou d'un jugement sûr, et nous laissons abuser par l'erreur ou la présomption, tout notre corps sera ténébreux; entendez que tout en nous, pénétration de l'intelligence et activité, sera obscurci, car le vice aveugle et la passion est mère des ténèbres. *Si la lumière qui est en vous est ténèbres*, dit encore le Sauveur, *combien grandes seront les ténèbres*! (Mt 6, 23). Il n'est douteux pour personne que, si nous avons un jugement faux et plongé dans la nuit de

[10] *Ibidem.*

[11] G. Bardy, 'Le discernement des esprits', II 'Chez les Pères', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, III (Paris, 1957), col. 1249.

[12] Evagre le Pontique, *Chapitres sur le discernement des passions et des pensées*, Philocalie I (Sibiu, 1947), pp. 48-50.

l'ignorance, nos pensées aussi et nos œuvres, qui en dérivent comme de leur source, seront enveloppées des ténèbres du péché'[13].

Le patriarche Cyrille de Jérusalem (†386) expliquait à ceux qui s'apprêtaient à recevoir le baptême que les mauvais esprits, ennemis des hommes, se jettent sauvagement sur eux tandis que l'Esprit Saint envoie Ses rayons éclatants de lumière pour éclairer les âmes, d'abord l'âme de celui qui Le reçoit et puis, par celui-ci, d'autres âmes aussi. L'âme de celui habité par la grâce du Saint Esprit s'éclaire, et il voit les choses supraterrestres qu'auparavant il ignorait. Son corps est sur terre, mais son âme regarde dans le ciel comme dans un miroir. Saint Cyrille offre comme exemple de discernement entre le bien et le mal l'Apôtre Saint Pierre, qui connut le mensonge d'Ananias, et le prophète Elisée qui, éclairé par le Saint Esprit, connût la mauvaise action de Guéhazi, bien qu'il n'y assistât pas; Guéhazi était allé en cachette chercher Naamân, que son maître Elisée avait guéri de la lèpre, et lui demanda de l'argent pour sa guérison; en retour, il fut frappé lui aussi de la lèpre. Le Saint Esprit avait donné à Elisée, en même temps que le discernement, la capacité de voir clairement ce qui se passait ailleurs[14].

Le discernement n'est pas seulement la lampe de notre corps, mais, selon la Sainte Ecriture, il est aussi le gouvernail de notre existence, sans lequel nous ne devons rien entreprendre. L'absence du discernement est très préjudiciable au moine: 'Comme une ville démantelée qui n'a plus de rempart, tel est l'homme dont l'esprit n'a plus de frein' (Proverbes, 25,28). Le discernement, c'est le rempart; sans la sagesse, l'intelligence et le jugement on ne peut élever notre maison intérieure, ni la remplir de biens spirituels (Proverbes 24, 3-4). Ces biens, précieux et utiles, constituent la bonne nourriture, que ne peuvent prendre que les 'adultes', ceux qui sont parfaits: 'Les adultes, par contre prennent de la nourriture solide, eux qui, par la pratique, ont le sens exercés à discerner ce qui est bon et ce qui est mauvais' (*Hé.* 5, 14). Le discernement est considéré tellement important et utile qu'il est comparé à la parole de Dieu et à ses vertus, selon les dires du même Apôtre: 'Vivante, en effet, est la parole de Dieu, énergique et plus tranchante qu'aucun glaive à double tranchant. Elle pénètre jusqu'à diviser âme et esprit, articulations et moelles. Elle passe au crible les mouvements et les pensées du cœur'. (*Hé.* 4, 12). 'Tous ces textes, dit Cassien, rendent bien manifeste cette vérité que, sans la grâce de la discrétion, il n'est point de vertu achevée ni constante. Ainsi fut-il décidé, d'une commune voix, par le bienheureux Antoine et tous les assistants que c'est la discrétion qui conduit le moine d'un pas ferme et sans qu'il ait rien à redouter jusqu'à Dieu, et conserve à jamais intactes les vertus mêmes dont il avait été parlé; que par elle on gravit avec moins de peine le faîte sublime de la perfection où, sans son aide, beaucoup n'avaient pu parvenir qui s'étaient dépensés

[13] Jean Cassien, *Conférences*, II, II, pp. 113-114.
[14] Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Catéchèse*, XVI, pp. 15-17.

cependant bien davantage. Car la mère, gardienne et modératrice de toutes les vertus, c'est la discrétion'[15].

Pour confirmer cette définition, Saint Jean Cassien offre plusieurs exemples de moines qui, considérant qu'à force de jeûne, de veilles et de prières, ils avaient acquis le don de la discrétion, s'étaient abusés à se conduire plutôt par leur propre jugement qu'obéir aux conseils des frères et aux règles des Pères, se laissant ainsi prendre aux pièges du démon et faisant de lourdes chutes. Ainsi, un vieux moine nommé Héron, fut poussé par le démon à se précipiter dans un puits, le malin l'ayant assuré que, par le mérite de ses vertus et de ses travaux, il était soustrait à tout danger. Un autre, errant dans le désert, sans nourriture et sans eau, refusa par manque de discernement, l'aide offerte par des brigands. Un autre moine, abusé par un démon qui avait pris les apparences d'un ange de lumière, était prêt à immoler son propre fils, qui vivait avec lui au monastère, pour égaler par ce sacrifice la vertu du patriarche Abraham. Enfin, un autre moine mésopotamien, que le diable abusa si bien par des révélations et des songes trompeurs qu'après tant de travaux et de vertus, qui l'avaient mis hors de pair parmi les moines de la région, il fit une chute lamentable, passant au judaïsme[16]. Tous ces moines avaient perdu leur salut par défaut de discrétion.

De quelle manière peut-on donc reconnaître si un enseignement est de Dieu, ou bien s'il est faux ou diabolique, autrement dit, comment se rendre compte si la discrétion est juste au fausse? La réponse de Cassien c'est que 'la discrétion ne s'acquiert qu'au prix d'une vraie humilité. De celle-ci la première preuve sera de laisser aux anciens le jugement de toutes ses actions et de ses pensées mêmes, tellement que l'on ne se fie pour rien à son sens propre, mais qu'en toutes choses l'on acquiesce à leurs décisions et que l'on ne veuille connaître que de leur bouche ce qu'il faut tenir pour bon, ce qu'il faut regarder comme mauvais'[17]. Saint Jean Cassien met un accent particulier sur le lien qui existe entre le père spirituel, l'ancien, qui doit être âgé et riche en expérience spirituelle, et la confession des péchés, qui doit être complète et allant jusqu'aux pensées les plus cachées. 'Le moyen d'atteindre facilement à la science de la vraie discrétion est donc de marcher sur les traces des anciens. N'ayons la présomption ni d'innover, ni de nous en rapporter pour quoi que ce soit à notre sens propre; mais allons toujours le chemin que leurs enseignements et que leur sainte vie nous auront appris. Cette forte formation n'aura pas seulement l'avantage de nous mener à la parfaite discrétion, elle nous mettra encore à l'abri de toutes les embûches de l'ennemi'[18].

[15] Jean Cassien, *Conférences*, II, IV, pp. 115-116.
[16] *Ibidem*, V-VIII, pp. 116-119.
[17] *Ibidem*, X, p. 120.
[18] *Ibidem*, XI; XV, p. 123; 131.

Dans le *Conférence* XVIII, l'abbé Piamoun apprécie comme manque de discrétion la tendance de certains jeunes de discuter et de critiquer les traditions des anciens, car 'il n'entrera jamais dans la vérité celui qui commence à s'instruire en disputant. L'ennemi, voyant qu'il se fie plus a son jugement qu'à celui des Pères, l'amènera sans peine à regarder comme superflues et périlleuses les choses même les plus utiles et les plus salutaires. Ce maître en artifices se jouera de sa présomption; tant et si bien, qu'à force de s'entêter dans ses opinions déraisonnables, il en viendra jusqu'à se persuader que cela seul est saint, que son aveugle obstination trouve juste et bon'[19].

Aucun moine, soit-ile jeune ou vieux, ne doit donc se fier à son propre jugement ni à ses propres idées, mais doit marcher sur les traces des anciens à expérience spirituelle, mesurant ainsi par la sagesse de ceux-ci tant leur état de perfection que le degré d'acquisition du discernement.

Chez les moines, le discernement se constate d'habitude dans leur attitude à l'égard de la pratique du jeûne et des veilles. L'excès de jeûne aboutit à l'affaiblissement. De même, la veille sans fin et le sommeil sans mesure. Saint Jean Cassien recommande de passer entre les deux extrêmes, sous la guide de la discrétion, en suivant une voie modérée qui soit celle de la tempérance. Et la mesure de la tempérance, c'est que chacun s'accorde, selon la santé de son corps et son âge, ce qu'il faut de nourriture pour sustenter le corps, pas assez pour l'assouvir[20].

Et, comme une conclusion à ce que nous avons exposé en ces quelques pages, on peut affirmer que la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien sur le discernement, ou la discrétion, s'intègre au plan général de transformation spirituelle des moines, qui doivent être des modèles de vie parfaite et non des objets d'admiration qui s'avèrent inutiles lorsqu'il s'agit d'écarter les vices. Le discernement, l'évitement des excès, l'humilité et l'ouverture du cœur sont tout aussi nécessaires de nos jours aussi et non seulement aux moines, mais à tous les chrétiens.

[19] Idem, *Conférences XVIII-XXIV*, éd. Pichéry 'Sources Chrétiennes', No. 64 (Paris 1959); *Conlatio* XVIII, III, p. 13.

[20] *Ibidem*, XVI-XXIV, pp. 131-135.

Galen and Antony: Anger and Disclosure

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As is well known, in section 87 of the *Life of Antony* the saint is at one point referred to as 'a physician given by God to Egypt'[1]. Interestingly, the context of this remark has nothing to do with Antony healing the sick or curing disease; rather the remark is made to characterize Antony's support of the emotionally troubled. 'For who went to him grieving and did not return rejoicing? Who went in lamentation over his dead, and did not immediately put aside his sorrow? Who visited while angered and was not changed to affection?'[2] Reports of Antony's miraculous cures of illnesses notwithstanding, Antony is said to be *a physician* given by God to Egypt because he *cures souls*. What I want to do in this short paper is to read the *Life* as an analysis of moral psychology from the late hellenistic era, focusing on one particular aspect of its moral analysis which seems to me to be both distinctive to and important for the *Life*, namely, its handling of the problem of anger. I will show that the moral psychology of the *Life* belongs to the psychotherapeutic tradition which understands the problem of passions by analogy with the problem of illness, and which comprehends both cases within the perspective of a medical philosophy (a tradition Nussbaum has recently called *The Therapy of Desire*)[3]; and that both these features appear not only in the *Life of Antony* but also in the *Letters* attributed to Antony. Along the way we will have the opportunity to examine doctrinal parallels and potential sources for the *Life*'s therapy of anger.

The treatment of anger in Section 55 of the *Life of Antony* is both substantial and striking. The section begins by recalling Ephesians 4:26, 'not to let the sun go down on your anger' which is then tied to 2 Cor. 13:5, that you 'should examine yourselves and test yourselves'. In other words, the dissolution of anger is accomplished by self-examination. Both 'our actions and the stirrings of our soul' are to be recalled in detail 'as though we were going to give an account to one another'[4]. Faced with the prospect of what the content of such

[1] Kallistos Ware, for example, begins his Foreword to *The Letters of St. Antony the Great*, by refering to this passage. See Derwas J. Chitty's translation of this text (Oxford, 1975), p. V.

[2] *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. Robert C. Gregg, (New York/Toronto, 1980), p. 94.

[3] Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, 1994).

[4] Gregg, *Life of Antony*, p. 73.

an account would be if a monk actually had to express it verbally to another, the shame of that imagined event will cause the monk to eliminate sinful thoughts so as to change the content of that account of one's self[5]. Given Antony's pointed remark that the Lord is already 'searching out the hidden things' of one's soul (1 Cor. 4:5 and Rom. 2:16), the revelation of the content of that self-examination is not entirely hypothetical; nonetheless, it is the shame of the imagined public revelation which gives the motivating edge to the monk's process of recollection and transformation.

In itself the prescription for dealing with anger in section 55 need not suggest a medical context, but what follows next in the *Life* relates this treatment of anger specifically to medicine. Section 56 identifies Antony as one through whom God cures or heals, and sections 57 and 58 give stories of Antony's medical cures. We have here a thematic unit which runs from sections 55 to 58 which first presents Antony as he treats souls and then identifies him as a physician (reversing the sequence but making the same conceptual connection found in section 87 of the *Life* quoted at the very beginning of this article)[6].

The usual authority cited by scholars for the therapeutic link made in the *Life* between disclosure and anger is Seneca, a Latin author whose works neither Anthony nor Athanasius nor any imaginable redactor of the Greek *Life* could have read. If one looks rather for a psychotherapeutic text that would have actually been available in Egypt, written in Greek, and by an author who was regarded with authority in fourth century Alexandria, then one finds Galen's *On the Passion of the Soul*[7], a treatise which identifies anger as a paradigmatic passion to be cured as part of the process of living the virtuous life, and which offers recollection and disclosure as the means by which the treatment of anger (and passion) is to be accomplished[8].

[5] The confidence that the *Life* displays at the monk's ability to completely eliminate anger and passions generally is noteworthy, and in its own way locates the moral psychology of the text within a spectrum of classical opinions on this question. See Hankinson's comments upon Galen's relative confidence *vis à vis* this very question in 'Actions and Passions'[see n. 9, below], pp. 203-204. Not all hellenistic-era Christians would have agreed with the *Life* that passions could be completely eliminated: Clement would have agreed, but others like Gregory of Nyssa would have disagreed because they regarded *the control of passions* to have been the goal of Christians.

[6] One assumes that from the literary-critical perspective, the speech by Antony at 55 about anger would be prior to the medical frame of 56-58. Sections 59 to 66 constitute a collection of miracle stories which resemble 57 and 58 as miracle-tales but which have no connection to medicine either in terms of psychotherapy or Antony as physician. I suggest that the thematic stratification of 55 (psychotherapy), 56-58 (medical miracles), 59-66 (miracles generally) may reveal a redactive stratification as well.

[7] *Galen: On the Passion and Errors of the Soul*, Paul W. Harkins, trans. (Columbus, Ohio, 1963).

[8] Galen serves as a proximate source or authority for Antony or some literary strata of the *Life* not because Galen was an Alexandrian — he was not, except briefly — but because the content of the medical curriculum in Alexandria came to be more and more dominated by Galenic stud-

In chapter two of *On the Passion of the Soul* Galen dwells at length on the problem of anger, particularly as a source of uncontrolled physical violence[9]. In Galen's opinion, the difficulty with correcting one's personal faults lies in the impediment self-love brings to self-understanding. In order to remove this effect of self-love we must gain an understanding of ourselves which comes from a source other than ourselves. We must find someone who lives a good life, tell everything about our feelings, and then ask for that person's judgement. Meticulous and comprehensive honesty is stressed by Galen as the necessary means by which this wise person can recognize the fault-lines of our passions and tell us of them so that we may first control and eventually eliminate them.

One notewothy feature of the *Life of Antony* 55 and of *On the Passion of the Soul* (II) is that in both texts the therapy of anger is treated as the paradigmatic case of the therapy of all psychological sins. The treatment of anger as the test case for the problem of passions had a long tradition in Graeco-Roman moral psychology[10]. One long-running and much commented upon case-study in anger is the story of Medea; Chrysippus' comments on her violence became an enduring point-of-departure for a number of later reflections on the problem of the passions generally and of anger specifically. Clement of Alexandria comments upon Medea in his discussions of the problem of passions at *Stromateis* II.15, a problem he resolves by appealing to Christ the physician and 1 Peter 2.24 (or Isa. 53.5), 'by his stripes we are healed', a scriptural text which is foundational in Antony's *Letters* #II, III, IV, V and VII. Clement thus serves as an Alexandrian and Christian antecedent to an anthropology linking a cure for anger with the salvation brought by Christ.

The oft-cited case of Seneca's endorsement of introspection as a therapy for anger was offered by him as a solution to the problem of anger as a civic or public emotion. The anger which Seneca is concerned to remedy is the martial anger of soldiers which results in massacre, or the sycophantic anger of property-owners which results in cruelty to slaves. The inevitable public utility of anger for the polity is not doubted by Seneca, and he must be able to argue, as stoicism had to argue, that war and punishment would still be enacted by the true Stoic, but without anger[11]. On the other hand, although the anger that

ies beginning in the third and fourth centuries, i.e., after Galen's death but precisely in the time in which Antony or his biographer lived in Egypt. See A.K. Iskandar, 'An Attempted Reconstruction of the late Alexandrian Medical Curriculum', *Medical History*, XX (1976), pp. 235-258.

[9] See R.J. Hankinson's analysis of Galen's therapy of passions in his 'Actions and Passions: affection, emotion and moral self-management in Galen's philosophical psychology', in *Passions and Perceptions*, ed. Jacques Brunschwig and Martha C. Nussbaum (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 184-221; here pp. 198-203.

[10] See D.S. Hutchinson, 'Doctrines of the Mean in the Debate Concerning Skills in Fourth Century Medicine, Rhetoric and Ethics', *Method, Medicine and Metaphysics*, ed. R.J. Hankinson. (Edmonton, 1988), pp. 17-52; and Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire*, chapters nine and ten.

[11] The understanding of a necessary civic anger which acts out of justice may depend upon a literal (and to that extent, very modern) reading of the *Republic's* 'three-parted soul' doctrine, in which θῦμός is necessary for the well ordered state.

Galen observes and hopes to heal is still largely anger as it exists in a polity, nonetheless Galen never acknowledges, or allows for, an inevitable public utility to anger[12]. While Seneca was concerned about what someone does out of anger, Galen is concerned about what that anger does to the mind that feels it. In this regard the Antony of the *Life* is closer to Galen than to Seneca.

The turn to introspection suggested by Antony in the *Life* as a therapy for anger is *not* offered in the context of anger as a civic or public problem. In the simplest of terms, there are no human power relationships presumed in the world described by the *Life*, excepting Antony's power over demons[13]. Perhaps unexpectedly, this brings us to a difference between Galen's and Antony's advice on anger and disclosure. Galen advises that one seek out a wise person to whom one reveals one's self completely, and then await the judgement of that person. Antony's advice in the *Life* presupposes no other human judgement than one's own. Antony remarks that in listing our sins we can *imagine* the shame that would come if they were known, but he never suggests — unlike Galen — that we actually reveal those sins to others. Antony puts the power of judgement in Christ and he puts the moment of judgement in the future because (at least according to the letters) Christ is *the* 'physician' Who judges and cures[14]. While Antony's position is doctrinally related to Galen's in that he recognizes the need for a judge or therapist, whom he replaces with Christ, nonetheless in its practical aspects Antony's position is more like the traditional Stoic one typified by Seneca. Given recent scholarly readings of the *Life* which situate it within an Athanasian project of asserting the episcopal structure over-against the authority of the holy person, there is a missed opportunity to justify an abba as the wise person one confesses to[15]. I believe that section 55 represents a first stratum logion of Antony's, free of any institutional framing. One can easily imagine that Antony's logion about anger — with its medical imagery — was set beside the stories of his medical cures.

There are other partial similarities to Stoic-like psychology in the moral analysis of the *Life* and the *Letters*. The very first mention of anger occurs early in the *Life* (at #20-21), when Antony criticizes the Greek understanding of how one gains virtue: in particular Antony criticizes the Greeks for thinking that

[12] I would go so far as to suggest that the point of Galen's autobiographical reminiscence of his mother's anger is to situate passion in a world beyond civic polity (or a world prior to civic polity). The story of Galen's friend who, enraged, mutilates his slave is the prototypical Stoic civic fable; the story of Galen's mother who, enraged, mutilates her slave (etc.), is a fable of the soul's fate.

[13] One thinks, for example, of the remark at the beginning of 84 that 'Antony did, in fact, heal without issuing commands, but by praying and calling on the name of Christ...'. Gregg, p. 92. That the world of the *Life* lacks *human to human* power relationships is, I take it, dramatized in Antony's nonchalant response to the Emperor's request for communication in section 81.

[14] The 'judgement' quality of the physician is brought out well by Nussbaum in her *The Therapy of Desire*.

[15] See David Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (Oxford, 1995).

they have to leave home to gain wisdom (a comment Clement of Alexandria might have had something to say about!) But having criticized the Greeks, Antony then describes entering the Kingdom of Heaven in terms of the intellectual virtue of the soul, a concept which gives back to Greek sensibilities what the earlier remark about travel seemed to have taken away. Antony says that 'All [that] virtue needs, then, is our willing, since it is in us, and arises from us. For virtue exists when the soul maintains its intellectual part, according to nature'[16]. Here Antony also gives back to Clement what he took away in the earlier remark on travel, for Clement had argued in some detail that faith and virtue are in our power, that 'training ourselves and subjection to the commandments is in our own power'[17]. Antony then remarks that the soul's virtue consists in keeping its intellectual part — the νοητόν — true to the nature it was born with. Sin consists in turning away from our original nature. It is at this point that Antony introduces the issue of anger: the soul in its originality will be preserved if we do not let 'anger rule us or desire overwhelm us', language which — incidentally — returns us to the question of 'power' relations.

Now, when Antony talks about the intellectual soul turning from its own original nature he does not describe the dynamic of the turn to the passions in terms of a struggle among diverse psychological forces within us which results from some internal fissure. Nothing suggests an internal separation of moral drives or an internal conflict among moral forces. The soul as moral agent, then, is wholly simple; all moral conflict originates from outside, and even then not outside as passions might be said to originate 'from outside', but originating from outside from moral agents every bit as wholly simple as the νοητόν: namely, the demons[18]. A very similar understanding of the human 'simple mind' is found in the letters attributed to Antony. *Letter* III says that due to the 'enemies of virtue' the 'implanted law [in humans] dried up and the senses of the soul grew weak, so that men could not find themselves as they truly are according to their creation'. But '[t]he rational man who has prepared himself to be set free through the advent of Jesus, knows himself in his [own] intellectual substance'[19].

What we have then in both the *Life* and the *Letters* is a strikingly monistic account of the intellectual soul as moral agent, the kind of account normally associated with stoicism[20]. The analysis of passions in the *Life* lacks any map-

[16] Gregg, *Life of Antony*, p. 46.

[17] *Strom*. II.15, ANF II 361, 362.

[18] Immediately after giving this account of what our virtue and vice is, Antony gives his understanding of the moral genealogy of demons.

[19] All quotations in this paragraph are from Chitty, *The Letters of St. Antony the Great*, p. 9.

[20] 'Monistic' not in the sense that passions and reason have the same psychic source, or that affections are judgements of the rational soul, but in the sense that the soul has only one active source which either works properly (i.e., 'according to nature') or works improperly ('diseased' or, in the favorite term of the *Letters*, 'wounded').

ping out of the soul into parts of faculties from which specific kinds of feeling arise. One sees no sign of a division of the soul into rational of irrational, much less the threefold division of the soul into rational, temper and desiring. Language with possible psychological senses — such as λόγος (and ἄλογος), θῦμός, μέρος and δύναμις — is used completely without any such technical senses[21].

The moral psychologies of the two traditions of Antony-texts are similar in distinctive ways: both texts seem Stoic in their emphasis on the unity of the intellect or rational soul and in their implicit neglect of technical language associated with the 'parts' or 'faculties' language one associates with Platonism or Aristotelianism. Rubenson has suggested that in the *Letters* Antony uses the division 'body, soul and mind' in its technical sense of Plato's division of the soul into three parts[22]. The presence of this language in the *Letters* is overstated by Rubenson, I think, and in any case I would argue that its appearance reflects not the generic influence of Plato, but the favored phrasing of Egyptian liturgy, as Brightman and Emmett have pointed out[23].

The fact that the *Life* does not use technical moral faculty or division language brings up another issue in light of the central role played by moral analogies to illness. Galen testifies to a Middle Platonic critique of the Stoic use of 'illness' language to describe passions which is based on the compositional presuppositions implicit in the idea of 'disease'. To speak of 'disease', Galen remarks in criticism of Chrysippus, is to speak of an imbalance among the parts which compose an organ or organism; to use 'disease' to speak of a condition of the soul makes sense only if one is speaking of an imbalance among the parts or faculties which compose the soul[24]. Galen and the Platonists can speak this way, but Chrysippus and the Stoics cannot (precisely because they deny that the soul is composed of parts or faculties). The *Life*'s use of the illness metaphor without reference to moral psychology of psychic parts or faculties leads one to expect an emphasis on the

21 For Galen the use by Chrysippus of the medical analogy of 'diseases' in the soul raises the question of the unity of the soul. The authoritative definition of 'health' is 'a proper balance among the (body's) parts' while disease is 'an improper balance among the (body's) parts'. Yet if Chryssipus denies that the soul has any 'parts' then he cannot speak of the soul's health or sickness since these terms are meaningless when applied to anything partless. See *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, V.2.48-3.23.

22 Samual Rubensen, *The Letters of St. Antony: Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint* (Lund, 1990), p. 68.

23 F.E. Brightman, 'Soul, Body, Spirit', *Journal of Theological Studies* 2 (1900-1), pp. 273-274, and *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol I (1965 rpt.; Oxford, 1896); and Alanna Emmet, 'The Concept of Spirit in Papyrus Letters of the Third and Fourth Century: Problems Posed by P. Harr. 107', in *Prudentia Supplementary* (1985), pp. 73-79.

24 At *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, III.3.18 ff., Galen criticizes Chrysippus for not recognizing that the description of Medea's anger testifies to the fact that anger (and all the passions) are not the activity of the rational soul but of another part of the soul.

soul's unity, which is what one indeed finds in the work. The use of 'wound' terminology in the *Letters* may then be the expression of an alternate, non-homeopathetic understanding of 'disease' which is the basis for the analogy with the soul. These sensitivities exist at a primitive state, however, and support the impression that Antony's (or the Antonian school's) knowledge of current technical analyses of passions is probably taken at second or third hand. We can contrast the limited technical awareness shown in the *Life* and *Letters* with the awareness shown by Basil of Caesarea and his brother Gregory, who also use the medical analogy of the soul, accompanied (in some cases with great emphasis) by a doctrine of the soul's moral composition[25].

When analyzing anger and other passions the tendency of both the *Life* and the *Letters* is to set the analysis in a medical context rather than a strict psychological one. This shift to a moral analysis cast in medical language rather than a moral analysis cast in psychological language is more subtle in the *Life* than in the *Letters* (a fact which is true of a number of similarities between the texts), but in each case the shift has the same outcome: to allow for christology and, as we might say in modern jargon, to turn 'anthropology' into 'theological anthropology'[26].

Leaving aside the 'Athanasian' material, a slightly different christology begins to emerge: Christ is accomplishing the salvation of humanity by the healing of its members through his servant, Antony. Repeatedly the *Life* offers the observation that Antony heals by calling on the name of Christ, so that everyone would know that it is not he, but 'the Lord [who is] bringing his benevolence to effect through Antony and curing those afflicted'[27]. Antony heals by exorcising demons, curing illnesses of the body, and offering therapy for the passions. Those who see through Antony to the true source of healing, seeing Antony as transparent to the Lord, find a sufficency in Christ[28]. The

[25] Basil's homiletic treatment of anger in *Against Those Who are Prone to Anger* begins with a reference to the physicians, which I take to be an acknowledgment of the place medicine has in the treatment of anger. See Owsei Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians* (Baltimore, 1991), pp. 171-177, for the role of 'spiritual medicine' in Basil's theology and ascetism, although Temkin passes lightly over medical influence in Antony's theology.

[26] Thus I disagree with Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*, pp. 138-9, who states that the 'Christocentric perspective in the *Vita* is completely alien to' the *Letters*. Such a judgement by Rubenson seems possible because he has failed to recognize the significance in the doctrine of 'Christ, the Physician' (and the exegesis of Jer. 8:22 and Isa. 53.5) found in the *Letters*. Although Rubenson mentions the theme of 'Christ the Physician' (at pp. 76-77, 137), he fails to develop this doctrine as central to the christology of the *Letters*. Instead Rubenson emphasizes the gnoseological character of the *Letters*' doctrine of salvation (see pp. 132-135).

[27] Here, section 84, Gregg, *Life*, p. 92. The same point is made at the healing of the possessed daughter at section 48. At section 56 the story is told that although Antony healed, all those he cured were 'to know that healing belonged neither to him nor to men at all, but only to God who acts whenever he wishes and for whomever he wishes. The ones who suffered therefore received the words of the old man (Antony) as healing...'. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[28] Gregg, *Life*, p. 89.

'faith in Christ' that is '*sufficent* in itself' is αὐτάρκης, the word that Galen (among others) uses for the sufficency that is the true sign and ultimate reward of the virtuous person[29]. In both works, then, Christ acts to heal, and in healing, restores humanity to its virtuous state. The *Life* describes Christ's healing activity through his instrument, Antony, while the *Letters* provide the broad soteriological context for and justification of that healing, namely that the fundamental condition of humanity is that it is wounded, and the fundamental identity of the Savior is that He heals.

This, I would suggest, is the most profound play of *the therapy of desire* in the two works, indicative of a real doctrinal continuity between them. Who is Christ in the *Letters*? Christ is the great physician, the balm of Gilead (Jer. 8:22), by whose stripes we are healed (Isa. 53.4): *Letter* III says '... the Creator saw that the human wound had grown great, and needed the care of a physician — and Jesus Himself is their Creator, and He heals us Himself...'. The Great Physician heals the 'heaviness of the body and the evil cares' which weaken the soul. This is Christ in the *Letters*. Antony's mission, then, as 'physician to Egypt' is to teach the cure, while his *Life* shows all the health that heaven allows.

[29] See Hankinson, 'Actions and Passions', p. 208.

Oral Culture and Biblical Interpretation in Early Egyptian Monasticism

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I. Introduction:

A story from the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* tells of an encounter between some brothers and Abba Poemen. The brothers ask Poemen why it is that Abba Agathon, who is so young, should be called 'Abba'. Poemen responds: 'Because his mouth makes him worthy to be called Abba'[1]. What kind of a commendation is this? Why should Agathon's *mouth* make him worthy to be called Abba, a title not accorded to every monk but only to those deemed to have acquired real depth of holiness? Is it because of his eloquence? His astuteness as an interpreter of scripture? Or is it perhaps his reticence to speak, his commanding silence? Whatever the precise reason, here, as in so many other places in the desert literature, the perception of an elder's holiness depends upon his or her reputation as someone who knows what to do with words.

This makes perfect sense when one considers the influence of oral culture on early Christian monasticism. For the encounter with words for most monks

[1] Poemen 61 (*PG* 65: 336D). *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* is a particularly important source for investigating this question because of the influence of oral culture on its development and form. On this particular question and for a fuller elaboration of the themes presented below, see: Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York, 1993).

References that follow are, for the most part, taken from the *Alphabetico-Anonymous Collection*. For the Alphabetical collection, see J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 65: 72-440 (PG); supplemented by Jean-Claude Guy in: *Recherches sur la tradition Grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Subsidia Hagiographica 36; Brussels, 1962, reprinted with additional comments, 1984) (*Recherches*); English translation: Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (London, 1975). For the Anonymous Collection, see F. Nau, ed. 'Histoire des solitaires égyptians (MS Coislin 126, fol. 158f)'. Nos. 133-369. *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* 13 (1908): 47-57, 266-83; 14 (1909): 357-79; 17 (1912): 204-11, 294-301; 18 (1913): 137-40 (*ROC*). English translation: Benedicta Ward, *The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers: Apophthegmata Patrum from the Anonymous Series* (Oxford, 1975).

Other collections of the sayings referred to: Lucien Regnault, *Les sentences des pères du désert: collection alphabetique* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe, 1981) (*SPAlph*); Lucien Regnault, *Les sentences des pères du désert: Nouveau recueil* (2nd ed., Sablé-sur-Sarthe, 1977) (*SPN*); Lucien Regnault, *Les sentences des pères du désert: Série des anonymes* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe/Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1985) (*SPAn*); Lucien Regnault, *Les sentences des pères du désert: Troisième recueil et tables* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1976) (*SPTr*).

came not primarily through their eyes, but through their ears. Words for them did not lay inert on a page, but moved on the tongue, sounded in the ear. Theirs was largely an oral culture, one with its own distinctive approach to language and particular interpretive rules. Scholars have underestimated the influence of oral culture on early monasticism in general and its monastic biblical interpretation in particular[2]. I would argue that a consideration of some of the characteristic patterns of oral culture can lead us toward a better understanding of the early monastic attitudes toward language, biblical interpretation and holiness[3].

II. Cultural Tensions:

The ambivalence toward books, literacy, learning and speculation upon Scripture that one encounters so often in the monastic literature can be explained, at least in part, as an expression of tensions between oral and literate cultures. It has been commonly asserted, often on the basis of evidence from the *Sayings*, that the vast majority of the early monks were illiterate and uneducated. Recently, however, the work of scholars such as Samuel Rubenson, Eva Wipzicka and Roger Bagnall has helped to show that levels of literacy among the early monks were probably higher than has generally been acknowledged[4]. This accords with evidence from the *Sayings* themselves, in which one hears frequent mention of books, writing, reading and commentary

[2] Note the almost complete absence of attention to biblical interpretation in the early desert movement in the standard histories of biblical interpretation. See for example: R.M. Grant, with D. Tracy, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, second edition, revised and enlarged (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 3-83; B. Margerie, S.J., *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse. I: Les Pères grecs et orientaux* (Paris, 1980); C. Mondésert, ed., *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible* (Paris, 1984); K. Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (Philadelphia, 1984); R.P.C. Hanson, 'Biblical Exegesis in the Early Chruch', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 412-53; J.W. Trigg, *Biblical Interpretation* (Wilmington, Delaware, 1988); Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Chruch: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis* (Edinburgh, 1994); Rare exceptions are: J. Biarne, 'La Bible dans la vie monastique', in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri, eds., *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Paris, 1985), pp. 409-429 and J. Kugel and R.A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 190-195.

[3] On oral culture, see: Walter Ong. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York, 1982); Werner Kelber, *The Oral and Written Gospel* (Philadelphia, 1983); Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, 1963); *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven, 1986); William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987); Lou H. Silberman, ed. *Orality, Aurality and Biblical Narrative* (*Semeia* 39 (1987)).

[4] Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 230-260. Eva Wipszycka, 'Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypt byzantine', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30: 279-96; Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint* (Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis 24; Lund, 1990). Yet to say

upon Scripture[5]. Still, many monks — like others in oral cultures where literacy begins to assert itself over the oral life world — apparently harbored a deep suspicion toward books and writing and toward a certain kind of intellectual speculation. The transition from orality to literacy, as Gerhardsson showed long ago, was liable to feed doubts as to whether the new medium was able to 'reproduce the full life, power and meaning of the spoken word'[6].

Note the blunt response of one elder to a brother who boasted of having copied with his own hand the whole of the Old and New Testaments: 'You have filled the cupboards with paper'[7]. Here, we may well have an example of what Eric Havelock has called 'craft literacy' — literary skills restricted to specialized craftspersons — something which often develops in oral cultures shortly after the introduction of writing or where reading and writing are relatively rare[8]. But this skill, so necessary and useful to the community, could become problematic when facility with writing became confused with genuine interpretation. Similarly, consider Abba Serapion's sharp rejoinder to a brother who approached him for a word: '"What shall I say to you? You have taken the living of the widows and orphans and put it on your shelves". For he saw them full of books'[9]. Here we see not so much a blanket rejection of books and learning — Serapion himself is said to have owned a small pocket codex containing the psalms — as a criticism of the tendency to collect and accumulate books for their own sake, to reduce them to useless objects[10].

this does not mean to say that literacy levels in the desert were particularly high. Even given the significant amount of papyrological evidence regarding reading and writing — copied manuscripts, correspondence, accounting, informal inscriptions — Bagnall (pp. 249-50) concludes: 'it is not clear that these activities required more than the normal minority of literate personnel found in any Egyptian village'.

On the broad question of literacy in the ancient world, see also William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA, 1989). For literacy within early Christianity see Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, 1995).

[5] There is clear evidence in *The Sayings* regarding the presence of books, the practice of reading, and scribal activity. Abba Gelasius possessed a beautiful and extremely valuable copy of the Bible in parchment: Gelasius 1 (*PG* 65: 145CD); Theodore of Pherme is said to have possessed 'three good books': Theodore of Pherme 1 (*PG* 65: 188A); Abba Ammoes tells of some monks who possessed 'books of parchment' in their cells: Ammoes 5 (*PG* 65: 128AB). See also Serapion 1 (*PG* 65: 413D-416C); Sisoes 35 (*PG* 65: 404B); CSP I 12 (*SPTr*, 129); J 676 (*SPAn*, 289); Pa 40, 1 (*SPN*, 212).

[6] Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, ASNU 22 (Lund and Copenhagen, 1961), 157; cf. Kelber, *Oral and Written Gospel*, p. 10.

[7] Nau 385 (*ROC* 18, 143).

[8] Abraham 3 (*PG* 65: 132BC); see also Nau 385 (*ROC* 18, p. 143), the story in which a brother claims to have copied with his own hand the whole of the Old and New Testaments. On craft literacy, see Havelock, *Preface to Plato*, 39; Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 94.

[9] Serapion 2 (*PG* 65: 416C). See also Nau 392 (*ROC* 18, 144); Theodore of Pherme 1 (*PG* 65: 188A).

[10] See Nau 228 (*ROC* 14, 361).

Monastic discussions about learning reflect a similar cultural tension. A story tells of Abba Arsenius speaking to 'an old Egyptian monk about his own thoughts. Someone noticed this and said to him, "Abba Arsenius, how is it that you with such a good Latin and Greek education ask this peasant about your thoughts?" He replied, "I have indeed been taught Latin and Greek, but I do not know even the alphabet of this peasant"'[11]. Another story tells how Abba Evagrius, upon hearing one of the elders speak, was: 'pierced to his depths by the word and made a prostration, saying, "I have read many books before, but never have I received such teaching"'[12]. Such sayings may well reflect in part a self-conscious 'rhetoric of simplicity', aimed at promoting a rustic vision of monasticism. But they also suggest a rift within the desert regarding the locus of true wisdom, the medium through which revelatory discourse was most likely to arise.

This same tension helps to account for the reticence of many monks to speak about or speculate upon Scripture. We are told that Abba Amoun warned against talking about Scripture simply on the grounds that it was too 'dangerous'. Antony praised the monk who refused to answer a quesion about the meaning of Scripture. Abba Poemen refrained from speaking to a visiting anchorite who wanted to engage him in speculation about the meaning of a biblical text[13]. Such reticence should not be mistaken for simplemindness or ignorance; nor should it be seen merely as an expression of the concern of those monks who, in the light of the Origenist controversy, wished to eschew all intellectual speculation. The reticence can be more easily explained, I think, as an expression of the monks' deep respect for the numinous power of biblical discourse, a respect rooted deep within the patterns of an oral culture. Indeed many of those who refused to talk about scripture were entirely capable of doing so, as Abba Daniel's comment about Arsenius makes clear: 'He never wanted to reply to question concerning the Scriptures, though he could well have done so had he wished'[14].

This resistance to books, suspicion of learning too dependent upon books, and sensitivity to the dangers inherent in speculation upon Scripture accords well with a cultural pattern Walter Ong has described as 'residual orality'[15]. In such a setting, we find both a growing facility with literacy and a residual

[11] Arsenius 6 (*PG* 65: 89A), (m). See also Arsenius 5 (*PG* 65: 88D-89A), (m).

[12] Euprepius 7 (*PG* 65: 172D), (m). The saying is contained under the name of Euprepius in the *Alphabetico-Anonymous* collection, but there is strong evidence from other manuscripts that the saying comes from Evagrius. See Regnault's remarks in *SPAlph*, 91.

[13] Ammoun of Nitria 2 (*PG* 65: 128C); Antony 17 (*PG* 65: 80D); Poemen 8 (*PG* 65: 321C-324B); See also PA 87, 1: (*SPTr*, 126): '(I)f someone speaks with you of the Scriptures or any subject, do not discuss if with him'.

[14] Arsenius 42 (*PG* 65: 105D-108B).

[15] On residual orality, see: Walter Ong, S.J. 'Text as Interpretation: Mark and After', *Semeia* 39 (1987): 14. This is a common and recurring theme for cultures poised between these two worlds.

sense of uneasiness towards the culture of textuality. As William Graham notes: 'the fixing of the holy word in writing always carries with it potential threats to the original spontaneity and living quality of the scriptural text, for it places it ever in danger of becoming only a "dead letter" rather than the "living word"'[16].

III. Oral Discourse and the Encounter with the Word:

The monks were acutely sensitive to the power of spoken words. 'Speak to me a word, Abba, I am perishing'. Such urgent pleas echo throughout the *Sayings* and remind us how deep the hunger was for the healing, encouraging touch of a word. How often we hear of someone being 'pierced' by a word, moved to tears, to that radical upheaval of the heart called penthos. And there is the slow, gentle hum — a kind of white noise in the desert — of words being ruminated, repeated ceaselessly, leading toward what Cassian described as a simplification of the mind and heart. But words could also cut and wound and the monks accordingly give an immense amount of attention to the workings of the tongue and mouth, to the treacherous labyrinth of gossip, slander and their fathomless source, the passions[17]. The work of interpretation, in the desert, always took place within a world that sensed the vital power of spoken discourse.

Consider this encounter between Antony and some brothers who came to him seeking a word: 'The old man said to him, "You have heard the Scriptures. That should teach you how". But they said, "We want to hear from *you too*, abba"'[18]. Two points about this saying are worth noting. First, Antony makes no assumption that his listeners will have studied or even read scripture. He implies that the authority of the scriptures could be felt and their message received through *hearing* them proclaimed[19]. It was in oral form that the monk most often encountered scripture; Antony's response seems to take this for granted. Second, from the brothers' request to also hear from Antony himself (and not only from scripture) one sees evidence of the kind of authority the words of the elders enjoyed — an authority comparable to that of scripture[20].

[16] Graham, *Beyond the Written Word*, 59-60. Gamble *Books and Readers in the Early Chruch*, 29ff., argues for a less radical division between orality and literacy among early Christians.

[17] 'No passion is worse than an uncontrolled tongue', said Abba Agathon, 'because it is the mother of all passions'. Agathon 1 (*PG* 65: 108D-109B). This from the monk who lived for three years with a stone in his mouth in order to learn silence Agathon 15 (*PG* 65: 113B).

[18] Antony 19 (*PG* 65: 81B).

[19] This accords well with the evidence seen throughout the *Sayings* and in other desert literature concerning the monks' regular participation in the *synaxis* where scripture was proclaimed. For discussion of the *synaxis*, see: Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, pp. 177-122.

[20] Throughout the *Sayings*, the words of the elders are given comparable authority to the words of scripture. See Poemen 119 (*PG* 65: 353A); Nau 388 (*ROC* 18, 143); N 592/37 (*SPAn*,

The brothers clearly accept the authority of Scripture. But they also want to hear a word spoken from the mouth of their beloved teacher. For the monks, revelatory discourse was never confined to the written text, but always arose as part of a dynamic, fluid, sometimes dangerous encounter, continuously leaping forth from the silence like a flame.

This accounts for the significance of the process of 'negotiating meaning' within the context of the elder-disciple relationship, a process consistent with the way words are passed on in oral cultures everywhere. As Walter Ong notes, 'Words (in oral discourse) acquire their meanings only from their always insistent habitat, which is not, as in a dictionary, simply other words, but includes also gestures, vocal inflections, facial expression, and the entire human, existential setting in which the real, spoken word always occurs'[21]. The concrete setting for such oral discourse is, Ong suggests, always 'dense, never fully verbalizable, involving all sorts of elusive but real imponderables'[22].

In a story told about Abba Theodore, we hear of a brother who spent three days begging the elder for a word. Theodore refused to speak to him. The brother, frustrated and empty handed, eventually departed. A companion of Theodore's asked the elder for an explanation. The elder said that he had kept silent because the brother was 'a trafficker (in words) who seeks to glorify himself through the words of others'[23]. Here the word of an elder is withheld precisely because the one seeking the word approached with less than pure intentions. But how did Theodore know this? It is possible that the brother had a reputation. However, it is equally likely that something in his facial expression or in the tone of his words revealed the carelessness or insincerity with which he was putting his question. In such a climate, no word would be spoken.

Usually, the elders *did* respond to questions, although they gauged or negotiated their words carefully depeding on the circumstances. In one such instance, a brother who asked Abba Ares for a word was given some particularly strenuous commands. However, to most of the others who came seeking a word, Ares assigned much less strenuous tasks. When asked about this inconsistency, the elder responded 'How I send them away depends upon what the brothers came to seek. Now it is for the sake of God that this one comes to hear a word, for he is a hard worker and what I tell him, he carries out eagerly. It is because of this that I speak the Word of God to him'[24]. Here, the Word of God exists, not as scratchings on a piece of parchment or payrus,

223-224). In some instances, the words of the elders even surpass the words of scripture in authority. See Poemen 114 (*PG* 65: 352 D).

21 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 47.

22 Ong, 'Text as Interpretation', 13.

23 Theodore of Pherme 3 (*PG* 65: 188C), (m).

24 Ares 1 (*PG* 65: 132CD-133A).

to be studied and puzzled over in solitude, but as a living response to a question. The utterance of the Word, its reception, the realization of new possibilities that it offers, all depend on the precarious, unpredictable dynamics of a conversation. Revelatory discourse does not flow automatically from the mouth of the elder into the world. It can be drawn forth only by honest questions and a responsive heart.

IV. Conclusion:

Seen in this way, the resistance to text, fear of textual reification, and suspicion of intellectual speculation one finds among the desert monks may in fact signal profound opennes to *word* and acute awareness of its unsettling, revelatory power. The capacity to interpret such a word and to speak one — whether by utterance, gesture or silence — required devotion and a willingness to be transformed by its power. Thus did Pambo, longing to digest and be digested by that power, chew upon a single word for eighteen years. And so did Evagrius, pierced to his depths by the unexpected power of an elder's word, plunge himself headlong into the new world opening before him. So too did Agathon, wanting to root out the thicket of passions that prevented him from attending to the presence of that power, hold a stone in his mouth for three years in order to learn silence.

To interpret, in the desert, meant standing in the presence of a pulsing, combustible word, risking all, allowing oneself even to be consumed. 'If you will', said Abba Joseph, 'you can become all flame'[25]. This perhaps accounts for the attention and respect accorded to the words, gestures, and presence of those who, like Abba Agathon, had emerged from the crucible. Such figures illuminated a world that poet Eduardo Galeano has described as a 'sea of tiny flames'. 'Some people's flames are so still, they don't even flicker in the wind, while others have wild flames that fill the air with sparks. Some foolish flames neither burn nor shed light, but others blaze with light so fiercely that you can't look at them without blinking and if you approach, you shine in fire'.

[25] Joseph of Panephysis 7 (*PG* 65: 229D).

Some Notes towards a Study of the 'Solitary' and the 'Dark' in Plotinus, Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Dionysius

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Two conditions which seem intrinsically related to the description of mystical experience are the condition of being 'alone' and the condition of being 'in the dark'. The final words of *Ennead* VI, 9 (9) 11, 50, 'the fight of the alone to the alone', φυγὴ μόνου πρὸς μόνον, seem to epitomize the solitary mystical quest for the solitary One; and the famous words of Gregory of Nyssa in the *Life of Moses*, or of Pseudo-Dionysius in the *Mystical Theology*, about the 'luminous darkness' where God dwells, beyond all sense-perception, imagination, or thought, might be felt to characterize a rather unattractive state of privation, or at least of incoherence[1]. On these terms it is puzzling why anyone should ever want to be a mystic. Even for those with knowledge of such mysteries, these states may seem for different reasons repugnant or inadequate. Julia Kristeva sees Plotinian mysticism as essentially 'narcissistic' and subjective[2]. Andrew Louth contrasts pagan and christian mysticism: the one is solitary, subjective, and self-absorbed, whereas the other allows for communion and 'the coinherence of man with man'[3]. The 'luminous darkness' motif which draws its inspiration from scripture and from Philo (and Clement of Alexandria) and which looks forward to the 'dark night of the soul' in St. John of the Cross also marks a difference between the two traditions[4]. In Christian Patris-

[1] For the translation 'the flight of the alone to the Alone' see Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plato to Denys* (Oxford, 1981), 51; on the 'autoerotic' nature of the ascent of the soul in Plotinus see R. Harder, *Plotins Schriften* I, b 381 on I 6 (1) 9, 8; for Gregory of Nyssa, *Patrologia Graeca (PG)* 44, *In Hexaemeron*, 65 c; *De Vita Moysis (VM)* 372 d; 376 c-377 b; *In Psalmos* 457 a; *In Canticum Canticorum*, 860 b; 892 c-d; 893 b-c; 1000 b-1001c; 1004 a; 1025 c; PG 45, *Contra Eunomium*, 941 b; *PG* 46, *In Laudem Fratris Basilii*, 812 c; for Ps. Dionysius, *Epistle (Ep)*. 1 passim, 1065 a; 5, 1073 a, re *I Tim*. 6, 16; 9, 1109 c; *The Mystical Theology (MT)* passim, 1000 a, re Ps. 17, 12; 1000 c, re *Ex*. 20, 21; for ἀγνωσία ἀνοησία, κρυφίος, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy (EH)* 433 d; 444 a; 473 c; 484 b; *MT* 1033 b; *The Divine Names (DN)* 597 c; 588 c; and for comprehensiveness, *DN* 596 c-597 a; 912 b-913 b; *The Celestial Hierarchy (CH)* 240 c-d; 272 d. A considerably expanded study of part of the topic of this paper can be found in my '"Solitary" mysticism in Plotinus, Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Dionysius', *The Journal of Religion*, January, 1996, pp. 28-42.

[2] Julia Kristeva, *Histoires d'Amour* (Paris, 1983), pp. 108-111; 117.

[3] Andrew Louth (see note 1), p. 51.

[4] Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique* (Paris, 1944), pp. 190-199.

tic thought, the divine darkness 'bears witness to the radical disproportion between the created subject and the transcendent object of its vision' according to H.-C. Puech, whereas in pagan thought 'darkness in one's approach to God is transient and has a pejorative significance'[5]. These impressions of self-absorbed, uncaring solipsism, on the one hand, and of a darkness which seems to border upon divine vagueness, on the other, as well as the supposed contrasts between pagan and christian mysticism — these impressions and contrasts seem to me mistaken, even perhaps harmful to our own age which seems to have little notion that there may be more than one kind of darkness or nothingness (and that one needs a guide for all of them) or that the word 'alone' may be susceptible of more than one or two meanings. I shall sketch out here in brief, rudimentary fashion a line of thinking which highlights the interrelation between the pagan and christian mystical traditions and which will help to show that the 'solitary' and the 'dark' or 'hidden' are not the solipsistic, incoherent, and unattractive states they have probably appeared to be to generations of healthy and naturally hedonistic students.

Let me start with Plotinus. Plotinus expressly distinguishes the narcissistic case of self-absorption (I, 6 (1) 8) from the meaning of 'aloneness' he intends and he enjoins the reader to flee (φεύγωμεν) the experience of Narcissus. What then does he mean by 'alone'? The formulae μόνος πρὸς μόνον, μόνος μόνῳ, etc. should be situated within their traditional meanings of private conversation with another (as in Homer, and Plato, *Symposium* 217 b) or with God (as in Thessalus of Tralles), or of a private meeting with the Good alone (as in Numenius, fr. 2, 11-12, Des Places)[6]. In Plotinus, 'to be alone' in the sense of 'solitary', 'isolated' or 'abandoned' means to belong to something else so that one is alienated from oneself, and this is an experience like darkness or confusion[7]. To be 'in oneself' is to be 'alone' in a different sense, not like the impassive sage of early Stoicism (cf. I, 4 (46) 15, 21-4), removed from every human consideration, but rather to be capable of more consideration, because one includes in one's being more than just being human[8]. So, while ascent to the Good involves stripping to a new radical nakedness (cf. I, 6 (1) 7) or cutting away everything (V, 3 (49) 17) and while this ascent is painful, laborious, even

[5] H.-C. Puech, 'La ténèbre mystique chez le pseudo-Denys', *Etudes Carmelitaines*, 23 (1938), 33ff.; A. Louth (see note 1), p. 182.

[6] On the whole question see E. Peterson, 'Herkunft und Bedeutung des *Monos Pros Monon* — formel bei Plotin', *Philologus* 88, 1 (1933), pp. 30-41; E.R. Dodds, 'Numenius and Ammonius', *Entretiens Hardt* (Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1960), pp. 3-16, 16-18; M. Atkinson, *Plotinus: Ennead V, 1: A Commentary with Translation* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 131-2; P.A. Meijer, *Plotinus on the Good or the One (Enneads VI, 9); An Analytical Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1992), pp. 157-62; K. Corrigan (note 1).

[7] See I, 8 (51) 13-15.

[8] Cf. V, 8 (31) 7, 31-5; VI, 9 (9) 10-11; V, 5 (32) 7, 28-35; IV, 3 (27) 4, 21-37; compare *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* III 448, 452, 453, 616, 628. On this see especially W. Beierwaltes, *Selbsterkenntnis und Ehrfahrung der Einheit* (Frankfurt, 1991), pp. 208-10.

terrifying (cf VI, 9 (9) 3, 4ff.), the aloneness which ensues is one of greater intimacy, self-identity, but also greater extensiveness than is involved in being a particular individual, soul, or intellectual being.

First, this notion of intimacy is a development of Numenius' 'private meeting' with God. In both perception and thought, in different ways, there is a distinction between subject and object, which disappears in mystical union where neither body nor soul nor intellect obtrudes[9]. Such aloneness is defined in V, 1 (10) 6 as proximity and *togetherness* of being:

everything longs for its parent and loves it, especially when parent and offspring are *alone* (μόνοι): but when the parent is the highest good, the offspring is necessarily with him (σύνεστιν αὐτῷ) and separate from him only in otherness (V, 1 (10) 6, 50-4: trans. A.H. Armstrong).

And when the vision is even more intense, not even otherness separates the two: there is nothing whatever 'in between' (cf. VI, 7 (38) 34, 7ff.; VI, 9 (9) 8, 34). To be 'alone' in this sense, then, is the opposite of isolation; it is the fullest intimacy the soul has always desired ('wishing to be mingled with it' (συγκερασθῆναι) (I, 6 (1) 7, 13; cf. VI, 7 (38) 35): to be most 'oneself' because one is unified in, by, and with the other (just as the eye of a friend can find a new person in a sow's ear). Plotinus consciously describes this union in physical, even sexual terms, and so it is not surprising for him to insist that the experience of lovers in sexual intercourse would be inexplicable without the Good. Such aloneness is not removed from sex and desire, but the ground and root of all desire (III, 5 (50) 1). Consequently, it also appears as a single activity which gets split up into the multiplicity of Intellect's vision and split yet again into the phenomenal multiplicity of the sense-world[10].

At VI, 9 (9) 6 Plotinus asks in what sense we call the One 'one' and replies that it must be understood in 'a larger sense' (πλεόνως) than a monad or a point are unified. 'When you see him', Plotinus says in V, 5 (32) 10, 'look at him *whole*'. The One is not in need of anything, as other things need it, but this does not mean that it is pure isolated self-sufficiency, for the One's presence already embraces everything. The extension of soul and intellect are less than that of the One: 'not all things desire Intellect, but all things desire the Good' (VI, 7 (38) 20, 18-19). Life, eternal existence, and activity possess a wider extension than Intellect because, on the one hand, the all-embracing power of the Good is an eternal gift prior to all subsequent generation and because 'desire' in all its diverse forms cannot be explained solely in intellectual terms, but is fundamentally pre-intellectual in origin, having its direct source in the 'gift' of the Good. So 'the alone and solitary one' (τὸ μόνον καὶ ἔρημον, cf. Numenius, fr. 2, 16) has already extended the gift of existence and

9 VI, 7 (38) 34, 14-20; 35, 5-19; compare V, 5 (32) 6, 5-6.
10 See VI, 7 (38) 15-16.

life to everything and by its intimate presence awakens the unique identities of all things in and from itself. To say that 'aloneness' in this sense is subjective, self-absorbed, or narcissistic is to miss the subtlety of Plotinus' philosophical analyses, on the one hand, and the significance of the One for *ordinary* experience, on the other.

How is the 'dark' related to this? Plotinus allows darkness in the intelligible world in II, 4 (12) 5, but a darkness which is related to the intelligible substratum or the indefiniteness of the dyad (V, 1 (10) 5); but later in V, 8 (31) 4 he emphatically banishes darkness from the intelligible world. It is reasonable to suppose that in the *Gross-Schrift* Plotinus wants to avoid the Gnostic notion of an ignorance internal to Intellect or even perhaps the Pythagorean notion of a Chaos present in the elements of the intelligible world (which Sethian Gnostic texts also include)[11]. In VI, 7 (38) 32, however, Plotinus indicates that there is a self-dependent shapelessness, related to the One's power, in intellect itself. The One is superabundant 'beauty-making beauty' which makes the 'beauty generated from it to be shapeless, but in shape in another way' (VI, 7 (38) 32, 31-9; ... αὐτὸ τὸ γενόμενον ἀμορφεῖν, ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ἐν μορφῇ).

These notions of aloneness and of shapelessness are developed in new, but cognate ways in the very different philosophies of Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Dionysius. At the end of his commentary on the First Hypothesis of Plato's *Parmenides* preserved in William of Moerbeke's translation, Proclus argues that we know the One by virtue of an interior understanding of unity in ourselves (54, 3-14, Klibansky-Labowsky)[12]. Does this mean that the One is purely subjective? No, simply that it is unnameable by virtue of its supereminence which signifies in part (as in Plotinus) that the One extends to and beyond everything: 'And much less does everything participate in life or intellect or rest or movement. But in unity, everything'. Only at the final conclusion of the whole work (after seven books of commentary on the First Hypothesis of the *Parmenides*), does Proclus use the *monos pros monon* formula: 'it is lawful for the soul to be with the One (*coesse*, *syneinai*). Having become single and alone in itself, it will choose alone the simply one (*in ipsa facta solum <et simpliciter una anima> eliget solum le simpliciter bonum*) (75, 31-36, 2, Klibansky-Labowsky). 'Aloneness', therefore, has to be situated in terms of the culmination of the whole dialectic and its ultimate abandonment in face of the One's infinity; and this notion of an infinite extension of power in the meaning of pure unity is also at the root of Proclus' notion of the hidden, primordial unlimitedness in the generation of intellect[13]. In the *Platonic*

[11] Cf. Proclus, *In Tim.* I, 176 (Diehl); *Zostrianos* VIII, 1, 117, 5-12 (*Nag Hammadi Library*).

[12] *Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi, Plato Latinus*, Vol. III, eds. R. Klibansky and C. Labowsky (London, 1953).

[13] *I Tim* I, 176 (Diehl); *In Parm* VI, 1119, 4-1123, 21 (Cousin); *Elements of Theology*, props 89-92 (Dodds); *Plat. Theol.* III, 7-9 (Saffrey-Westerink).

Theology III, 8-9, 'limit' and 'unlimited' are *analogous* to form and matter in the sense that unlimitedness is a 'hidden' 'generative power' of multiplicity. Proclus rejects lack of shape at this level in the sense of 'matter', but endorses Plotinus' view that the infinite extensiveness of the One's power is immediately a self-dependent part of intellect's pre-intellectual nature[14]. Consequently, form is not the only determinant for intelligibility; there is also a 'hidden' (κρυφία) productive power[15] which makes intelligible life possible, but which superabounds the capacity of intellect to make it into determinate substance or form.

In Gregory of Nyssa, despite the major theological differences — especially a triune God and the doctrine of *epektasis* whereby the soul is ceaselessly and ecstatically drawn into the infinity of the divine *ousia*, the 'alone' and the 'unlimited' or 'dark' bear a strong continuity with Platonic thought. Moses 'lived alone by himself' and entered into the invisible darkness and 'was in company with it' (*De Vita Moysis (VM), Patrologia Graeca (PG)*, 46, 332 b-c; 317 a-b) in an intelligible, non-spatial sense (*De Oratione Dominica, Patrologia Graeca (PG)* 44, 1145 a-b). In his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* the highest eye of the soul is that 'through which alone' one contemplates 'the Good Alone' (*In canticum Cant.* VIII, *PG* 44, 949 c-d, 952 a), but the Alone explicitly comprises the three Persons of the Trinity, 'in whom there is no separation (χωρισμόν) or alienation' (ἀλλοτριῶσιν) (949 d). In his work *On Virginity* Gregory also transforms the Plotinian notion of the immediacy ('nothing between') of the union between lover and beloved by arguing that marriage postpones the *Parousia*, whereas true virginity transcends time itself in that 'it does not fashion any interval between (οὐδὲν διάστημα μεταξύ) itself and the Presence of God by the generation in between' (*De Virg.* XIV, 4, 11-13, p. 440 Aubineau). Here we have a new conception of the gifts of the Resurrection and of the Good, but the idea of 'being with' a superessential unity in an unconfused intimacy relates directly to Plotinus[16]. 'To be with God alone' is an inherently meaningful and even attractive notion. It is, as Gregory writes in *On Virginity*, to live an integrated, uninterrupted life of enjoyment unmixed with 'the things which tend to the contrary'[17].

Something similar may also be said of Gregory's important notion of 'luminous darkness'. Gregory distinguishes different stages on the soul's journey (fiery bush, cloud, darkness)[18]. Plotinus distinguishes the darknesses of sensi-

[14] *Plat. Theol.* III, 9.

[15] *Plat. Theol.* III, 9, 39, 2-13: a 'hidden power of hidden multiplicity': ἡ κρυφιά δύναμις τοῦ κρυφίου πλήθους. 'hidden productive power' (ἡ κρυφία δύναμις), III, 8-9; σκότος, σκοτεινός, or γνόφος do not occur in this context in Proclus.

[16] Cf. also *In Cantica Cantic.* 949 c-d. But compare Plotinus III, 8 (30) 9, 34-40 and *Plat. Theol.* 9, 39, 12-13:

[17] *De Vırg.* XIII 28-30, p. 426 (Aubincau).

[18] See J. Daniélou (note 4) 190ff. on light, cloud, darkness; *In Cantica Cant.*, *PG* 44, 1000 d.

ble matter, of the soul, and of intellect itself which becomes luminous substance (cf. II, 4 (12) 5)[19]. For Gregory, however, lack of shape or indefiniteness characterizes the infinitely progressive life of virtue: 'not to have a boundary' is what links the soul to God. Because the desire of one who would participate in God's life 'has the same extension' (συμπαρατείνουσα) as the indefinite in this sense, 'the soul has no repose' (*VM* 50, 7, 4-11, Daniélou). There is then in every creature a preintellectual response to the inclusive extensiveness of the Divine[20]. In Pseudo-Dionysius too, the divine darkness, extension, and unity are brought together in a new way. Even in the order of monks, the name 'solitary' (μοναχός) signifies *integration* and 'bringing to unity'[22], and this interior deiformity answers to the mystery of divine ecstacy:

> We must dare to say even this on behalf of the truth that the cause of all things... by his beautiful and good love for all things, through an overflowing (ὑπερβολή) of loving goodness, becomes outside of himself by his providential care for all beings and is, as it were, charmed (θέλγεται) by goodness, affection and love, and is led down from his place above all and transcendent of all to dwell in all things in accordance with his ecstatic, superessential power which does not depart from itself (*De Divinis Nominbus* IV, 13; 712 a-b; PG 3, Migne).

Andrew Louth sees in this passage a complete break with the description of mystical union in Plotinus and earlier Platonism[23], yet the major force of the passage may be said to consist in the fact that it develops and transforms precisely the *Platonic* tradition. First, as in Plotinus, there is only one and the same activity (μία καὶ αὐτὴ ἐνέργεια) which in and by virtue of the Thearchy gets split up into the many different participations throughout all the hierarchical orders[24]. Second, the ecstatic love of the Thearchy is more comprehensive than everything else. As in Plotinus and Proclus, the power (and *gift*) of the Good extends further than those of Intellect and Soul, and therefore embraces everything in its superessential providential care[25]. Third, the notion of divine love as overflowing goodness which seems so distinctively Christian not only echoes Plotinus' overflowing Good[26] but is couched consciously in the words of Agathon from Plato's *Symposium*. Whereas, in the *Symposium* Love 'enchants the thought of every god and human being' and so takes up

[19] Cf. II 4 (12) 2-5; 6-16; III, 5 (50) 5-9; III, 9 (13) 3; V, 9 (5) 3; etc.

[20] For other references see note 1.

[21] For other references see note 1 (but especially the *Mystical Theology* and *Letters* 1; 5; and 9); cf. *Ennead* I, 6 (1) 8, 25.

[22] Cf. *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 532 d-533 a; 536 a-d.

[23] A. Louth (see note 1), 176.

[24] *De Divinis Nominibus (DN)* 709 c; 713 d; 912 d (Migne): κατ' ἐνέργειαν μίαν. Proclus, *De decem dubitationibus* I, 118 (Cousin); R. Roques, *L'Univers Dionysien* (Paris, 1954), 114, note 1.

[25] *DN* 709 d-712 b.

[26] *Ennead* VI, 8 (39) 10, 33; V, 5 (32) 8, 8; V; 2 (11) 1, 8-9; cf. Proclus, *Elements of Theology* prop. 133.

residence in people's hearts[27], in Ps. Dionysius it is the Good itself which is 'beguiled', 'enchanted' and thus led ecstatically to dwell in all things.

If we put this passage together with those from the *Mystical Theology* and *Letters*, we can see that in Ps. Dionysius the loving unity and luminous darkness of the divine life form the basis of all existence and are the most comprehensive presence at the root of ordinary life. In Gregory, the soul has an 'αἴσθησις' of this presence[28]. In Plotinus, we do not notice the One's presence because it is the most fundamental feature of our existence[29]. In Ps. Dionysius, the divine unknowing (ἀγνωσία) lovingly embraces and delights in everything[30]. Self-absorbed solipsism and divine vagueness bear no comparison to these conceptions rooted as they are in the creative power of the Good and the immediate significance of ordinary things. Not everything has or needs intellect, but everything needs existence, unity, and goodness. The inner affinity of these philosophies, I therefore suggest, deserves more extended recognition, particularly in an age which regards 'aloneness' to be the curse of failure and 'darkness' to be a metaphor for evil in horror movies. In this context it is hardly surprising that our own times appear to be more forlorn of polyvalence than many an earlier age[31].

27 *Symposium* 197 c-e; 195 e.
28 *In Cantica Cant. PG* 44, 1001 b.
29 V, 5 (32) 12-13.
30 See especially *DN* 596 c-597 a; 868 c-872 b; 912 b-913 b.
31 I should like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its support in the preparation of this article and in the larger project of which it is a part.

Iconic Alchemy: Imaging Miracles in Late Sixth-Century Gaul

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After what has been called 'the linguistic turn' in modern philosophy[1], some (like W.J.T. Mitchell) would hold that we are now entering a 'pictorial turn': meaning that, through the ubiquitous dissemination of information by television and film, our modern civilization tends to think in terms of images[2]. In the reflections upon this phenomenon, a central issue is: does the logic of pictorial images resemble that of language, or does the iconic mode have its own kind of dynamic patterns?

Philip Wheelwright showed how, mostly through the evoked mental images, words can express real meanings which are other than those which logical language can formulate[3]. Earlier, Suzanne Langer pointed to the importance of symbolic forms other than words[4]. With his poetic philosophy, and his books on what he called 'rêverie' — the waking dream of the poet's creative consciousness —, Gaston Bachelard put the mental image and its dynamics at center-stage[5]. Over against those who continue to insist that they do not have them, mental images have always been a central issue in the history of human thinking about itself[6]. Plato, and later Augustine, for instance, noted a fact which modern psychology has now experimentally confirmed: that we perceive (i.e. interpret) our surroundings through an interplay between sensory data on the one hand, and stored mental images and propositions on the other[7].

[1] R. Rorty ed., *The Linguistic Turn. Recent Essays in Philosophical Method* (Chicago-London, (1967) 1988).

[2] W.J.T. Mitchell, 'The pictorial turn', *Artforum* (1992), pp. 89-94.

[3] Ph. Wheelwright, *The Burning Fountain* (Gloucester, (1968) 1982), pp. 73-101.

[4] S.K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key. A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art*, third edition (Cambridge, Mass., (1942) 1956).

[5] G. Bachelard, *La formation de l'esprit scientifique* (Paris, 1947); *La poétique de la rêverie* (Paris, 1960) (transl. by D. Russell, *The Poetics of Reverie. Childhood, Language and the Cosmos* (hereafter *Poetics*) (Boston, 1969)); *L'air et les songes* (Paris, 1943); *L'eau et les rêves* (Paris, 1947); *La psychanalyse du feu* (Paris, 1949); *La terre et les rêveries de la volonté* (Paris, 1948).

[6] P.C. Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (*Dreams*) (Princeton, 1994), pp. 14-73.

[7] R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination. Toward a Postmodern Culture* (Minneapolis, 1988), pp. 87-105, 117-118; S. M. Kosslyn, *Image and Brain. The Resolution of the Imagery Debate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

To turn from the semiotic to the experiential aspect of mental images: today, medical and anthropological psychology has observed that mentally envisaged and/or bodily enacted images and symbols behave as psychosomatic phenomena — phenomena literally connecting mind and body. As the anthropologist René Devisch writes: 'Ritual symbols ... arise from a potential which, akin to the dream, unconceals both images and inner energy woven into the texture of the body[8].' Here, images or symbols are shown to be the actual and effective 'bridges' across which messages are carried in both directions between consciousness and the pre-verbal awareness that connects to, and activates, the body's autonomous systems. An internalized image, then, behaves as a pattern of emotional and biological energy[9]. A contemporary theologian who is also a psychotherapist, Eugen Drewermann, has made use of this evidence and put forward the idea — demonstrated through analyses of biblical prophecies as well as miracle stories — that alongside the word, certain traditional, psychically effective, religious symbols, but sometimes also spontaneous mental images and dreams, should be regarded as actual vehicles of God's communication with man. This parallel kind of communication takes place through our pre-verbal awareness: in the iconic mode[10]. In many ways, Drewermann's view is a restatement of late antique and early medieval views of symbolism[11], but now supported by empirical evidence from anthropology and psychology.

Marc van Uytfanghe has shown that miracle stories in the sixth century are often conscious continuations and adaptations of biblical ones[12]. But new motifs do appear. The images chosen reveal something about how new experiential forms of the, usually transformative, process of what was regarded as the reciprocal communication with the divine were being 'found'. 'Found' in Paul Ricoeur's sense of a discovering which cannot be distinguished from an inventing: that is, a bringing into focus, and a making inspectable, of an awareness or experience that does not yet have a shape or a name, by discovering an apt mental image or combination of images to stand for it[13]. As

[8] R.J. Devisch, *Weaving the Threads of Life. The Khita Gyn-Eco-Logical Healing Cult Among the Yaka* (Chicago, 1993), p. 280.

[9] B.S. Siegel, *Love, Medicine and Miracles. Lessons Learned About Self-healing From A Surgeon's Experience With Exceptional Patients* (New York, 1986).

[10] E. Drewermann, *Tiefenpsychologie und Exegese* (hereafter *Tiefenpsychologie*), vol. 2 (Olten-Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1985), pp. 74-140, 239-245, 311-435.

[11] Compare G.B. Ladner, 'Medieval and modern understanding of symbolism: a comparison' (hereafter 'Symbolism'), *Speculum* 54 (1979), pp. 223-256; and Miller, *Dreams*, pp. 70-73, 92-94, 108-117, on Synesius of Cyrene, Origen and healing through dreams, respectively.

[12] M. van Uytfanghe, *Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne, (600-750)* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 120, Jaargang 49) (Brussel, 1987).

[13] P. Ricoeur, *La métaphore vive* (Paris, 1975), p. 310; translated by R. Czerny as *The Rule of Metaphor. Multidisciplinary studies of the creation of meaning in language* (hereafter *Rule*) (Toronto, 1977), p. 246.

Bachelard everywhere indicates, such images evoke and generate other, iconically related, images[14].

What new experiential forms? In two sixth-century miracle stories, we see, for instance, that a dead saint's compassion can be experienced through contemplating a candle flame, but also that the kiss of a living saint can be imaged as a weapon. These apparently conflicting combinations occur in stories by Gregory of Tours (539-594) and Venantius Fortunatus (c.535-c.605). In what follows, I hope to show how this dual imaging reflects what must indeed have been a two-layered experience. For, in both stories, the affective and physical assimilation to the holy by means of person-to-person relations is overlaid with assimilation through the enacting of a symbol. The latter practice is based upon the belief that it is thereby possible to bring divine power into action on the spot. For, as is well known, in the late antique analogical world view, the visible could be regarded as a figure — congruous or inverted — of the invisible, and was thereby thought to participate in the latter's qualities[15]. Depending upon their angle, some have labeled this world view as 'magical', others as 'sacramental'[16]. Is it possible to inspect the overlapping of the imaginative assimilation to a person with the enactment of an apparently unconnected symbolic pattern more closely?

In the first miracle story[17], after Gregory has just mentioned that, through candle-ends taken from St Martin's tomb, storms have been 'quieted' and

[14] As, for instance, in G. Bachelard, *La flamme d'une chandelle* (hereafter *Flamme*) (Paris, 1961), p. 12, 26, 49.

[15] Ladner, 'Symbolism', p. 225; Miller, *Dreams*, pp. 7, 31-32; but also: D.E. Aune, 'Magic in early Christianity' (hereafter 'Magic'), in: W. Haase ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.23.2 (Berlin, 1980), p. 1513.

[16] Respectively: Aune, *loc. cit.*, and C. Straw, *Gregory the Great. Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley 1988), p. 50.

[17] *Virtutes Martini* 2.2, MGH SSrM 1.2, pp. 609-610. The full text is as follows: Gratum arbitratus sum et illud non omittere, quod mihi in libro anteriore excidit. Nam cum retulerim de cereolis illis quos de sepulcro beati antistitis sustuli (c.34), a quibus et tempestates sedatas, et alias infirmitates prohibitas dixi, hos cum mecum detinerem, Justinus vir sororis meae in valetudinem irruit. Nam, invalescente febre, cum doloribus membrorum omnium, valde ad extremum agi coepit. Nuntius haec ad me delatus retulit, efflagitans ut si quid medicamenti reperire possem, morituro transmitterem, ne obiret. At ego in virtute beati antistitis confisus, unum ex cereolis transmitto per puerum, dicens: 'Accendite illum coram eo, et in contemplatione luminis orationem fundat ad Dominum, et deprecetur omnipotentiam antistitis, ut ei succurrat.' Missus autem puer quod dederam deportavit. Quo accenso ante lectum aegroti, favillam scirpi, quem iam ignis consumpserat, cultro eradunt, dilutumque aqua aegroto porrigunt ad bibendum. At ille ut hausit, sanitatem protinus recepit, incolumisque redditus est. Nobis postea qualiter sibi virtus beati antititis subvenit, exposuit. Nam referre erat solitus, quod ubi primum oculis eius iubar luminis progressum a cereo pepulit tenebras noctis, protinus in contemplatione flammae, febris recessit a corpore, ac stomachus qui diu languerat inedia, cibum consolationis efflagitat, et qui tantum aquam puram ad restinguendum febris ardorem haurire consueverat, nunc vinum desiderat. Facit haec virtus antistitis, quae saepe miseris opem proflua miseratione tribuit, et infirmis medicamenta largitur.

'other infirmities prohibited', he tells us how they helped his brother-in-law Justin. The latter had come down with what sounds like an extreme influenza, and it was thought that he was about to die. A messenger was sent to Gregory for some kind of remedy to prevent this. Gregory, however, as he says 'trusted in the power of the blessed bishop (Martin)' and sent him one of these candle-ends with the following instructions:

'Light it in front of his face, let him pour out a prayer to the Lord in the contemplation of its light, and let him beseech the omnipotence of the bishop to come to his aid.'

The messenger brought it, and it was lighted before the patient as Gregory had instructed. Then a piece of the wick that was already burned was cut off, probably pulverized, and stirred into a cup of water which was given to Justin to drink. Gregory tells us:

And as he was drinking it, he received his health at once and was restored safe and sound.

Later, he explained to us how the power of the blessed bishop came to his aid. For he used to say that when the first beam of light that came from the candle drove away the darknesses of night from his eyes, at once during the contemplation of the flame, the fever withdrew from his body.

Gregory concludes with the comment: 'It was the power of the bishop that did these things, the bishop who often gives aid to the wretched in outpouring compassion, and grants remedies to the sick.'

The affective pattern of compassion by a human person is expressed in terms of the human life world, through giving a 'remedy' which terminates the illness and restores health. What is at the same time 'contemplated' while being prayed in front of, however, is not the image of a human person but a candle flame. Is this really a 'new' form? Or is it the Christian version of the pagan practice — found in the magical papyri — of addressing divinities through a lighted lamp[18]? However that may be, here the moving flame appears to be experienced as somehow a visible manifestation of the Christian saint's transcendent, living and loving, 'presence'. But almost certainly also of his holy power. In his book on rêverie in front of a candle flame, Bachelard shows that it can generate iconically similar mental images[19]. Here, one of these is likely to have been that of fire as holy presence. For this is an equation that Gregory elsewhere makes explicit. In a number of other stories, he reports perceptions of mystic fire around relics — something that had also occurred around the statues of the pagan gods[20] —, and interprets these phe-

[18] E.g. *Papyri Graecae Magicae* VII.250-253, ed. K. Preisendanz, rev. ed. A. Hinrichs, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 11-12; cited in Miller, *Dreams*, pp. 119-120.

[19] Cf. Bachelard, *Flamme*, pp. 14-15, 57-59, 65.

[20] As in Aelius Aristides, *The Sacred Tales*, p. 450; translated by C.A. Behr in *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works*, vol.2 (Leiden, 1981), p. 328. Cited in Miller, *Dreams*, p. 34.

nomena as indicating the presence of the saint's 'power'[21]: the power that can cure the sick. The meditative looking upon of the sensory phenomenon of the candle flame, then, is very likely to have generated not only some mental picture of the saint as a person, but also an affect-laden mental image of the powerful mystic fire, converging with it. And thus personal compassion is contemplated in the flame as the appearance of a 'present', although also transcendent, 'power': one that, it was hoped, would 'drive away' the darknesses from Justin's eyes at the same time as the (dark) heat of the fever from his body.

But the dynamic pattern of this physical illumination cannot but also have reminded of that of the central early Christian imaginative model of illumination by Christ, to which it is dynamically analogous. As the Light of the world which is also the life of men[22], Christ was thought to drive out the spirit of darkness that inhabits man when he is left to his own devices, and thereby give him the true life[23]. Gregory's instructions and their consequences may be the concretization-into-enacted-ritual of one of Jesus' metaphors: that of the eye as the lamp of the body — and we should remember that, in this period, a lamp was always something burning with a flame. In Luke's version, Jesus tells the apostles:

Your eye is the lamp of your body; when your eye is pure (*simplex*), your whole body will be full of light; but when it is impure (*nequam*), your body is full of darkness. Therefore be careful lest the light in you be darkness. If then your whole body is full of light, having no part dark, it will be wholly bright, and illumine you as a lamp of radiance (*et sicut lucerna fulgoris inluminabit te*)[24].

What Gregory, then, called 'contemplation of the flame' may have been the metaphors of illumination by Christ and by the eye turned into a symbolic liturgy. As such, it also involved the waking but dreamlike generation of images out of one another which Bachelard called 'rêverie'. As in many miracle stories, the cluster of coalescing images is a world view in miniature.

But modern psychology, as we saw, tells us that the enactment of a metaphor — here, letting visible light drive out the darkness from one's physical eyes — initiates an imitation or replication of its pattern (illumination) in mind and body. In this way, Justin imaged and experienced an act of personal compassion as a shock of power, an *ictus*, that almost literally thrust out something that was oppressing him in a place he could not reach. In his and Gregory's view, such a purification process must have removed his internal obstructions to communication with the divine. Drewermann observes that

[21] *In gloria martyrum* (=GM) 8, and *In gloria confessorum* 20, MGH SSrM 1.2, pp. 493 and 759-760 respectively.
[22] Jn 1:3, 8:12.
[23] As in Acts 26:18 and Jn 8:12.
[24] Lk 11:34-36; cf. Mt 6:22.

such a deblocking of the preverbal sphere is the primary mode through which God revitalizes man through his love[25]. In Gregory's miracle story, the imagination of compassion affectively unites Justin to the saint as a person, while the flame, almost certainly imaged as the saint's — and Christ's — light and power, drives away the darkness which is the manifestation of a separate, debilitating force which had invaded him. And we see that it is the symbolic action that is described as having precipitated the actual cure at that specific moment. Affectively enacting a metaphor — a mental image — was thus experienced as converging with the creation of a palpable new reality: physical health.

But there is another, tactile, element. The notion of the transmission of presence or power through contact — in this story, through the candle-wick (and in the second story, through the kiss) — has been designated as 'the essence of Greco-Roman magical notions'[26]. The consensus among scholars today appears to be that magic and religion cannot be clearly distinguished[27]. The early Christian tradition in which Gregory and Fortunatus stood did distinguish between them, however, not by contrasting their strategies (say: love and power), but on the basis of which power was being called upon[28]. And this meant in practice, as we have been seeing, that this calling upon could properly take not only personal but also symbolic forms[29]. And so *proflua miseratio* could be experienced through, and as, the — beneficent — blow and shock of *virtus*.

The second story is of a different kind. Sulpicius Severus's very brief description of St Martin's kissing a leper who was thereupon instantly healed is well-known[30]. Jesus's healing of the leper, by contrast, was accomplished by touching with the hand and a command: 'Be clean[31].' His feeling compassion for the man (*misertus*) is mentioned explicitly only by Mark[32]. Thus Sulpicius's description of St Martin's kiss is a new motif, apparently developed from Mark's adjective. Fortunatus gives us a long poetic description that introduces new iconic dimensions — not images that the cured person necessarily had, but ones which the poet wishes his read-

[25] Drewermann, *Tiefenpsychologie* 2, pp. 244-246.
[26] Aune, 'Magic', p. 1536.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 1511-1512.
[28] E.g. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historiae* 9.6: *non sanctitate sanare sed errore nigromantici ingenii quaerebat inludere*, and *ibid.* 5.14: *A Deo haec poscenda sunt; nam credi non debent quae diabolus repromittit*, MGH SSrM 1.1, ed. alt., resp. pp. 417, 210.
[29] Cf. G. de Nie, 'Caesarius of Arles and Gregory of Tours: two sixth-century bishops and "Christian magic"', in D. Edel ed., *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration in Early Medieval Ireland and the Continent* 3 (Dublin, 1995), pp. 191-194.
[30] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 18.3-4, SC 133, p. 292.
[31] Mt 8:2-4; Mk 1:40-44; Lk 5:12-14.
[32] Mk 1:41.

ers to have when they think about the miracle. He as it were integrates the new kiss back into the original, probably exorcistic, model[33]. The following description may be found in his long poetic Life of Martin[34]. There, we are first given a long, horrifying description of the unfortunate leper, and then Fortunatus says:

Suddenly, however, the saint drew this man to himself and kissed him, and, by embracing the man, released him through the pouring out of a remedy. For at the moment that (the man) touched the blessed saliva with his face, and the oppression of the illness fled from the saint's ointment-like touch, his drowned figure came back, a new skin clothed his face, the original imprint returned to its mirror in the transient brow, and the long deleted image of his face was inscribed anew.

What a lofty faith of powers, when the battles of illness perish quickly through the ministry of the saint's peace, when a dire force flees through an embrace! The scourge of an evil illness fell because kisses carried out a new kind of fight[35].

Here, even the unifying and saving gesture of a living saint is overlaid with images of repelling, destroying action. Michael Roberts has pointed to the parallel here of Martin, while still in the army, winning a battle by an act of peace

[33] Aune, 'Magic', p. 1532.

[34] Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini* 1.487-513, MGH AA 4.1, pp. 312-313. The full text is:

Inde Parisiacam sacer intrans concite portam,
Obviat in faciem leprosum versus euntem,
Qui sibi dispar erat, nec iam a se cognitus ibat:
Vir maculis varius, cute nudus, vulnere tectus,
Tabe fluens, gressu aeger, inops visu, asper amictu,
Mente hebes, ore putris, lacerus pede, voce refrictus,
Induerat miserum peregrino tegmine pallor.
Improvisus enim hunc sanctus ad oscula traxit,
Adstringensque virum fuso medicamine laxat.
Nam simul ut tetigit benedictas ore salivas,
Effugit unguiferum languoris sarcina tactum;
Mersa figura redit, faciem cutis advena vestit,
Ad speculum remeat peregrina fronte character,
Et deleta diu rescribitur oris imago.
Virtutum quam celsa fides, ubi concite sancti
Pacis ab officio perierunt proelia morbi.
Complexu res dira fugit; languoris iniqui
Peste cadente, novam gesserunt oscula pugnam.
Inclyta relligio Martini, cuius honore,
Foedere fida, fides formosat foeda fidelis.
O felix regio, sancti pede, lumine, tactu.
Illustris lustrante viro loca, lustra, ligustra,
Urbes, rura, domos, templa, oppida, moenia, villas,
Quaeque viri insignis tam insignia signa mereris,
Cuius ab ore sacro, magnalia cetera vincens,
Leprosi ad curam Jordanis in oscula fluxit,
Et fontem fluidae maculae lavat unda salivae.

[35] Fortunatus, VM 1.494-504, MGH AA 4.1, p. 312.

— as Fortunatus in this case also says[36]. The Pauline letters, of course, had provided the military imagery for the activity of the spiritual life which continued in the Christian tradition[37]. The war was aimed not at the person himself but at what were thought of as evil forces invading him. In sixth-century sources, too, we see that man was perceived as a vessel. If he did not take care to be filled with God or Christ, the devil or demons would take their place[38]. Unlike Justin's report of his own experience, Fortunatus's antithetical imagery is his own sixth-century addition to an existing story that did not mention it. He must have regarded the weapon image as somehow suited to his contemporaries' mental imaging of the event[39].

But, in Fortunatus's story too, a third and crucial image is generated, this time by the poet's words. As Bachelard says, not only sensory phenomena precipitate mental imaging, but words, too, 'dream'[40]. For, further on, he conflates the saint's saliva with the water of the river Jordan that had cured the leper Naaman and was believed to be still curing lepers[41]. In this image, as well as in the ones just mentioned of 'pouring' a 'remedy', the ointment, and the notion of the reinscription of the man's 'drowned' face with its original 'imprint', Roberts has, I think correctly, seen a strong reference to the act of baptism — Christ was baptized in the Jordan — and the restoration of God's image in man which this purification was held to effect[42]. Alongside the weapon image, Martin's kiss, as a kind of baptism, is thus also imaginatively assimilated to God's love for the world in Christ, which restored man to God and to himself.

Here again, then, we see three, or actually five, coalescing mental images. This time, partially analogous ones: the human kiss and the washing and anointment, or baptism; and an antithetical one: the spiritual battle. The latter inversion made visible and palpable one of the ways in which the Christian religion tended to turn all the relations of the visible world upside-down. What does such an inversion accomplish? At least, a surprise, a liberation from ingrained thinking and feeling habits, and an opening-up for a new dimension and new movement in these. Ricoeur's essay on 'Imagination in discourse and in action' shows that imagination, although it can enchant, delude and obsess,

[36] M. Roberts, 'St. Martin and the leper: narrative variation in the Martin poems of Venantius Fortunatus' (hereafter 'Leper'), *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994), pp. 86-87.

[37] As for instance: 2 Cor 10:3-6.

[38] A. Angenendt, 'Die Liturgie und die Organisation des kirchlichen Lebens auf dem Lande', *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 28) (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 186-189.

[39] He also uses it for this miracle in C 1.6.9-10, ed. Reydellet, vol. 1 (Les Belles Lettres) (Paris, 1994), pp. 25-26; but not in 10.6.31-36 and 93-102, MGH AA 4.1, pp. 235, 237.

[40] Bachelard, *Poetics*, pp. 29-54.

[41] 2 Ki 5:14; Gregorius Turonensis, GM 16, MGH SSrM 1.2, p. 499.

[42] Roberts, 'Leper', pp. 93-95.

is at the same time the primary tool of innovation and mental liberation[43]. I would add that, as we see in these miracle stories, it is also the tool, and mode, of emotional and physical transformation.

To conclude: together with the analogical-participative world view, the notion of the openness of man's inner self and body to the invasion of what were thought to be alien deforming and debilitating forces, must be responsible for the dual imagery in these descriptions of cures. For Gregory and Fortunatus in the sixth century, symbolic action through such images of commanding 'power' was felt to be a necessary complement to the asking for and receiving of compassionate personal love in order for the latter to be effective against the faceless, powerful and omnipresent forces of destruction. The underlying model here is, of course, that of exorcism.

Our authors' descriptions of what looks like a personalized kind of liturgy may be understood also as a waking dream in which mental images are allowed to function as catalysts of miracle. For the visualization and enactment of these images appears to have helped to trigger and precipitate — I do not say effect — the cures. Embedded, then, in the distancing and discursive verbal logic of these narratives is an affective, iconic logic that is coalescent, presential and transforming. This iconic alchemy, congruent with the sixth-century participative view of the cosmos (but surreptitiously continuing in modern civilization), is in its own way no less sophisticated than the linguistic strategies with which it interacts. I suggest that it is time for those doing scholarly work on miracle stories to wake up to the crucial role of every human being's dream life in the creation of his or her *reality*.

[43] P. Ricoeur, 'Imagination in discourse and in action', *Analecta Husserliana* 7 (1978), pp. 3-22.

Cassian's use of the figure *Uia Regia* in *Collatio* II 'On Discretion'*

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Some years ago, in a work entitled *Die Stellung des Johannes Cassianus zur Ausserpachomianischen Mönchstradition: Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Hans-Oskar Weber sought to identify the sources of Cassian's *De Institutis* and *Collationes* with reference to the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the writings of Evagrius Ponticus[1]. Of particular interest in this regard is Weber's effort to identify the sources to *Collatio* II 'On Discretion' (Latin: *discretio* = Greek: διάκρισις). Weber accords *Collatio* II special status in the context of his analysis because, unlike the other passages in Cassian's works isolated for analysis in his study, this collatio constitutes the sole instance in which Cassian bases an entire collatio on a primary source[2]. In light of Dorries' suggestion, Weber identifies this source with Antonius 8 in *Apophthegmata* G, that is, the 'Griechisches Alphabetikon,' in which Antony is reported to have said, 'Some have afflicted their bodies by asceticism, but they lack discretion, and so they are far from God[3].'

Despite the significance of this source, Weber's scrutiny of *Collatio* II discloses another, equally significant source associated with the definition of discretion. The collator, Abba Moses, introduces this notion in the course of his

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[1] See Hans-Oskar Weber. *Die Stellung des Johannes Cassianus zur Ausserpachomianischen Mönchtradition: Eine Quellenuntersuchung* (Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, Heft 24; Münster Westfallen, 1959).

[2] See H. O. Weber, *Stellung*, p. 50: 'Es musste in dieser Ausführlichkeit auf die II. Collatio eingegangen werden, weil sich nur an ihr nachweisen lässt, wie Cassian ein einzelnes Apophthegma zur Grundlage für eines seiner Bücher nimmt und verwendet.'

[3] *Apophthegma* G Antonius 8 (PG 65, 77): Εισί τινες κατατρίφαντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἐν ἀσκήσει, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐσχηκέναι αὐτοὺς διάκρισιν, μακρὰν τοῦ θεοῦ γεγόνασιν. See H. O. Weber, *Stellung*, 42: 'Die langen Ausführungen Cassians "De discretione" (Coll. II, p. 37-65) dürften, wie Dörries vermutet hat, auf das Apophthegma G Antonius 8 (PG 65, 77B) zurückgehen.' Weber's reference to Dörries' work can be found in the 'Literaturverzeichnis,' Darstellung 65: H. Dörries, *Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle* in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1949* (1949) 359-410. For Weber's distinction between *Apophthegmata* G (Griechisches Alphabetikon) and other versions of the *Apophthegmata* cited in his work, see the 'Literaturverzeichnis,' Section B.

conference with Cassian and Germanus. According to Abba Moses, perfection, the end of the monastic way of life, is attainable only on account of discretion. Discretion, Moses imparts, is that virtue

'which overlooking excess on either side, teaches a monk always to walk along the royal road (*uia regia*), and does not permit him to be presumptuously elevated in spirit on the right hand of virtue . . . nor allow him to be pleased by want of spirit and turn aside to the vices on the left hand . . .'[4]

Here, on the basis of Marsili's suggestion, Weber is able to trace the source of Moses' definition of discretion to a remark in Evagrius Ponticus' *Epistula* 16 concerning the way

on which each demon gazes at the monk, whether he (the demon) brings a monk to the right or left way or whether he (the monk) walks on the middle way, the king's way[5].

In both cases, Weber claims, Cassian utilizes his sources without introducing any modifications, such as altering the mode of expression or changing the presentation of the ideas[6]. Furthermore, Weber insists that the brevity of the

[4] For the entire passage, see Jean Cassien, *Collatio* II, 2 in *Conférences I-VII*, introduction, latin text, translation and notes E. Pichery (Sources Chrétiennes, 42; Paris, 1955), p. 113: Nec enim alia lapsus eorum causa deprehenditur, nisi quod minus a senioribus instituti nequaquam potuerunt rationem discretionis adipisci, quae praetermittens utramque nimietatem uia regia monachum docet semper incedere et nec dextra uirtutum permittit extolli, id est feruoris excessu iustae continentiae modum inepta praesumptione transcendere, nec oblectatum remissione deflectere ad uitia sinistra concedit, hoc est sub praetextu gubernandi corporis contrario spiritus tepore lentescere.

[5] See H. O. Weber, *Stellung*, p. 43 for the entire passage, which reads: 'Was die 'discretio' ist, wird genau erläutert: sie lehrt den Mönch, Übertreibung zu lassen, immer auf dem königlichen Weg zu wandeln, weder rechts bei den Tugenden sich zu überheben (d.h. under dem Vorwand der Sorge für den Körper den Geist zu schwächen ... Diese Definition der Unterscheigungskraft is nicht genuin cassianisch. Seine Quelle ist gewiss die (von Marsili 94 genannte) Euagrius-Stelle Ep. 16 (Fr. 577): durch Gottes Gnade lauft ihr auf dem Weg, auf dem jeder Dämon auf den Mönch achtet, ob er (der Dämon) einen (Mönch) auf den rechten oder linken Weg bringe oder ob er auf dem mittleren, dem Königsweg, wandelt ...' Weber's reference to Marsili's work can be found in the 'Literaturverzeichnis,' Darstellung 131: S. Marsili, OSB, *Giovanni Cassiano ed Evagrio Pontico: Dottrina sulla carità e contemplazione* (Studia Anselmiana 5 (1936)). For the edition cited for Euagrius' *Epistula* 16 see the 'Literaturverzeichnis,' Section C. On p. 94 Marsili cites the following passage from Evagrius' *Epistula* 16: ἐπεὶ διὰ χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὁδῷ τρέχετε παρ'—ἣν εις ἕκαστος τῶν δαιμόνων ἀτενιξων εἰς τὸν μοναχὸν εἰ εἴς τινα μετακλίνει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν ἢ εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν, ἢ εἰ ἐν ἐκεινῃ τῃ μεσότητι τῆς βασιλικῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμπεριτατεῖ. Compare the remark of Jean Leclercq, 'La Voie Royal,' *Supplement to La Vie Spirituelle* (1948), p. 340: Evagre lui donnait son contenu mystique le plus élevé lorsqu'il disait qu'un moine est dans la voie royale quand il est parvenu au repos intérieur, à la domination parfaite de lui-même, en un mot à la paix. In this context Leclercq refers to *Epistula* 16.

[6] See H. O. Weber, *Stellung*, p. 104: 'Der II. Teil begann mit der Feststellung, dass die II. Collatio in extenso eine breite Ausführung des Apophthegmas G Antonius 8 darstellt (Beispiel 11, oben 42 ff.). Im grossen und ganzen hat Cassian den Skopus des Apophthegmas ohne Veränderung übernommen; weder eine Wandlung des Skopus noch eine des Milieus liess sich nachweisen.'

remarks identified as sources, far from impeding progress, provide the point of departure from which Cassian subsequently develops the content of *Collatio* II as a whole[7]. Despite Weber's recognition of this fact, the narrow scope of his analysis precludes any investigation of this content as a possible repository for a far more complex, richer use of the aforementioned sources, assuming for the moment that these specific sources were indeed uppermost in Cassian's mind when writing *Collatio* II.

In order to enlarge the scope of Weber's analysis, this communication aims to focus briefly on this repository with a view to suggesting a more sophisticated use of sources than Weber's scope either permits or imagines. Two concerns merit attention in this regard: 1.) the Greek philosophical presuppositions that underlie both the structure of this collatio and the meaning attributed to the figure *uia regia*; 2.) the Scriptural basis of the figure *uia regia* and the allegorical meaning assigned to it in Alexandrian biblical exegesis.

Weber identifies the sources of *Collatio* II in the course of a fairly elaborate summary of its contents. But careful observation of the methodology employed in conveying the content of *Collatio* II reveals something in addition, namely, a sophisticated interweaving of Socratic/Platonic and Aristotelian philosophical perspectives. A brief synopsis of *Collatio* II, 2 will suffice to illustrate this point. After having ascertained the earnestness of intention in both Cassian and Germanus as far as the search for perfection is concerned, the collator Moses gives an account of a collatio that he says Antony once held on the virtue required to attain the end (τέλος) of perfection. As Moses relates, a lengthy discussion arose among the participants in this collatio in response to Antony's question regarding the nature of this virtue. Various opinions were given: fasting and vigils; withdrawal from the world and solitude; kindness and other duties of charity. Antony, however, determined that all of these opinions were in error insofar as all had failed to hit the mark[8]. At this point, he answered the question, appealing to the virtue of discretion and defining it with reference to the *uia regia*[9].

Some comments are in order here. First, the portrait of Antony that emerges from Moses' account of Antony's collatio is that of a Christian Socrates, a view that resonates more with the Antony of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* than with Athanasius' Antony, whose attitude towards philosophy is more negative

[7] See H. O. Weber, *Stellung*, p. 49: 'Aus dem doch sehr kurzen Apophthegma macht Cassian also eine ganze Collatio.'

[8] Compare Aristotle's remark at *Nicomachean Ethics* I, 2 in *Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*, edited by I. Bywater (Oxford, 1986), p. 2.

[9] See *Collatio* II, 2: Pichery, pp. 112-114. In conjunction with Cassian's remark concerning the failure to hit the mark, see Aristotle's use of the image of archers aiming at a target in *Nicomachean Ethics* I, 2, 2-3: Bywater, p. 2: ἆρ' οὖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡ γνῶσις αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἔχει ῥοπήν, καὶ καθάπερ τοξόται σκοπὸν ἔχοντες, μᾶλλον ἂν τυγχάνοιμεν τοῦ δέοντος …

in nature[10]. *Apophthegma* G Antonius 17, for example, represents Antony in terms similar to *Collatio* II, 2 — as exercising the function of a Christian philosopher. In this particular apophthegma, Antony asks the participants in the collatio to interpret a text from Scripture. As each in turn voices an opinion with respect to its interpretation, Antony responds by saying, 'You have not yet found it.' Finally, Abba Joseph resolves the impasse by answering, 'I do not know.' To this suggestion, Antony responds, 'Indeed, Abba Joseph has found the way (ὁδόν), for he has said: 'I do not know[11].''

There is, however, a crucial difference between Antony's response in *Apophthegma* 17 and the one given in *Collatio* II, 2. In the latter case, Antony does not end the collatio in aporia as the Socrates of Plato's early dialogues would have done but rather supplies the missing definition in keeping with the Platonic Socrates of the late dialogues.

What reason could Cassian have had in mind for modifying the outcome of *Collatio* II, 2 in this manner? The answer to this question emerges perhaps in relation to a consideration of Cassian's stated objective in writing the *Collationes*: to sow the spiritual insights of the Eastern monastic tradition in a Western audience still conceivably uninformed with respect to the significance of a notion such as the *uia regia* (= Greek βασιλικὴ ὁδός) and its implications for the virtue of discretion. Hence, a notion familiar to all in the East, so much so that even an uneducated person would have grasped the general import of a term such as βασιλικὴ ὁδός, requires further explanation in the West due to the lack of everyday familiarity with its meaning[12].

The Socratic/Platonic characteristics associated with *Collatio* II, however, are not confined solely to Chapter 2. They permeate the entire structure of *Collatio* II, as the movement of the dialogue in subsequent chapters clearly attests. Thus, Chapters 3 to 8 contain six examples, or paradigms, of individuals who have failed to follow the *uia regia* in the pursuit of perfection: two from the *Old Testament* and four from the experience of ascetics dwelling in the desert. Moses' commentary on these examples prompts Germanus in Chapter 9 to inquire concerning the basis of the distinction between instances of true and

[10] See *Vita Antonii* 72-80: *PG* 26, 914-956.

[11] See *Apophthegma* G Antonius 17: *PG* 65, 80: Παρέβαλόν ποτε γέροντες τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωσὴφ μετ' αὐτῶν. Καὶ θέλων ὁ γέρων δοκιμάσαι αὐτούς, προεβάλετο ῥῆμα ἐκ τῆς Γραφῆς, καὶ ἤρξατο ἐρωτᾷν ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτέρων, τί ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο. καὶ ἕκαστος ἔλεγε κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. Ὁ δε γέρων ἑκάστῳ ἔλεγεν Οὔπω εὗρες. Ὕστερον ὅλων λέγει τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἰωσήφ Σὺ πῶς λέγεις εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον; Ἀποκρίνεται Οὐκ οἶδα. Λέγει οὖν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος Πάντως ἀββᾶς Ἰωσὴφ εὗρε τὴν ὁδὸν, ὅτι εἶπεν, Οὐκ οἶδα.

[12] See *Praefatio* to the *Collationes* I-X: Pichery, pp. 75-76. See also Jean Leclercq's comment to this effect in 'La Voie Royale,' p. 340: 'On retrouvera toutes ces idées dans la littérature chrétienne issue d'Egypte et en particulier dans celle du monarchisme: aller par la route royale était comme un proverbe, une expression que tout le monde comprenait et qui disait beaucoup sans exiger d'explications.'

false discretion. In keeping with Antony's emphasis on the importance of recognizing one's own ignorance, in Chapter 10 Moses roots the ability to differentiate between true and false discretion in humility. This response, in turn, compels him in Chapters 11 to 16 to provide examples of individuals who acted on the basis of true discretion. Three examples occur to Moses in this context: Abba Serapion from the desert, Samuel from the *Old Testament*, and Paul from the *New Testament*; each of whom recognized the need to submit inexperienced judgment to the scrutiny of elders through the medium of the collatio. Finally, Chapters 17 to 26 comment further on how to seek humility. Moses' strategy here is to orient the discussion once more to a consideration of the *uia regia*, emphasizing the need for ambidexterity in order to adhere steadfastly to the path of moderation and balance[13].

Moses' references to the *uia regia* in Chapters 17 to 26 enable Cassian to frame the Socratic/Platonic content of Moses' dialogue in *Collatio* II within the broader Aristotelian perspective that informs the *Collationes* overall. As early as *Collatio* I, 1, Cassian introduces a Christianized version of the Aristotelian distinction between end and means and continues to exploit the ramifications of that distinction in subsequent collationes[14]. Whereas, for Cassian, the ultimate end is the attainment of the kingdom of God, the means to that end consists in exercising the virtue of discretion, the source of all other virtue, in such a way that one is indeed able to walk steadfastly along the *uia regia*. The perfection of the means to the end, the proximate goal of human endeavor, consists in the attainment of purity of heart or a heart thoroughly animated by charity[15].

[13] See *Collatio* II, 3-26: Pichery, pp. 114-137. Cassian introduces the theme of ambidexterity in relation to the *uia regia* in *Collatio* II, 16: Pichery, pp. 131-132. This theme, which Cassian associates with the notion of the arms of righteousness mentioned in 2 *Corinthians* VI, 7-10, refers to the monk's ability to adhere to the *uia regia* in both fortune and misfortune. The monk accomplishes the former by not succumbing to pride on account of success, the latter by not giving way to dejection due to failure. Compare Cassian's discussion of this theme in *Collatio* VI, 9-11: Pichery, pp. 227-237 and *Collatio* VII, 4-5: Pichery, pp. 247-252.

[14] See *Collatio* I, 1: Pichery, p. 78: Cum in heremo Sciti, ubi monachorum probatissimi patres et omnis commorabatur perfectio, abbatem Moysen, qui inter illos egregios flores suauius non solum actuali, uerum etiam theoretica uirtute fragrabat ... In chapters 2-4: Pichery, 79-81, Cassian explicates the significance of this distinction with reference to the end or aim of the arts and sciences. In a manner reminiscent of the opening section of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Abba Moses elaborates the distinction between the practical and the theoretical domains in the context of a discussion of the threefold heirarchy of ends: the economic life, the military life, and the contemplative life. In Collatio XIV he explicitly mentions the Greek terms πρακτική and θεορετική. Compare Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* I, 1-2: Bywater, p. 1; 5: Bywater, pp. 5-6; 13, 20: Bywater, p. 21 and X, 7-8: Bywater, pp. 212-218.

[15] See *Collatio* I, 4: Pichery, p. 81: ... finis quidem nostrae professionis ut diximus regnum dei seu regnum caelorum est, destinatio uero, id est scopos, puritas cordis, sine qua ad illum finem inpossibile est quempiam peruenire. For the definition of *puritas cordis* see *Collatio* I, 7: Pichery, p. 85: ... propter principalem scopon, id est puritatem cordis, quod est caritas ...

Cassian's use of the theme of the *uia regia* within the framework of the end-means distinction provides a convenient way of Christianizing other aspects of Aristotelian ethics in keeping with the ethics of the desert. Thus, given the experiential ground, or practical nature, of the knowledge of virtue sought, Abba Moses, like Aristotle yet using the Socratic Antony as his guide, stresses the importance of submitting inexperienced personal judgment to the experienced judgment of someone older and wiser[16]. Only in this way is it possible to find the middle ground between the two extremes of excess, whether that excess be measured positively in terms of oversufficiency or negatively in terms of deficiency. Between the extremes of these two vices lies virtue. One has only to recall Aristotle's definition of virtue to discern its applicability to what Abba Moses advises in *Collatio* II. Accordingly, in the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle defines virtue as

a permanent condition of mind disposed to choice, being in the middle with respect to us, this being determined by reason and as the prudent person would determine it. And it is a middle state (μεσότης) between two vices, one of excess and one of defect[17].

Even the relativity of the mean and the rational manner in which it is sought accords with Abba Moses' advice. For what need would there be for the deliberation of discretion in seeking the intended end if the choice governing the means to that end did not take into account the subjective circumstances of the moral agent[18]? Adherence to the *uia regia* requires discretion and humility precisely because the attainment of virtue defies Pharasaical codification of rules and rigid adherence to them. It is, rather, on account of its infinite adaptibility to the good present in a world permeated with change and difference that love abides[19].

One conduit for the Aristotelian assumptions that underlie Cassian's use of the *uia regia* in *Collatio* II may indeed reside in the characterization of the *uia regia* found in Evagrius Ponticus' *Epistula* 16. Evagrius' use of the Greek term μεσότης in relation to the mean certainly recapitulates Aristotle's use of this term in his definition of virtue[20]. But the systematic manner in which

[16] See *Collatio* II, 3-8; 10-15: Pichery, pp. 114-119;120-131 for the examples illustrating the need for the practical guidance of the elders. Compare Aristotle's remark at *Nicomachean Ethics* I, 3, 5-7: Bywater, p. 3. Note Aristotle's emphasis on the fact that lack of experience can reside either in youthfulness or immaturity of character.

[17] See *Nicomachean Ethics* II, 6, 15-16: Bywater, pp. 32-33: '/Εστιν ἄρα ἡ ἀρετὴ ἕξις προαιρετική, ἐν μεσότητι οὖσα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡρισμένῃ λόγῳ καὶ ᾧ ἄν ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσειεν. μεσότης δὲ δύο κακιῶν, τῆς μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δὲ κατ' ἔλλεφιν ...

[18] See *Collatio* II, 2: Pichery, p. 114 for the reference to *ex discretionis deliberatione*. Compare *Nicomachean Ethics* II, 2, 6-7: Bywater, pp. 25-26.

[19] Cassian compares the changeable nature of the human heart to the movement of a mill wheel in *Collatio* I, 18: Pichery, p. 99.

[20] See n. 5 above for the reference to *Epistula* 16. Compare the use of the term *μεσότης* in Aristotle's definition of virtue cited in n. 17 above.

Cassian relates this particular meaning of the *uia regia* to Scripture may result in part from a familiarity with the Alexandrian exegetical tradition, perhaps with Philo's commentary on this figure in a work such as the *Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit*[21]. While both implicit and explicit references to the *uia regia* can be found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the systematic interpretation of the *uia regia* in a biblical context occurs elsewhere among Alexandrian exegetes such as Philo, Clement, and Origen[22].

As Frédéric Tailliez has observed, the Scriptural basis of this figure is the passage found at *Numbers* 21:22, in which Moses seeks safe passage for the Israelites through the territory of Sihon, King of the Amorites[23]. Moses' messenger addresses these words to Sihon:

'"I ask you to let me pass through your country." We will not turn aside into the fields or vineyards, nor will we drink any water from your wells, but we will walk along the royal way (*uia regia*) until we have passed through your territory.'

When Sihon refuses their request, the Israelites take possession of his land and settle on it nonetheless[24]. Among Christians, the meaning that eventually develops around this figure is that of the journey of the Christian Church towards the heavenly Jerusalem, the true Promised Land[25]. In this instance, the

[21] See *Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit* 30-37 in *Philonis Alexandrini Opera*, edited by Paul Wendland, II (Berlin, 1897), pp. 56-94 for Philo's commentary on the notion of the *βασιλικὴ ὁδός* in relation to the passage found at *Numbers* 20: 17-20. Like Cassian, Philo mixes geographical metaphors pertaining to land and sea in interpreting the figurative meaning of the *uia regia* (36). Though Philo uses the Greek word μέση instead of μεσότης in describing the *uia regia* as a mean between two extremes, he nevertheless illustrates the doctrine of the mean with reference to two of Aristotle's examples. Compare *Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit* 34 with *Nicomachean Ethics* II, 6-7: Bywater, pp. 25-26.

[22] Explicit references to the βασιλικὴ ὁδός in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* can be found at *Apophthegma* G, Benjaminus 5 (*PG* 65, 145) and Poemen 31 (*PG* 65, 329). For implicit references to the βασιλικὴ ὁδός see, for example, Ammona 11 (*PG* 65, 124), Eulogius 1 (*PG* 65, 170-172), Serapion 2 and 3 (*PG* 65, 416) and Syncletica 2 and 15 (*PG* 65, 422 and 426). See R. P. F. Tailliez's discussion of the βασιλικὴ ὁδός in relation to its systematic interpretation in Philo, Clement, and Origen in 'ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΟΔΟΣ. Les valeurs d'un terme mystique et le prix de son histoire littérale,' in *Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion*, I (Rome, 1947), pp. 309-319.

[23] See R. P. F. Tailliez's discussion of the biblical texts relating to the *uia regia* in 'ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΟΔΟΣ,' pp. 303-309.

[24] *Numbers* 21:21-22 in the Vulgate: Misit autem Israel nuntios ad Sehon regem Amorrhaeorum, dicens: Obsecro ut transire mihi liceat per terram tuam: non declinabimus in agros et uineas, non bibemus aquas ex puteis, uia regia gradiemur, donec transeamus terminos tuos. In an earlier passage found at *Numbers* 20:16-21 the terms *uia publica* and *uia trita* are used to refer to the *uia regia*. Those who walk along the *uia publica* are the ones nec ad dexteram nec ad sinistram declinantes.

[25] See Jean Leclercq, 'La Voie Royale,' pp. 350-352. Leclercq makes a similar remark in *L'amour des Lettres et le Désir de Dieu: Initiation aux Auteurs Monastiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1957), p. 104: Or c'est un fait que toute l'histoire du peuple hébreu, et en particulier sa pérégrination, symbolisaient la marche de l'Église vers la Jérusalem céleste, qui est la véritable Terre promise, et que, d'une façon certaine, elle préparait l'avènement du Christ et par conséquent de l'Église. De ce point de vue, toute l'histoire d'Israël est l'image de toute la vie de l'Église.

enemy that prevents the Christian from entering into the heavenly kingdom is the vice that separates the soul from God.

Cassian exploits this meaning in *Collatio* II, most notably with respect to ideas found in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*, the two books of the Pentateuch that, along with the *Book of Numbers*, provide many of the details associated with the Israelites wandering in the desert for forty years prior to their entry into the Promised Land. Thus, for example, in relating the story of Serapion as a paradigm of a monk who regains his liberty after being subjected to Pharaoh's slave drivers on account of gluttony Cassian is able to associate the meaning of the *uia regia* with the moral exodus involved in the implantation of virtue[26]. He invokes the same idea in reminding his reader how, after his conversion, even Paul required moral guidance in conference with Church elders. Cassian bases this claim on *Deuteronomy* 32:7, thereby directly linking the *New Testament* paradigm with its *Old Testament* roots[27].

Similarly, Cassian's choice of Moses as the collator of *Collatio* II reinforces the ideas associated with the *uia regia* up until this point. Although it remains a matter of dispute as to which Abba Moses Cassian has in mind here, it is tempting to identify the Moses of *Collatio* II with Moses of Calamus who, like the Moses of the *Old Testament*, slew a man before his true destiny as a liberator of his people became apparent[28]. And yet, this is the Moses whom God calls to free his people from the slavery of vice by leading them out of the land of Egypt to the Promised Land along the King's royal highway, the straight and narrow path of virtue.

Weber's tracing of the sources of *Collatio* II to the ausserpachomianischen mönchstradition lacks completeness, then, as long as the above considerations extend beyond the range of his analysis. Indeed, *Collatio* II provides a good example of the sophisticated nature of Cassian's appropriation of the fundamental ideas inherent in the eastern ascetic tradition. Despite the fact that some of those ideas may derive directly from the ausserpachomianischen mönchstradition, *Collatio* II certainly suggests the possibility of a wider range of sources, such as those found in Greek philosophy, Scripture, and Alexandrian commentary on Scripture. Cassian's familiarity with Greek and his sojourn in Egypt would certainly have provided him with the opportunity to encounter

[26] See *Collatio* II, 11: Pichery, pp. 121-124.

[27] See *Collatio* II, 15: Pichery, pp. 130-131.

[28] In his critical edition of *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 197-198, n. 33 Dom Cuthbert Butler distinguishes five different Moses' that inhabited the Egyptian desert. Butler insists that the evidence favors a distinction between Moses of Scete, who knew St. Anthony and who functions as the collator in *Collationes* I and II, and Moses of Calamus. Tillemont, by contrast, 'is disposed to identify' the two. In this connection see also *Palladius: The Lausiac History*, translated and annotated by Robert T. Meyer (Westminster, 1965), pp. 67-70 and n. 181. Compare the remarks of E. C. S. Gibson in *The Conferences of John Cassian*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, vol. XI (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1978), p. 275, n. 1, pp. 295-318 along with n. 1 on p. 295, pp. 371-372.

these sources as well. Moreover, the development of the figure of the *uia regia* clearly suggests that some of Cassian's ideas may originate from multiple sources, and that he may very well have intended them to be understood in this manner. If questions linger with respect to the sources of Cassian's ideas, this is surely not the case with respect to his contribution to Western thought. The incorporation of the notion of the *uia regia* as a methodological tool in the thought of thinkers as diverse as Faustus of Riez, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, André Malraux, and Hans Küng leaves no margin of doubt in this regard[29].

[29] The importance of Cassian's works as a conduit for the widespread adoption of the uia regia as an analytic tool in Western thought can hardly be underestimated. See, for example, the references to, and the usage of, this notion in Faustus of Riez, *De Gratia Dei*: *CSEL* 21, 1-98; Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De Veritate Praedestinationis*; *CCL* 91A, 458-548; St. Anselm, *De Concordia* in *L'oeuvre de S. Anselme de Cantorbery*, V (Paris, 1988), pp. 192-243; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio,' edited by J. Leclercq and H. M.Rochais in *S. Bernardi Opera*, III (Rome, 1963), pp. 165-203; Etienne Gilson, *Autour de Saint Thomas* (Paris, 1983), pp. 11-12; André Malraux, *La Voie Royale* (Paris, 1930 and 1992); Hans Küng, *Theology for the Third Millenium: An Ecumenical Overview*, translated by Peter Heinegg (New York, 1988), pp. 15-46.

The Significance of Psalmody in the Mystical Theology of Evagrius of Pontus

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Depending upon one's preferred vantage point, Evagrius Ponticus can be assessed and described in very different ways. As Michael O'Laughlin has pointed out[1] those who regard Evagrius' ascetical treatises such as the *Praktikos, de Malignis Cogitationibus*, and *Antirrheticus* as the center of his thought often regard Evagrius as an orthodox spiritual master who assimilated and adapted the best traditions of the Desert Fathers. Others who consider the *Kephalaia Gnostica* and the *Letter to Melania* to represent the fullest expression of his mature thought can describe him as a speculative, esoteric theologian who deliberately employed an enigmatic style, since he knew that expressing himself plainly would be dangerous. Thus in this century scholars have described Evagrius' theology as: 'more philosophical than properly theological'[2], 'closer to Buddhism than Christianity'[3], and, more recently, as spiritual 'iconoclasm'[4].

What would be useful, indeed what is necessary today is an approach which holds together both these depictions of Evagrius: on the one hand the much sought-after spiritual father of Kellia, 'the Blessed Abba Evagrius', of Palladius; and on the other (using his own terminology) Evagrius the *gnostikos*, that is to say the contemplative in search of knowledge, and through knowledge union with God. Or to put it another way, what is needed is an approach to Evagrius which emphasizes the interrelationship and not merely the distinctions between the different levels or stages of spiritual development which are the foundation of Evagrius' ascetical and mystical theology.

I believe that a bridge between these different depictions of Evagrius and a clearer appreciation of the overall unity of his model of spiritual progress may be found in Evagrius' personal asceticism, specifically in his practice of the monastic discipline of psalmody. I should add that several of the points I am

[1] Michael O'Laughlin, 'New Questions Concerning the Origenism of Evagrius', R.J. Daly (ed.), *Origeniana Quinta* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 105; Louvain, 1992), pp. 528-534.

[2] I. Hausherr, 'Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 15 (1934), p. 117.

[3] H. Urs von Balthasar, 'Metaphysik und Mystik des Evagrius Ponticus,' *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik*, 14 (1939), pp. 39-40.

[4] Elizabeth Clark, *The Origenist Controversy* (Princeton, 1992), p. 84.

about to make are discussed in detail in chapters one and two of *Das Geistgebet*, Gabriel Bunge's collection of essays on Evagrius' *De Oratione*[5].

The Discipline of Psalmody

In the *Lausiac History* Evagrius' enthusiastic biographer and disciple Palladius describes what he personally witnessed of Evagrius' ascetical practice. Of Macarius, who was Evagrius' teacher, and of Evagrius himself Palladius writes that they 'performed one hundred prayers each day'[6]. Bunge believes that these 'prayers' were the intervals of upright or prostrate adoration that concluded a given period of psalmody[7], and which are described in detail by Cassian in Book II of his *Institutes*.

According to Cassian's description, the cenobites' experience of psalmody at the twice-daily community synaxis would have generally been passive, or perhaps better-said, receptive. One or more cantors chanted the psalms while all listened attentively[8]: at the conclusion of each psalm or portion of a psalm (it was permitted to break up the longer psalms into more manageable sections)[9] the whole community would first stand with arms extended in prayer; then all would lie prostrate for a brief period; and finally all would stand again while a prayer was intoned by the cantor[10]. It was expected that this same rhythm of psalmody frequently interrupted by a change in posture and prayer would be continued by the monks while they were alone in their cells at manual labor[11]. Hermits like Evagrius would have chanted psalms to themselves, followed by the customary prostrations and prayers.

It should be borne in mind that this detailed description of posture and practice comes from Cassian, who undoubtedly had his own reasons for proposing this liturgical model to his monks in fifth century Gaul. But Palladius' descriptions in the *Lausiac History* of the practice of psalmody by the cenobites and hermits of Egypt seems to corroborate for the most part the picture drawn by Cassian[12].

If it is true that one hundred times each day Evagrius practiced psalmody followed by a prostration and an interval for private prayer, then the ascetical

[5] G. Bunge, *Das Geistgebet* (Cologne, 1987).

[6] Palladius, *Lausiac History* 38.10 where it is said of Evagrius, Εποίει δὲ εὐχὰς ἑκατόν; and 20.3 where Macarius is quoted as saying of himself ἑκατὸν εὐχὰς ποιῶν. *Historia Lausiaca* (rencensio G) ed. G.J. M. Bartelink, *Palladio. La Storia Lausiaca* (Verona, 1974).

[7] Bunge, *Geistgebet* 13.

[8] Cassian, *Institutes* II. 11.3.

[9] Cassian, *Institutes* II.11.1.

[10] Cassian, *Institutes* II.7.2-3.

[11] Cassian, *Institutes* II.12.3.

[12] Palladius particularly associates psalmody with prayers in *Lausiac History* 22: 5-8 and 43:2-3.

discipline of psalmody must have engaged his attention for a considerable portion of his waking hours. Bunge has calculated that when one subtracts the psalmody of the evening and vigil offices and allows for four hours of sleep, one is left to conclude that Evagrius would, on average, have chanted a psalm and prostrated in prayer every ten minutes[13].

Even if this depiction is somewhat exaggerated — and there are good reasons for believing that it is not exaggerated — Evagrius must have spent a very considerable portion of his day chanting psalms and offering up prayers in the interval which followed the psalm. This notion of an interval of silent prayer preceded by psalmody is extremely important. In the *De Oratione* Evagrius repeatedly emphasizes the need to let go of words and images 'at the time of prayer' (ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς προσευχῆς)[14]. Modern readers of Evagrius unfamiliar with his monastic context may assume that this refers to an extended period of time dedicated to the project of attempting wordless, imageless, prayer. It would seem, however, that Evagrius' recommendations in this regard refer specifically to the relatively brief period that followed each psalm or reading[15]. The practice of wordless prayer thus preceded and followed a longer period of attentive listening or singing, during which one focused the whole of one's concentration on the multiple images and words of scripture, in order to 'receive and be stamped'[16] by what Evagrius called their concealed λόγοι — the hidden meanings and purposes of God.

Of particular interest in this regard are the six chapters of the *De Oratione* (chapters 82-87) and several chapters of the *Praktikos* (notably chapters 15 and 69) in which Evagrius discusses the respective significance and purpose of both psalmody and prayer. In these passages he compares and contrasts what he understands to be the purpose of psalmody with that of the period of silent prayer which followed each psalm.

The Goals of Psalmody

Evagrius' understanding of the purpose and place of psalmody may be considered under three headings: first, the 'tranquilizing' effect of psalmody on the passions, especially the passion of *thumos* or anger; second, the use of verses from the psalms in antirrhesis or 'contradiction' of demonic temptations; and third, the psalms as a training-ground for *theoria* or contemplation.

The first effect of psalmody — that which might be termed its most basic or universal effect, since it does not depend on one's level of spiritual maturity —

[13] Bunge, *Geistgebet* 29-32.

[14] Evagrius, *De Oratione*, chapters 11, 14, 18, 43, 44, 69, 114, 117, 119, 120, 128, 148.

[15] Rufinus similarly describes this interval between psalms as 'the time of prayer' in his additions to the *Historia Monachorum*, XXIX, *PL* 21.453-454.

[16] Evagrius, *De Malignis Cogitationibus* 4; *Scholia on Psalms* 137 α.

consists in its calming effect on the passions, in particular the passion of anger. Thus Evagrius writes in chapter 83 of the *De Oratione*:

ΗΓ΄. Ἡ μὲν ψαλμῳδία τὰ πάθη κατευνάζει, καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ σώματος ἠρεμεῖν ἀπεργάζεται. Ἡ δὲ προσευχὴ ἐνεργεῖν παρασκευάζει τὸν νοῦν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν[17].	83. Psalmody calms the passions and quiets the body's intemperance; prayer arouses the intellect to activate its own proper powers.

Here Evagrius offers an interpretation of both aspects to the monastic practice of psalmody: the first part, listening to psalmody in community or chanting psalms to oneself in private calms inward compulsions and restores balance; the prostration and prayer which follow activate — literally 'energize' — the *nous* or intellect to engage in its proper task, namely contemplation. Similarly, in chapter 15 of the *Praktikos* psalmody is listed among the spiritual remedies to be applied when one is troubled by anger:

ιε΄. Νοῦν μεν πλανώμενον ἵστησιν ἀναγνωσις καὶ ἀγρυπνία και προσευχή· ἐπιθυμίαν δὲ ἐκφλογουμένην μαραίνει πεῖνα καὶ κόπος καὶ ἀναχώρησις· **θυμὸν δὲ καταπαύει** κυκώμενον ψαλμῳδία και μακροθυμία και ἔλεος·	15. The wandering *nous* is stabilized by reading, vigils and prayer. Inflamed desire is quenched by hunger, toil, and solitude. Boiling anger is calmed by psalmody and patient endurance and mercy.

The belief that psalmody calms *thumos* is found also in chapter 98 of Evagrius' *Ad Monachos* and again in chapter 34 of the longer recension of the *De Malignis Cogitationibus*. This insight, however, is not unique to Evagrius: it is discussed in detail in Athanasius' *Letter to Marcellinus*, where psalmody is described as:

Τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης τῶν λογισμῶν ἀταραξίας καὶ ἀκύμονος καταστάσεως εἰκὼν καὶ τύπος ἐστὶν ...	(28) ... a figure and type of undisturbed and calm equanimity of our thoughts[18].

Athanasius goes on the to explain:

Οὕτως τὸ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ταραχῶδες καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ἄτακτον ἐξομαλίζεται· τὸ δὲ λυποῦν θεραπεύεται, ψαλλόντων ἡμῶν[19].	...that which is disturbing and rough and disorderly in [the soul] is smoothed away, and that which causes grief is healed when we sing psalm'[20].

[17] Evagrius, *De Oratione* 80, *PG* 79.1185 b-c. Numbering and textual emendations used here are those recommended by I. Hausherr, 'Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le le Pontique', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 15 (1934), pp. 34-93 and 113-170.

[18] Athanasius, *A Letter to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of Psalms* 28, tr. R.C. Gregg, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (Classics of Western Spirituality; New York, 1980), pp. 124-125.

[19] Athanasius, *Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum*, *PG* 27.40-41.

[20] Athanasius, *A Letter to Marcellinus* 28.125.

He pointed to the story of King Saul, whose 'troubled' disposition was calmed through David's psalmody:

Ὁ γοῦν μακάριος Δαβὶδ, οὕτως καταψάλλων τοῦ Σαοὺλ, αὐτὸς εὐηρέστει τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τὸν τάραχον καὶ τὸ μανικὸν πάθος τοῦ Σαοὺλ ἀπήλαυνε, καὶ γαληνιᾶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύαζεν. Οὕτως οἱ ἱερεῖς ψάλλοντες, εἰς ἀταραξίαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν λαῶν καὶ εἰς ὁμόνοιαν αὐτὰς τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς χορευόντων προσεκαλοῦντο[21].

(29) ... Blessed David, then, making music in this way for Saul, was himself well pleasing to God, and he drove away from Saul the troubled and frenzied disposition, making his soul calm. The priests who sang thus summoned the souls of the people into tranquillity, and called them into unanimity with those who form the heavenly chorus[22].

Closely related to this primary effect of calming anger and the other passions is the role assigned by Evagrius to the use of memorized verses from the psalms in *antirrhesis* or 'contradiction' of specific demonic temptations. In his work *Antirrheticus* Evagrius offers brief scripture texts, generally no more than one or two verses, to be used as remedies against specific manifestations of the eight principal *logismoi* of gluttony, lust, avarice, sadness, anger, *acedia*, vainglory, and pride. The work is divided into eight books, each concerned with a different *logismos*. Each book begins at Genesis and works progressively through the Bible, offering a brief description of the offending demon or habit of thought and then the healing verse. The Psalter is the biblical book most frequently recommended by Evagrius, with verses from the psalms accounting for 85 of the 492 verses offered.

The third and final role of psalmody in Evagrius' thought that I wish to consider here is that of psalmody as a training-ground for contemplation. For Evagrius, as for Clement before him, biblical exegesis is the proper work of the *gnostikos*, the Christian who has successfully engaged in the battles of the *praktike* and is now ready to undertake the *physike*, the art of perceiving God's designs in creation. The *gnostikos* is one who is ready to look outward, to shift his inward gaze from the battle for virtue and *apatheia* within himself to the search for God's hidden purposes and meanings — His *logoi* — in the whole of the created world and in particular in that part of creation which is the scriptures. For Evagius the holy scriptures are the handbook of the Christian contemplative. As Evagrius puts it in Chapter 3 of the *Gnostikos*:

<γ´> Γνοστικὸς δὲ ὁ ἁλὸς μὲν λόγον ἐπέχων τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις, φωτὸς δὲ τοῖς καθαροῖς[23].

3. The *gnostikos* it is who — holding forth the word — is salt for the impure and light for the pure.

[21] Athanasius, *Epistula ad Marcellinum* 29, *PG* 27.41.

[22] Athanasius, *A Letter to Marcellinus* 29.125.

[23] Evagrius, *Gnostikos* 3, ed. A. and C. Guillaumont (**Sources Chrétiennes 356; Paris**, 1989), p. 90.

The Christian contemplative or *gnostikos* must learn how to hold forth, that is to teach and explicate, the sacred text for others, taking into account their abilities and their level of spiritual maturity[24]. Evagrius goes on in the *Gnostikos* to outline his exegetical method:

> **18.** It is necessary to search, therefore, concerning allegorical and literal passages relevant to the *praktike*, *physike*, and *theologike*. If it is relevant to the *praktike* it is necessary to examine whether it treats of *thumos* and what comes from it, or rather of *epithumia* and what follows it, or again of the *nous* and its movements.
>
> If it pertains to the *physike*, it is necessary to note whether it makes known one of the doctrines concerning nature, and which one. And if it is an allegorical passage concerning *theologike* it is necessary to examine as far as possible whether it provides information on the Trinity and whether it is seen [in its] simplicity or seen as The Unity. But if it is none of these, then it is a simple contemplation, or perhaps makes known a prophecy[25].

Here the *gnostikos* is depicted as a biblical exegete concerned not only with his own welfare, but also with that of others. He seeks to understand human nature and human circumstances so that he can discover in the scriptures remedies for the spiritual ills of those who seek his advice. To do this he must become familiar with all the levels of meaning contained in the scriptures, from ethical instruction, through the contemplation of creation, to the mysteries of the Trinity itself. In the scriptures he discovers a whole new world of history and story that help him express both the 'ethical' insights he learned as a *praktikos* and the new mysteries of creation he is exploring as a contemplative.

There could hardly be a better textbook for this enterprise than the Psalter: in it are expressed the whole range of human feeling and experience. It is therefore not surprising that the *Scholia on Psalms* are the longest work by Evagrius we possess. It contains around 1300 scholia, or brief annotations, which offer a fascinating insight into Evagrius' own contemplative experience of the practice of psalmody. These scholia offer brief meditations on all aspects of his model of spiritual development: among them can be found 'ethical' admonitions concerning the battle for virtue and *apatheia*; interpretations of the divine 'meanings' hidden within beings visible and invisible; and speculations on questions of eschatology and Christology.

For Evagrius the highest expression of the monastic discipline of psalmody is found in its practice by the *gnostikos*, the contemplative exegete and presumably also the intended audience of his *Scholia on Psalms*. In scholion 25 on Psalm 76:21 Evagrius unites his model of spiritual progress with a program for contemplative exegesis. This represents his own adaptation of a classical

[24] Evagrius, *Gnostikos* 12-17.
[25] Evagrius, *Gnostikos* 18. The Greek original of this passage is lost. This translation is based on the Syriac version and Guillaumont's reconstruction of the Greek, pp. 116-117.

Alexandrian exegetical method, borrowed chiefly from Clement and destined to become famous in the West through John Cassian's fourteenth conference:

21. **Ὡδήγησας ὡς πρόβατα τὸν λαόν σου ἐν χειρὶ Μωϋσῆ καὶ Ἀαρών.** ιε΄.Ἡ κατὰ Μωσέα φιλοσοφία τετραχῆ τέμνεται· εἰς τὸ ἱστορικὸν, καὶ τὸ κυρίως λεγόμενον νομοθετικὸν, ἅπὲρ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἠθικῆς πραγματείας ἴδια· τὸ τρίτον τε εἰς τὸ ἱερουργικὸν, ὅ ἐστιν ἤδη τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας, καὶ τέταρτον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶδος...[26]	v. 21. ***You guided your people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*** **25.** According to Moses, philosophy is divided into four [parts]: [first], the historical; [second], that called by the Lord the legislative, (cf. Ex. 24:12), which may be [concerned] with its own ethical matters; the third is the priestly, that is the contemplation of nature; and the fourth is [concerned] with the whole expression of *theologike...*

Conclusion

In conclusion, Evagrius' many references to imageless, wordless prayer have more often than not been used to characterize his mystical theology as primarily apophatic. However, if it is true that his references to the 'time of prayer' reflect his monastic ascesis of alternating psalmody and prayer, then this portrayal needs to be more carefully nuanced. It would seem that imageless, wordless prayer and image-filled, word-filled prayer alternated as part of an ongoing liturgical rhythm in such a way that each activity nourished the other. Thus Evagrius' *Scholia on Psalms* should perhaps be read as the companion volume to his *De Oratione.*

[26] Evagrius, *Scholia on the Psalms* 76 α, Pitra *Analecta Sacra* 3 (Paris, 1912): Ps 76.21,1-15, according to the collation of M.-J. Rondeau, 'Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 26 (1960), pp. 307-348.

La spiritualité des miracles de Saint Étienne

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Les reliques de saint Etienne ont été découvertes en Palestine, au cours du Concile de Diospolis (415). Elles furent en partie transportées en Occident; mais la guerre fit qu'elles n'atteignirent pas l'Espagne, à qui une notable portion de reliques étaient destinée. Parvenues à Minorque, elles convertirent des Juifs en masse. Puis, elles passèrent en Afrique, dans la région d'Uzali, où elles causèrent beaucoup de miracles. Le spectacle des événements survenus près de chez lui et chez lui amena Augustin à modifier son attitude à l'égard du miracle. Tout cela est bien connu[1].

Comme les interventions miraculeuses se multipliaient à Uzali, l'évêque Evodius fit rédiger vers 424 un *libellus miraculorum*, c'est à dire un récit dont la base est souvent formée par le témoignage des miraculés proclamé en public, dans une sorte de liturgie associée à la liturgie dominicale. Mon propos n'est pas ici d'étudier le miracle. Je souhaite montrer que ce récit 'Les Miracles de Saint Etienne' traduit une certaine spiritualité et s'inscrit sans un cadre ecclésial déterminé. Pour ce faire, je me contenterai de choisir quelques exemples et de les commenter; je vous propose quatre thèmes: la vision que l'on a d'Etienne — l'importance de la prière confiante — la dimension ecclésiale du miracle — la place du miracle dans la liturgie[2].

La vision que l'on a d'Etienne

Dire qu'il est pour les humains un intercesseur auprès de Dieu serait un peu court. Etienne est constamment dit un 'ami de Dieu'; c'est un des leitmotive de notre texte, surtout dans le livre II et dans l'épisode de Mégétia (I,3,4; I,4,2; I,10; I,15; II prol., 1; II,2,3 (3 fois) 8; 11; 12; II,3,2; 3; II,4,2 (2 fois). Il est *confessor Christi* 1,2,1; I,2,2. Son imagerie est généralement la même: c'est un jeune homme de blanc vêtu, et son apparence révèle le

[1] Cf. H. Delehaye, 'Les premiers *libelli miraculorum*', *A.B.* 29 (1910), pp. 427-434. Les recueils antiques des miracles des saints, *A.B.* 48 (1925), pp. 76-85. V. Saxer, *Morts, martyrs et reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Paris, 1980), pp. 245-254.

[2] Le Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique de l'Université Paul Valéry, à Montpellier, prépare une édition critique, avec traduction, de ce texte; c'est cette édition que nous citons. En attendant, voir *PL* 41, 833-854.

diacre (I,2 et II,2, 9); debout à l'ambon, il s'adresse à la foule. En I,4, il apparaît à un malade revêtu d'une belle tunique blanche. En I,11, il a une beauté juvénile et majestueuse, et il est magnifiquement vêtu. En II,2,9, il apparaît monté sur un cheval brillant. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de montrer comment ces images, dont certaines apparaissent en songe, sont estompées. L'imagerie d'Etienne est au confluent de deux éléments; d'une part, l'image liturgique du diacre; d'autre part celle de l'ami de Dieu entré dans la gloire des élus, telle que l'Apocalypse et les peintures des catacombes la dépeingnent. On pourrait ajouter deux images significatives: à un boucher qui attend vainement son fils qu'il pense avoir été tué par des bandits, Etienne apparaît en prenant les traits d'un notable d'Uzali, appelé lui-même Uzalensis; et il ajoute: 'Je suis d'Uzali; je suis Etienne'. Etienne fait tellement corps avec la ville dont il est le bienfaiteur patenté qu'il apparaît sous les traits d'un notable de haut rang, et qu'il prend, aux yeux de ses fidèles, le nom même de la ville; nous sommes sur la route où l'on verra plus tard le nom du lieu et celui du saint assimilés; mais ici le procédé est inverse; c'est Etienne qui prend le nom de la cité. Nous avons aussi l'esquisse d'un thème iconographique présenté comme tel en II,4,2: un tissu a été donné par un ange mystérieux à un sous-diacre d'Uzali; ce tissu porte une peinture représentant Etienne ayant sur ses épaules la croix glorieuse, avec le pied de laquelle il frappe la porte de la ville; plus loin, il écrase de ses pieds le dragon abattu. Y a-t-il là un écho de représentations picturales, suivant un procédé utilisé par Prudence à propos de saint Cassien (Per. IX)? J'inclinerai plutôt à croire à une création originale de notre auteur, qui n'a guère eu de postérité dans l'iconographie d'Etienne.

Etienne est aussi médecin (*archiater* en I,13 et plusieurs fois en II,2); c'est bien normal, étant donné le cortège de blessés et d'estropiés qui vient le rencontrer.

Ce médecin est évidemment un médecin spirituel en II,2. C'est là assurément une attitude évangélique, mais elle peut aboutir à de curieux comportements. En II,2,9, il dit à Mégétia de soigner ses yeux, alors que c'est la bouche qu'elle a malade! Le médecin spirituel lui donne un collyre, pour qu'elle ouvre les yeux ... sur son état de pécheresse, ce qui finalement amènera sa guérison.

On comprend qu'en I,4 l'église devienne un véritable dispensaire, et qu'en ce lieu on chante le psaume 'O Dieu, nous avons reçu ta miséricorde au milieu de ton temple' (Ps 47,10).

Etienne est avocat; c'est un thème qui deviendra banal dans la littérature hagiographique: il est un intermédiaire entre l'homme en prière et Dieu. Mais avocat, il l'est aussi au sens juridique; c'est un véritable procès spirituel qui s'engage: Mégétia montre l'huile et les linges qui sont les témoins de sa maladie et de ses prières: l'avocat doit être compétent et informé pour être efficace.

La prière instante

Soit qu'elle se manifeste directement, soit qu'elle se traduise par un verset biblique, la prière instante et confiante est indispensable; presque tous pourraient dire comme Mégétia et Vitula 'Fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panes die ac nocte' (Ps 42,4). En I,11, le forgeron Restitutus, porté par sa famille dans la *memoria* du martyr, y demeure 5 mois. D'Hylara (I,3) il est dit 'nulla incredulitatis dubitatione fluctuans' car 'celui qui hésite ressemble au flot de la mer' (Jc I,6). En I,13, Donatianus frappera sept jours à la porte du sanctuaire' avec la piété que donne la foi'. En I,3, autour des sceptiques, une aveugle 'puise la force de sa *foi* dans son ferme *espoir* de voir la lumière et brûlait de l'*amour* que donne la grâce de Dieu'. On n'aurait pas de mal à montrer les implications théologiques de cette attitude: l'impulsion donnée par la grâce de Dieu, puis la foi, l'espérance et la charité. Les suppliants peuvent faire de longs voyages; soixante-dix kilomètres séparent Carthage d'Uzali (II,2). L'attitude de l'entourage est complexe: parfois la foule ou les proches pressent le malade de s'adresser à Etienne. Parfois, ils font obstacle à la demande du malade (II,2,8): le mari et le père de Mégétia s'opposent à Mégétia et à sa mère.

Il arrive que ce soit une parole biblique qui serve de préalable à la démarche du suppliant: en I,8, on voit un aveugle s'emparer d'un coffret d'argent contenant les religues durant leur transfert. Sacrilège? Pas du tout! Avec sa foi intrépide, il 'a fait violence au royaume des cieux' (Matth XI,10) et il est guéri. A un gardien qui resserre vainement les liens d'un prisonnier car il craint que, à l'instar de son compagnon, il ne soit miraculeusement libéré, il est dit 'On n'enchaîne par la parole de Dieu' (II Tim 2,9). Cette foi d'ailleurs est avant tout une foi dans le Dieu créateur: il ne faut pas s'en remettre à des pratiques démoniaques, car la maladie, comme la guérison, fait partie de l'ordre de la création; il faut s'en remettre à Dieu seul. Cela se voit aussi quand les résultats du miracle vont au-delà de la grâce demandée. Quand un jeune enfant mort sans baptême est provisoirement guéri, c'est pour lui permettre d'acquérir, par le baptême, la vie éternelle (I,15). Un mari est resté trois ans absent sans donner de nouvelles (I,5); sa femme, chargée de famille, l'a attendu; mais le souci de ses enfants et ses propres exigences charnelles la poussent à reconvoler; le retour du mari, obtenu par l'intercession d'Etienne, lui évitera de tomber dans l'adultère. La guérison de Mégétia (II,2,13) entraîne la conversion de son mari.

D'autre part, il faut garder présente à l'esprit la pensée que c'est constamment Dieu qui mène l'événement: il faut savoir reconnaître la manifestation de Dieu partout où elle se présente. Quand ses amis poussent une femme inquiète à aller prier Etienne, il faut y voir l'inspiration de Dieu, car 'la Providence n'y était pas pour rien' (I,5). C'est tellement vrai que parfois les amis du blessé sont l'Eglise qui prie avec le malade: en I,4 le coiffeur Concordius qui s'est cassé le pied et est plongé dans la souffrance et l'inquiétude, voit en songe une

femme majestueuse qui lui tend une figue. Il reconnaît dans cette femme la figure de l'Eglise qui l'incite à prier Etienne: la figure traduit la suavité de son intercession (notons que notre auteur ne nous laisse pas la charge de l'interprétation).

C'est encore l'action de la Providence qu'il faut reconnaître dans la conjonction entre l'arrivée des reliques et la lecture de la lettre de Sévère de Minorque (I,2,3); la réalisation de la vision prophétique s'est faite par l'action de la Providence. Dieu qui mène l'événement se préoccupe du malade qui a trouvé le sommeil, car 'il ne dort ni ne sommeille celui qui protège Israël' (Ps 120,4) et 'il protège tous également' (Sag 6,8). Cette suggestion se fait parfois d'une manière plus complexe: II,4 nous offre l'histoire d'un dragon qui terrorisait la ville d'Uzali; mais le dragon n'est pas, à priori, vilipendié; le dragon qui crache ses flammes est dans l'ordre de la Providence suivant le Ps 148,7 'Louez le Seigneur, dragons, abîmes, feux, vents, tempêtes qui accomplissez sa parole'. Le but de cette interprétation est de suggérer la prière et l'abandon au Dieu créateur qui seul peut modifier l'ordre de la création.

La dimension ecclésiale du miracle

Le récit du premier miracle est caractéristique de cet état d'esprit. On commençait de parler des reliques; certains en possédaient (I,1). Le prêtre venu d'Orient (Orose?) était là, mais peu de gens le savaient. Le premier mouvement est le scepticisme, principalement chez les clercs; la première à douter de l'authenticité est une femme consacrée; et sa réaction est naturelle 'Y a-t-il là des reliques?' L'ampoule provoqua du feu dans les yeux et dans la bouche des assistants (en rêve d'abord, en réalité ensuite); mais l'auteur ajoute: le feu que l'ampoule communiqua aux oreilles et aux yeux préfigure exactement que la prédication sur les saintes reliques, arrivant dans la bouche des moines, enflamma par l'ouïe et la vue le corps unique de l'Eglise du feu de la lumière divine, si bien que tous disaient avec raison 'ce que nous avons entendu, nous l'avons vu aussi' (Ps 47,9). Nous mesurons la dimension ecclésiale de l'arrivée de ces reliques: les moines, les femmes consacrées, les prêtres sont les premiers concernés. Elles sont l'occasion d'une prédication, dont l'objet est la foi[3], non pas la foi dans ces reliques, mais la foi en Dieu. Notons aussi le souci bien africain, même à cette date, que nos Uzaliens ont de l'Unité de l'Eglise: les querelles donatistes ne sont pas loin, comme nous allons le voir. Autre événement caractéristique: il y a trois lieux de culte concernés: l'église de la ville, l'église du Promontoire, la *memoria* d'Etienne (la basilique de Félix et Gennadius n'est pas en cause ici). L'évêque a décidé de faire passer une partie des

[3] Nous avons systématiquement traduit *fides* par *foi*, alors que dans certains passages, c'est le mot *confiance* qui aurait convenu: cela fera l'objet d'une étude ultérieure.

reliques situées dans l'église de la ville jusqu'à l'église du Promontoire. La foule, prévenue par un songe, s'y oppose; il y a des manifestations, et finalement, on décide de tout mettre (une petite fiole!) au même endroit. Mais c'est le commentaire fait par l'auteur (ou la foule?) qui nous intéresse: cette division compromettrait l'unité de l'Eglise. L'église était jadis donatiste, et ce partage des reliques réveillait chez les Chrétiens d'Uzali d'antiques souffrances, d'autant plus que rendue aux orthodoxes, cette église s'appelait Restituta (I,7).

Nous avons vu plus haut une femme symbolisant l'Eglise apparaître au coiffeur Concordius (I,4).

Tout cela nous montre que ces miracles ne sont pas des phénomènes qui n'intéressent que quelques individus; c'est toute l'Eglise d'Uzali, en tant que telle, qui est intéressée. Etienne ne vient pas se surajouter à Félix et Gennadius, sur lesquels d'ailleurs nous ne savons rien; il s'insère dans la vie de la communauté d'Uzali, qu'il amène à une plus profonde foi en Dieu.

Une étude sur l'utilisation de la Bible dans nos miracles éclairerait notre propos; mais c'est là l'objet d'une recherche spécifique. Nous nous bornerons ici à quelques indications, notons d'abord qu'un corpus biblique propre à ce genre de récit n'a pas eu le temps de se constituer. La fréquence des citations bibliques (une ou plusieurs dans presque tous les récits) est une des caractéristiques du recueil (à la différence du 'dossier' augustinien du miracle où les citations sont moins systématiques). Ces citations visent à montrer dans ces miracles la réalisation de promesses ou de visions antérieures élevées presque à la dignité de prophéties; elles montrent aussi la continuité de l'action de Dieu dans les événements humains, suivant un procédé signalé plus haut; elles créent une atmosphère biblique autour de ces miracles, qui sont ainsi replacés dans l'histoire du salut, tout au moins du salut de l'Eglise d'Uzali. Stylistiquement, les citations bibliques permettent de modifier la tension ou la tonalité du récit, qu'elles font passer de la narration à la prière, ou lui donnent une coloration liturgique, comme nous allons le voir. Si certaines de ces citations sont mises dans la bouche des personnages, parfois l'auteur les prend à son compte pour orienter la réflexion du lecteur ou dégager la signification morale ou spirituelle du miracle. De toute façon, elles n'apparaissent pas comme surajoutées au récit dont elles font partie intégrante, et qu'elles animent de l'intérieur. Elles traduisent certes la culture biblique du clerc qui a rédigé ces Miracles, mais aussi chez lui un réel souci de pastorale.

L'entourage liturgique

Beaucoup de ces récits se déroulent dans un cadre liturgique qui préexiste à la manifestation du miracle.

Dans I,2, nous l'avons vu, l'incorporation des reliques dans les cérémonies liturgiques d'Uzali se fait grâce à un rêve prémonitoire, à propos d'une céré-

monie consacrée à Felix et Gennadius, comme si un rapprochement devait se faire entre les deux cultes, l'un facilitant l'autre.

D'autre part, la lecture de la lettre de Sévère de Minorque[4], qui authentifie le pouvoir des reliques, est incorporée à la cérémonie liturgique. Notons d'ailleurs que cette lecture, faite pendant l'office, est symétrique de la lecture des Actes des Martyrs pendant l'office: nous avons là une tradition typiquement africaine[5]. La longue citation de Joël, 1-3 veut marquer le caractère quasi-messianique de cette arrivée des reliques, qui est aussi comme une nouvelle effusion de l'esprit[6]. On aimerait savoir évidemment quelle utilisation liturgique de ce texte pouvait être faite en Afrique ... Le miracle de la guérison de l'aveugle Donatianus se produit à la *memoria* d'Etienne durant la semaine pascale: il recouvre la lumière des yeux le jour de la fête du Christ-lumière (I,13). Le miraculé offre un cierge orné de plaques d'argent; et l'évêque comprendra la signification liturgique de ce cadeau. La guérison de Mégétia en II,2,15 se réalise aussi durant la semaine pascale. Cet aspect à la fois ecclésial et liturgique du miracle est particulièrement net dans le prologue du livre II, où l'on voit les bénéficiaires des faveurs du ciel venir porter témoignage dans l'église d'Uzali, au cours de l'office; alors se réalisait la parole du psalmiste 'Ainsi que nous l'avons entendu, nous l'avons vu' (Ps 47,9). Et c'est ainsi, ajoute notre auteur, que par l'ouïe et la vue la flamme de l'amour divin pénétrait dans le cœur de chaque assistant.

Parfois, c'est la présentation du miracle qui est faite dans un style liturgique: II,3 nous offre la triste histoire d'un viticulteur qui s'aperçoit que toute sa récolte a été transformée en vinaigre; une inspiration divine lui fera retrouver la quiétude (sic): il fait recueillir une fiole de ce vinaigre, le fait sanctifier (?) à la *memoria* d'Etienne, puis en verse quelques gouttes dans chaque cuve. Le narrateur interrompt là son récit, mais va rythmer le 'suspense' dans une prière lyrique:

O Seigneur, toi de l'homme le protecteur,
toi qui dans ta bonté fais tout pour lui,
toi qui jadis par le mystère de tes saints a purifié les eaux amères et stériles
en y faisant jeter du bois et vider un vase de sel,
toi qui, par toi-même as changé l'eau en vin,
C'est toi qui, par l'action de ton ami saint Etienne,
as rendu à un vin gâté son état antérieur,
as changé l'amer en doux,
le troublé en limpide,
l'abattement en joie.

[4] Edition critique, avec une introduction, une traduction, et un commentaire **par Josep** Amengual y Batle dans *Els Orígens del cristianisme a les Balears* (Mallorca, 1991).

[5] Cf. V. Saxer op. cit., n. 1, p. 200 sq.

[6] Cette citation biblique n'est pas dans les relevés de V. Saxer.

L'action de Dieu est louée en une prière d'action de grâces dans un style liturgique, celui des anaphores eucharistiques. On a pu aussi noter les renvois bibliques à Exode XV,25,1, II Rois 2,21, et Jean II,1-11. Etienne, nouveau Moïse, est aussi l'image du Christ à Cana. Comme le Christ, il veut créer de la joie autour de lui. Le même procédé se retrouve en II,5,2: au moment où le trésorier découvre tout soulagé qu'il est lavé de toute accusation, le narrateur arrête là son récit, et il éclate en une longue prière d'action de grâces au Seigneur[7]: trois textes bibliques (Ps 88,10; Luc 8,25; Prov 21,1) montrent l'autorité de Dieu sur les éléments et les puissants de ce monde, avant que notre auteur ne trouve dans l'histoire d'Esther et d'Assuérus (Esther, XV) le prototype de l'aventure de Florentinus. Ces types de commentaires ressortissent plutôt au genre du sermon qu'au style narratif, ce qui nous conforte dans notre vision liturgique de ces morceaux.

Deux chapitres, enfin, nous placent directement dans la liturgie du baptême.

Un jeune enfant était mort sans avoir reçu le baptême; à la prière de sa mère, il est, grâce à l'intervention d'Etienne, rappelé à la vie; il peut alors être baptisé, et meurt peu après. Cette anecdote nous renvoie aux discussions sur le pédobaptisme qui se sont produites en marge de l'hérésie pélagienne; deux conciles africains avaient récemment traité du baptême des petits enfants, et la question avait largement été traitée par Augustin[8]. Notons ici seulement quelques indications sur la liturgie du baptême; le petit est dit *paruulus*, il n'est plus au berceau; il est catéchumène, ce qui prouve que sa mère l'a fait inscrire. D'autre part, le prêtre est mandé *accersitur* à la *memoria*, semble-t-il; il le baptise: 'baptismus paruulo traditur, sacramenta complentur'; c'est un prêtre qui officie, non l'évêque, qui ne baptisait que la veille de Pâques; *sacramenta* ne peut désigner que les rites qui accompagnent l'immersion: les onctions et les signes de croix, et aussi le pain et le vin eucharistiques, accordés aux *paruuli* comme aux adultes. L'enfant a-t-il récité le Credo et le Pater, s'il est grandet, puisqu'il a recouvré la voix? ou est-ce sa mère qui les a récités pour lui[9]? Cette page révèle une expérience pastorale et montre que le baptême des enfants était

[7] O Domine, Domine, qui ueras tuas laudes in sacris tibi psalmis decantari non arroganter, sed misericorditer iubes, non pro tua iactantia sed pro nostra tutela, cum dicitur 'Tu dominaris potestanti maris, motum autem fluctuum eius tu mitigas'. Sicut consonat etiam euangelica auctoritas, ubi imperio Christi tui dum leuigarentur turbulenti fluctus ac uenti, mirantes dixere discipuli 'Qualis est hic qui imperat uentis et mari, et oboediunt ei?' verissimum est quod etiam alibi in sermone scripturae tuae dicitur de te: 'Cor regis in manu Domini, sicut aqua decurrens, quocumque uoluerit illuc detorquet eam'.

[8] Concile de Milev (416), de Carthage (418). Augustin, *Sermon* 393 et 394, de 413, *Enarratio in Ps*. 50. de 413. *Ep. 98 à Bonifatius sur le baptême des petits enfants — De peccatorum meritis et remissione* (même date). Cf. J.C. Didier, 'Saint Augustin et le baptême des enfants', *R.E. Aug* 2 (1956), pp. 109-129. V. Grossi, 'Battesimo dei bambini e teologia', *Augustinianum*, 7 (1967), pp. 323-337. S. Poque, 'Un souci pastoral d'Augustin' *B.L.E.*, 88 (1987), pp. 273-286.

[9] Cf. Augustin, *Nouvelles Lettres* +5,1,3 'pour les paruuli, leurs aînés répondent sur la foi du symbole'. C'est la mère ici qui est le *fidedictor*.

un problème actuel à Uzali vers 425[10]. Plus caractéristique est l'histoire de Dativus, très riche en enseignements sur la liturgie du baptême. Nous avons naguère étudié cette page[11]. Un homme a péri dans l'effondrement de sa maison (I,6); grâce aux prières de sa femme, il est rappelé à la vie; il raconte alors qu'il a revécu en songe les cérémonies de son baptême, notamment la *redditio symboli*: Etienne est le diacre qui l'a invité à répéter le symbole; mais surtout, après cette cérémonie, Etienne le marque sur le cœur du signe de la croix: or cette signation, faite après la récitation du Credo et celle de l'Oraison Dominicale, est extrêmement rare; elle n'est signalée, en dehors de notre texte, que par le témoignage de Rufin, et Mgr. Saxer y voyait un rite spécifiquement aquiléen[12]. Notre récit montre que ce rite est passé en Afrique; il est lié à la proclamation de la foi en la vie éternelle, car c'est après avoir été marqué de ce signe que Dativus est rappelé à la vie. Notre morceau est donc lié à un enseignement sur le baptême et sur la signification de ses rites, peut-être grâce à une catéchèse de l'évêque Evodius qui ne nous est pas parvenue.

Ce petit texte, qui a fait l'objet ces dernières années de communications dans les domaines de la linguistique, de l'étude de la civilisation et de l'économie antiques, peut intéresser au premier chef l'historien des mentalités religieuses et de la spiritualité. A côté des réflexions augustiniennes portant sur l'explication du miracle, notre auteur y voit simplement une manifestation de la toute-puissance du Dieu créateur.

Nous devons avoir cependant présent à l'esprit que nous avons affaire ici au premier *libellus*; le genre est en train de se créer; ne crions pas trop vite au *topos*.

Le rôle du rêve y est aussi caractéristique; les rêves que l'on rencontre chez Augustin ont été étudiés[13]: les nôtres sont à mi-chemin entre les rêves prémonitoires, les rêves d'injonction, entre ceux qu'offre la littérature païenne et ceux de l'Ancien Testament; mais surtout, ils font revivre, sous un éclairage spirituel nouveau, une expérience déjà vécue.

Constamment pédagogue, voire catéchète, l'auteur guide le lecteur dans l'interprétation, surtout en lui offrant une 'grille de lecture' à l'aide de références bibliques. Tout cela nous interdit évidemment de parler de 'religion populaire', si tant est que l'expression signifie quelque chose. Notre auteur s'amuse quand il fait employer par Etienne et langage populaire. Tout cela nous semble très élaboré, très lié au souci d'insérer le miracle dans la vie spirituelle d'une communauté, qui n'a pas eu besoin de lui pour vivre sa vie de foi, riche qu'elle est de sa culture biblique et de sa vie ecclésiale.

[10] Il est dit 'paruulo salus conceditur', ce qui, dans le texte ne peut que signifier la vie éternelle. Or Augustin nous apprend que 'chez les Puniques, le mot baptême est exprimé par *salus* qui signifie aussi *guérison*' (*De pecc.* I,21,24).

[11] P. Force, 'Place et signification de la *redditio symboli* dans l'Initiation Chrétienne ...', *Actes du Colloque sur l'Initiation* (Montpellier, 1992), pp. 293-304.

[12] V. Saxer, *Les rites de l'Initiation Chrétienne du II° au VI° siècles* (Spolète, 1988), p. 355.

[13] Martine Dulaey, *Le rêve dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1973).

The *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* and Ancient Travel Writing

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At the turn of the fifth century, a Jerusalem monk recorded his pilgrimage to monastic settlements in Egypt in a work known as the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*. Unable to conceal his delight in reporting the astonishing miracles he witnessed or learned among the desert and village monks he wrote, 'Blessed be God, (f)or he brought us to Egypt and showed us great and wonderful things (μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά) which are worthy of being remembered and recorded'[1].

Modern historians, however, shudder at this author's proclivity for the marvelous. As Derwas Chitty cautioned, 'The work is full of wonders, and the writer was extremely gullible'[2]. Even among generous interpreters, who appeal to the historical or cultural context of the work, the scholarly embarrassment over the prominence of miracles is apparent[3]. Benedicta Ward, however, moved this debate in an important direction when she explored the theological significance of miracles as a form of biblical typology, thereby bracketing the modern preoccupation with the author's credulity[4]. I wish to suggest that ancient travel writting is another important framework for interpreting the significance of miracles in the *Historia*. In particular, I hope to show that ancient audiences would have recognized the *Historia* as a type of travelers' tale describing the wonders and marvels of distant lands.

For ancient authors and their audiences, travel and marvel were virtually inseparable. Ever since Odysseus landed on the island of the Phaiacians, storytellers delighted arm-chair travelers with tales of distant and strange places. In the fifth century BCE writers such as Herodotus and a court physician named Ctesias of Cnidos pushed the boundaries of the geographical imagination with

[1] Prol. 1 (Russell, 49). Greek version: A.-J. Festugière (ed.), *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 53; Brussels, 1971). Latin version: E. Schulz-Flügel (ed.), *Tyrannius Rufinus, Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 34; Berlin, 1990). I quote from N. Russell's translation in *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* (London, Oxford, and Kalamazoo, 1981). Hereafter, cited as *Hist. mon.*

[2] *The Desert a City* (Crestwood, NY, 1966) p. 51.

[3] See e.g., F. Young who calls on modern readers to 'mak(e) some allowance for a tendency to exaggeration and idealization' in reading *historiai* (*From Nicaea to Chalcedon* (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 41).

[4] 'A Sense of Wonder: Miracles of the Desert', in N. Russell, trans., *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, pp. 29-38.

their accounts of exotic peoples, strange beasts, and the marvels of India[5]. This utopian fascination with the foreign and fantastic resurged in Hellenistic times with the appearance of paradoxographies, catalogues of bizarre phenomena[6]. Lucian's parody of the genre, *Verae Historiae*, mentions several of these writers by name[7]. If the Christian audiences shared the reading habits of their pagan counterparts, as I believe they did, then it would come as no surprise to find miracles (and so many of them) in a travel account. Legends of the apostles and apocalyptic writings edified and entertained ancient audiences with marvels about distant places[8]. Given the pervasiveness of marvel writing in historical, geographical, and novelistic works[9], it is not farfetched to detect this type of writing in Christian hagiographical writings such as the *Historia*[10].

I will limit my discussion to three literary features of the distant wonder writing that appear in the *Historia*[11]: first, marvel writing effects a sense of displacement, situating both author and reader as outsiders to the world described. Secondly, the marvels create a symmetry between nature and human existence. Finally, serial description or list-making is an effective device used in paradoxographies for conveying the inexplicable nature of one's observations.

[5] J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 82-120.

[6] See T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley, California, 1983), pp. 117-21. I am indebted to Dr. Lawrence Wills for bringing the relevance of the *Reisefabulistik* to my attention. On paradoxography see A. Giannini, 'Studi sulla paradossografia greca', *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere* 97 (1963), pp. 247-66; R. French, *Ancient Natural History: Histories of Nature* (New York, 1994), pp. 299-303; D. Winston, 'Iambulus' *Islands of the Sun* and Hellenistic Literary Utopias', *Science Fiction Studies* 3 (1976), pp. 219-27, esp. pp. 221-23.

[7] Lucian (*Verae Historiae* 1.3; A.M. Harmon, trans., *Lucian I* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass, 1913; repr. 1990)) mentions Ctesias, Iambulus, and Homer.

[8] See e.g., R.I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 69-72; M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[9] On the pervasiveness of the genre in antiquity, see J. LeGoff, 'The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: An Oneiric Horizon', in *idem* (ed.), *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (A. Goldhammer, trans.; Chicago, 1980), pp. 189-200, esp. p. 193; Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, pp. 82-120; E. Gabba, 'True History and False History in Classical Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 71 (1981), pp. 50-62, esp. p. 53.

[10] Even the title 'historia' alerts the reader to a travel genre. In addition to signifying 'investigation', the term could also mean 'visits' in fourth-century writings. See G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) 678b s.v. 'ἱστορία'. Eusebius also uses ἱστορία in the context of (pilgrim) travel, *Hist. eccl.*, 6.11.1 (E. Schwartz, ed., p. 540.27); I thank E. Mühlenberg for this reference.

[11] I am indebted to M.B. Campbell's analysis of the literary strategies found in pilgrims' and travelers' writings (*The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca, 1988)). J. Romm (*Edges of the Earth*) also examines geographical writing as a literary creation rather than a factual record. See the useful survey of *topoi* in Winston, 'Iambulus' *Islands of the Sun*', pp. 223, 225. On utopias, see J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (Ithaca, 1975) esp. pp. 122-29; P. Ruppert, *Reader in a Strange Land: The Activity of Reading Literary Utopias* (Athens, Georgia, and London, 1986), esp. pp. 26-27, 48-53.

Marvels and paradox are predicated on distance. In the tradition of Greek utopian writing, marvel writers describe encountering peoples who live at the outer limits of the known world[12]. The title of Antonius Diogenes' fantastic journey, the *Marvels beyond Thule*, says it all: ἄπιστα, or 'unbelievable things', take place beyond the edges of existence[13]. Lucian also highlighted this remoteness in his parody. As he writes, 'the object I proposed to myself was to discover the limits of the ocean and what men dwelt beyond it'[14]. Creating distance, then, is more than a convenient outlet for exaggerations or untruths, it can also allow the reader to imagine new possibilities.

One also finds this connection between displacement and miracles in the *Historia*. As the opening lines state, 'For he (God) brought us to Egypt and showed us great and wonderful things'[15]. By the fourth century CE, Egypt was certainly accessible to tourists. Yet it preserved its long-standing reputation as a distant land and home of wonders, if the legends about Jesus' wonder-working childhood are any indication[16]. This perceived distance appears in the prologue's earliest description of the monks:

> They do not busy themselves with any earthly matter or take account of anything that belongs to this transient world. But while dwelling on earth in this manner, they live as true citizens of heaven. Some of them do not even know that another world exists on earth[17].

That sense of 'another world ... on earth' is highlighted in the frequent mention of the dangers and difficulties of travel. Almost a third of a brief notice on Abba Elias describes the arduous path one must endure to reach that perfect monk[18]. And the epilogue is devoted to enumerating the 'great dangers' (eight of them, to be exact!) endured on the journey. These difficulties give a more genuine sense of the distances.

A second feature of travel writing follows from this perceived remoteness. If cut apart from the rest of human society, both temporally and spatially, the

12 Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, p. 39.

13 *Marvels beyond Thule*, summary in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 166 (R. Henry, ed. (Paris, 1960)); G.N. Sandy, trans. in B.P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley, 1989) 779). See also J.S. Romm, 'Novels beyond Thule: Antonius Diogenes, Rabelais, Cervantes', in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 101-16, esp. 103. See also *idem*, *Edges of the Earth*, pp. 202-14.

14 Lucian, *Verae Historiae* 5 (Reardon, 622).

15 *Hist. mon.* Prol. 1 (Russell, 49).

16 E.g., *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 68-83. See also P.J. Achtemeier, 'Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers in the Apocryphal New Testament', in E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, 1976), pp. 149-86, esp. 155-56. Cf. K.A.D. Smelik and E.A. Hemelrijk, '"Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?": Opinions on Egyptian Animal Worship in Antiquity as Part of the Conception of Egypt', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.17.4 (Berlin, 1984), pp. 1853-2337, esp. 1945-55; I thank Dr. Stephanie West for this reference.

17 *Hist. mon.* Prol. 5-6 (Russell, 49-50).

18 Ibid., 7.2, cf. 23.1.

distant peoples enjoy a completely different relation to nature. Remarkable longevity is a common feature in utopian marvel writing. Never diminished by pain or disease, human life flourishes. With an inexhaustible supply of food and water, humans and nature display their perfect compatibility. Wild animals are no menace to these wonder-working monks (although they pose a threat to travelers, as the epilogue tells us)[19]. Even moderation becomes a possibility rather than a necessity. On the Island of the Sun, as Iambulus describes that utopia, inhabitants live until 150 years, when they voluntarily remove themselves from society[20]. Likewise, at Isidore's cloistered monastery, which, we are told, 'was fortified with a high brick wall', the monks lived a self-sufficient existence. 'Within the walls', as the pilgrims learned from the lone guest master, 'were such saints that all could work miracles and none of them ever fell ill before he died'[21]. The wall creates a sense of displacement and separation that in turn gives rise to miracles.

A new relation to nature also appears in connection with the *Historia*'s episodes about food. A statement in the prologue is programmatic for the work: 'for with them (the monks) there is ... no anxiety for food and clothing'[22]. When stranded in the desert without food or water, Abba Apollo and his disciples were visited by a 'number of men ... complete strangers to them, who said that they had travelled a long distance'[23]. The strangers brought enough food to last for months. The story goes on to detail the bounty of these 'things that do not grow in Egypt': exotic fruit, fresh milk, even bread that was still hot from the oven — an oven in a distant land[24]! Distance and miracle go hand in hand in this episode, where a stranger (the author) tells a story about strangers (Apollo and the monks) who encounter strangers (the gift-bearers).

That perfect relation to nature is most clearly outlined in the use of nature's bounty. Iambulus's islanders, for instance, follow a prescribed diet[25]. Likewise, the monks of the *Historia* also practice remarkable moderation amid such perpetual abundance. More than half of a brief notice on Ammon (3.1-2) details with ethnographic precision, the spectacle of mealtime at a Pachomian monastery. The visitor scrutinizes every move: the three spoonfuls of soup that satisfy one monk; the singular gesture of raising food to mouth (one or two such moves comprise the entire meal), or the monk who slowly chews on the same piece of bread, for he will eat nothing else that day[26]. Such discipline

[19] E.g., ibid., 4.3; 9.9; cf. Epil., 11-13. On this *topos*, see Ward, 'Sense of Wonder', p. 43.
[20] Diodorus Siculus. 2.57.4 in C.H. Oldfather, trans., *Diodorus of Sicily* (10 vols.; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1935) 2.72.
[21] *Hist. mon.* 17.1-3 (Russell, 101).
[22] Ibid., prol. 7 (Russell, 50).
[23] Ibid., 8.40 (Russell, 76).
[24] Ibid.
[25] Diodorus Siculus 2.57.4; 2.59.1-5.
[26] *Hist. mon.* 3.2. Several notices (usually brief ones) close with details about dietary habits, see ibid. 6.4; 7.3; 15.4; 20.

may not seem as miraculous as angels who deliver hot bread. Yet, the writer closes the episode with a simple comment, 'I marvelled at these things, as was fitting'[27].

Finally, a third feature of paradoxographies we find in the *Historia* is more stylistic and thus may already be apparent from the few examples I have related. Geographical and ethnographic writers frequently interrupt narratives with bare lists of bizarre phenomena or strange customs[28]. Several notices of the *Historia* open with a list typically itemizing the ascetic's name, location, a few details about the community, a schematic physical description, and any supernatural powers[29]. The final chapter, in fact, is only a list. I quote it in its entirety:

> We also visited another John in Diolcos, who was the father of hermitages. He too was endowed with much grace. He looked like Abraham and had a beard like Aaron's. He had performed many miracles and cures, and was especially successful at healing people afflicted with paralysis and gout[30].

A far less exotic list than say, the 'dogheaded men and headless that have their eyes in their breasts', encountered by Herodotus[31]. But the catalogic manner of presentation consolidates the sense of wonder in both cases. As James Romm observes, 'such lists present the wonders of the East as an aggregation of facts; they demand that the multiplicity of eastern nature be accepted on its own terms'[32]. The *Historia*'s lists create a similar sense for the distant, inexplicable, and above all, comprehensive wonders of Egyptian asceticism.

We may draw two conclusions from these literary strategies of displacement, symmetry, and lists. First, travel details and miracles are closely intertwined in the marvel writing genre. Thus, previous efforts to separate travel realia from marvel in the hopes of arriving at a transparent record of monasticism will yield dubious results. More importantly, however, ancient audiences who recognized the *Historia* as travel writing became privy to pilgrim expectations of Egyptian monasticism, a distant land on the edges of human existence. For by using distant marvel writing techniques, pilgrims demarcated and recast the desert as a biblical land where paradise was restored and gospel miracles could find their full realization. Taken as pilgrims' literature, rather than monastic record, the *Historia* reveals what pilgrims read and what they read into the landscapes and faces they encountered in Egypt.

27 Ibid., 3.2 (Russell, 65).

28 Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 102-6.

29 E.g., *Hist. mon.* 2.1; 6.1; 26. See Schulz-Flügel's remarks on this structure (*Tyrannius Rufinus*, p. 8).

30 Ibid., 26 (Russell, 117).

31 *Hist.* 4.191 in A.D. Godley, trans.; *Herodotus* (4 vols.; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 2.395; cited in Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 91.

32 Ibid.

Women and Satan in Christian Biography and Monastic Literature (IVth-Vth centuries)

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Satan and his evil spirits are constantly present in ancient Christian biographies: this is shown in different ways and at different levels by Athanasius' *Life of Antony*[1], by Jerome's *Life of Hilarion*[2] and by Sulpicius Severus' *Life of S. Martin*[3]. In these texts, as well as in monastic literature, the devil is the avowed enemy the monk has to face in his worldly journey: the follower of Christ can become spiritually perfect only by accepting the struggle. And this struggle is often a very violent one. The Enemy scolds the monk or hermit, insults him and tries to frighten him with terrifying cryings, sudden lights burning in the dark, bad smells, earth tremors. The devil uses different means of disguise and transformation: he likes to appear as a wild beast or a monster ready to kill the man in the cell or in the very place where the saint lives in solitude[4]. The Evil One often resorts to physical combat beating the monk without mercy[5]. Among the trials the ascetic has to face, sexual temptations have a particular place. The Enemy does not hesitate to provoke the man who has made the vow of virginity. Since woman is an

[1] See the text in Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Vie d'Antoine*, par G.J.M. Bartelink (SCh400; Paris, 1994). The demonology of the *Life of Antony* was studied by: J. Stoffels, 'Die Angriffe der Dämonen auf den Einsiedler Antonius', in *Theologie und Glaube* 2(1910), pp. 721-732 and 809-830; A.C. Baynes, 'St. Antony and the Demons', in *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 40 (1954), pp. 7-10; J. Daniélou, 'Le démons de l'air dans la "Vie d'Antoine"', in *Antonius Magnus Eremita*, cur. B. Steidle (Studia Anselmiana 38; Roma, 1956), pp. 136-147; Ch. Mohrmann, 'La "Vita Antonii" di sant' Atanasio', introduzione a *Vita di Antonio*, a cura di G.J.M. Bartelink (Milano, 1974), pp. LXXX-LXXXIII; W. Schneemelcher, 'Das Kreuz Christi und die Dämonen. Bemerkungen zur "Vita Antonii" des Athanasius', in *Pietas. Festschrift für B. Kötting* (Münster, 1980), pp. 381-392; P. Alvarez, *Demon Stories in the Life of Antony by Athanasius* (Cisterciensian Studies 23, 1988), pp. 101-118.

[2] See the edition by A.A.R. Bastiaensen in *Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola* (Milano, 1975), pp. 72-143. The *Introduction* by Ch. Mohrmann, *ibid.*, pp. XL-LI focuses many problems proposed by the text, demonology included.

[3] See Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, par J. Fontaine (SCh 133-135; Paris, 1967-1969); Sulpicio Severo, *Vita di Martino*, introduzione e note di E. Giannarelli. traduzione di M. Spinelli (Milano, 1995), pp. 159; 204-205; 207-209; 215-218 about the relationship between Martin and Satan.

[4] I list here only the most spectacular aspects of the fight between the devil and the monk. which always includes spiritual trials.

[5] See Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 8,2; Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* 3.

instrument of the devil[6], Satan sometimes induces a girl to fall in love with a monk and to try anything in order to fulfil her desire[7]. More often the prince of darkness stresses the natural sexual instincts of a man and the torture may go on for a long time[8]: the martyrdom of a monk or hermit is as long as his life. According to the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the desert is the only place where there are no women[9]; in that solitude, the virginity of a man should be safe, but it is not so. Satan himself performs his most successful transformation: he appears to the ascetic with the clothes, or better without the clothes of a glamorous, easy girl, so as to induce the man to sin. It may happen also within the walls of a monastery[10].

Female biographies testify to a very different situation. In his *Life of Macrina*, the first biographical work dedicated to a woman[11], Gregory of Nyssa does not give a large place to miracles and to what may be defined as *mirabilia*. His aim is to show a way to perfection through the *exemplum* of his sister's experience: Macrina renounces the world in order to dedicate herself to philosophy (so Gregory calls the Christian and ascetic life), till she reaches an angelic way of living. While still in her body and in a physical dimension, she goes beyond her natural limits both as a woman and as a human being. In her life, she suffers every kind of physical and spiritual trial. Her progress towards holiness is marked by the death of many of her relatives, a sequence of sorrows she faces like an undefeated athlete, according to Christian stoicism and to the doctrine of S. Paul. The only two mentions of the devil in this philosophical biography find their place just in this perspective. Nevertheless Satan plays an important role as 'prime mover' of events. To Envy is due the untimely death of Macrina's fiancé: after this, the girl decides not to marry at

[6] According to Jerome and to many other Christian writers, *mulier est instrumentum diaboli*. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* II,10 a rich girl from Rome tried to visit the famous Arsenius in the desert, but she was not received by him. She asked the archbishop Theophilus why she had been sent out by the monk and he explained to her:' Don't you know that you are a woman and that it is through women that the Enemy fights against the saints?'. See *Les Apophtegmes des Pères*, vol. I, cap. I-IX, par J.C. Guy (SCh 387; Paris, 1993), pp. 128-130.

[7] In *Apophthegmata Patrum* V,42 an immoral woman , inspired by the devil, bets with some young men that she will be able to seduce a famous ascetic. A variation on this subject may be found in many hagiographical texts where the 'theme of Putifar' becomes a common place. See Q. Cataudella, 'Vite dei santi e romanzo', in *Letterature comparate. Problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di E. Paratore* (Bologna, 1981), vol. II, pp. 931-952. See also Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 70.

[8] See Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* 3,3.

[9] See *Apophthegmata Patrum* II,26.

[10] See Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 5,5; Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* 3,10-11; *Apophthegmata Patrum* V,41.

[11] See *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, ed. V.Woods Callahan, in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Omnia*, cur. W. Jaeger, vol. VIII, Leiden 1952, pp. 370-414; English version by V. Woods Callahan in *Saint Gregory of Nyssa, Ascetical Works* (The Fathers of the Church, vol. 58; Washington, 1967), pp. 159-191; Gregoire de Nysse, *La vie de Sainte Macrine*, ed. P. Maraval (SCh 178; Paris, 1971); San Gregorio di Nissa, *La Vita di Santa Macrina*, a cura di E. Giannarelli (Milano, 1988).

all[12]. The sudden loss of young, promising people is ascribed by the Christians to Satan, who tries in this way to defeat the believer. In classical culture the concept of φθόνος θεῶν — the envy of the gods for the happiness of men — has the same meaning and function. Moreover, for the followers of Christ pagan divinities are demons and according to *Wisdom* 2,24 'it was through the devil's envy that death entered into the cosmic order'. At chapter 8 of the *Life of Macrina* this theme is used once again concerning the young Naucratius, Macrina's brother, who gave up a bright future in the world and turned to monastic life. He died because of an accident and this was in Gregory's words 'a grave and tragic experience, planned.... by the Adversary, which brought the entire family to misfortune and lamentation'[13]. At that moment Macrina, who had lost her dearest brother, gave proof of her philosophy. She transcended her nature, she acted as an *exemplum* of patience and fortitude (the Greek word is ἀνδρεία, of course) for those who were around her. The girl became spiritually mother of her own mother[14] and proved she had reached angelic life. The Adversary was completely defeated.

There is nothing else about Satan in the *Life of Macrina*, except for a short allusion to the casting out of devils, one of many miracles the woman performed just like every other saint[15].

Melania the Younger was a noble and rich girl of senatorial family, forced to marry for 'dynastic reasons', her true vocation being ascetic life. After the birth of two children and their premature death, she finally convinced her husband to live with her in a spiritual union and to follow monastic ideals. In her Greek biography[16] the devil is once again the mover of external events which have a decisive influence on the protagonist. Both she and her husband were violently persecuted by their noble family because they intended to sell their immense wealth. Their relatives opposed this project because wealth meant political power: they acted within a wordly perspective and were inspired by the devil who found a powerful supporter in Melania's father. When with the help of the Empress Serena the two saints were able to carry out their plan, it was a great victory over the world and its diabolic prince[17].

But Satan is above all an interior voice for that holy woman: I quote here her experience, as related by the biographer in her own words: 'One day my

[12] See *La Vita di Santa Macrina* 4.

[13] I quote from the translation by V. Woods Callahan, p.169.

[14] See E. Giannarelli, 'Macrina e sua madre: santità e paradosso', *Studia Patristica XX*, ed. by E.A. Livingstone (Leuven, 1989), pp. 224-230.

[15] See E. Giannarelli, 'Women and miracles in Christian biography (IVth-Vth centuries)', *Studia Patristica XXV*, ed. by E.A. Livingstone (Leuven, 1993), pp. 376-380.

[16] See *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, par D. Gorce (SCh 90; Paris, 1962).

[17] See *Vie de Sainte Mélanie* 9-12. The first part of the biography gives a large place to this persecution. Beginning from the prologue, Melania's acts and attitudes are defined as ἀνδραγαθήματα, 'acts of Christian virtue'. This Greek substantive is linked to ἀνήρ / ἀνδρός, 'man', so her acts of virtue are described as acts of male virtue.

husband and I gathered a great and innumerable sum of money in order to send 45 thousand pounds of gold to the poor and to the holy monks. When I entered the triclinium, it seemed to me as if the whole house were lighted up by that abundance of wealth as by a fire, thanks to the action of the devil. And it seemed to me that the Enemy asked me while I was meditating: "What kind of kingdom of heaven is this, if it can be bought in exchange for so much money?"'. Anxious and willing to resist the devil, Melania turns to an invincible ally: she prays the Lord to send the adversary away from her. Soon, a new thought crosses her mind: 'What can be bought in exchange for perishable wealth is the object of the following words from the Holy Scripture: "Things that no eye has seen, and no ear heard, and that have not occurred to the human mind, things that God has prepared for those who love him"[18]. It is of course 1Cor 2,9.

Melania holds a dialogue with this diabolic voice, always ready to emphasize the beauty and splendour of all the properties she is going to sell[19]. For her part, the woman is always able to find the right answer in order to convince the Evil One that he would gain nothing in the fight against her. This fight however is essentially led at a spiritual level. The only apparition of the devil takes place when Melania tries to bring her uncle, the noble senator Volusianus, to true faith and after her active opposition to the spreading of Nestorian doctrine[20]. The Enemy of the truth, father of every heresy, appears to her in his typical disguise as a young black man[21]. The Black One complains about Melania's destructive criticism of his theories; he threatens her by saying he would harden the emperors' heart against her. More than this: he is ready to inflict on her a sequence of physical torments, in order to reduce her to silence. Satan does not beat her, but operates within her: he causes her to fall ill. A ter-

[18] See *Vie de Sainte Mélanie* 17.

[19] Another similar episode is in chapter 18. The holy woman and her husband are going to sell a wonderful property, may be in Sicily and once again Melania was tempted by the devil. She narrates to her biographer, according to the translation by D. Gorce, op. cit., p. 163: 'Nous avions en effet une propriété remarquable et, dans cette propriété, un bain dépassant tout ce qu'il y a de plus splendide au monde. D'un côté il y avait la mer; de l'autre un bois d'essences variées où paissaient des sangliers et des cerfs, des daims et d'autres gibiers: de la piscine, en se baignant, on pouvait ainsi apercevoir, d'un côté les bateaux poussés par le vent, de l'autre les bêtes sauvages dans le bois. Le diable, trouvant donc encore là un prétexte favorable, me mettait sous les yeux la bigarrure de ces marbres et le revenu innombrable du domaine lui-même'. After a meditation, Melania, raising her eyes to God, said: 'Tu n'entraveras pas pour cela ma marche, ô diable. Qu'est-ce en définitive que tout cela qui est aujourd'hui et, demain, sera détruit par les barbares ou par le feu ou par le temps ou par quelque autre vicissitude, en comparaison des biens éternels, toujours identiques, eux, et s' étendant dans les siècles infinis, qui s'achètent au moyen des ces biens corruptibles?'. The devil realized that it was impossible for him to win her and he left her in peace.

[20] See *Vie de sainte Mélanie* 54.

[21] See *The Life of Antony* 6. In *Apophthegmata Patrum* V,27 the devil appears as a black girl from Ethiopia. See also Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 23.

rible hip disease gives her such pains that she can no longer walk and speak. Her condition remains bad till a piece of news reaches her: Volusianus has been baptized on the point of dying. The joy is great: Melania starts walking again and Satan leaves her[22].

This apparition takes place when Melania has already read the *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert* and after her journey to Egypt[23]. At that moment she knew therefore those monastic realities according to which the fight between the hermit or monk and the devil is often a physical battle. Her biographer however presents a very restrained picture, making Satan preferably move on an intellectual and spiritual level. Does the same apply to the so called mothers of the Desert? and what about the relationship between woman and devil and about sexual temptation in the texts concerning these famous *exempla*?

The Life of Synkletika, which has been defined as the female transposition of the *Life of Antony* [24], breaks away from its athanasian model because the unknown author cuts off all the spicy anecdotes[25]. He describes the woman as fighting an interior and continuous struggle against Satan who never appears to her[26]. Thanks to this spiritual dimension, Synkletika is said to exceed even the famous martyr Thekla, as it is much easier to face the lions and the stake than to fight against the Adversary who moves from inside, uses λογισμοί and must be defeated on his own ground[27]. Even temptations concerning πορνεία are proposed in an immaterial dimension. The virgin says to her sisters: 'If the phantasy of a nice face develops in the regions of our mind, we must turn to rationality' and she describes how their λόγος must carefully uncover under those delicate features a horrible skull[28].

In the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Amma Sarra is the only woman whose fightings against the spirit of fornication are openly mentioned. There is no description of these struggles; we read that Sarra never prayed the Lord to give an

[22] See *Vie de sainte Mélanie* 55.

[23] See *ibid.*, 23 and 37-39.

[24] See M. Pezin, 'Les "Mères" du désert', *Le Monde Copte* 16 (june 1989), pp. 57-59.

[25] The text of the *Life of Synkletika* was published in Patrologia Graeca 28, 1488A-1557A. See E. Giannarelli, *La biografia femminile: temi e problemi*, in *La donna nel pensiero cristiano antico*, a cura di U. Mattioli (Genova, 1992), pp. 223-245.

[26] See *Life of Synkletika* 26. In her long speech to her disciples, the holy woman compares the life of an ascetic to the training of the athletes who are called to face stronger and stronger enemies as they themselves become stronger. 'Were you able to defeat the material and active fornication (Τὴν ἔνυλον καὶ ἔμπρακτον πορνείαν ἐνίκησας;)? The enemy — she says — will tempt you through the senses; when you have repelled also this kind of temptation, the devil will hide himself in the regions of your thought and he will move against you in an immaterial fight' (PG 28,1501C-1504A).

[27] For the σύγκρισις between Thekla and Synkletika see *Life of Synkletika* 8, PG 28, 1489C-1492A; useful remarks in R. Albrecht, *Das Leben der heiligen Makrina auf dem Hintergrund der Thekla-Traditionen. Studien zu den Ursprüngen des weiblichen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert in Kleinasien* (Göttingen, 1986), pp. 303-304.

[28] See *Life of Synkletika* 29.

end to this battle, but she asked the necessary strength for her trial[29]. When the spirit of fornication appears to her in bodily form, it is only to declare his defeat[30].

The different ways of temptation for male and female ascetics may be ascribed to many causes. Indeed the sexual taboo is stronger when ancient writers, who are men, deal with women than with men. As far as I know, no text presents Satan disguised as a handsome boy in order to provoke a girl who has devoted herself to God. Moreover, if the woman is by nature (φύσει) instrument of the devil, the female protagonists of the monastic texts belong to the typology of virile women. In order to adopt a male perspective, they overcome their physical weakness, female sexual instincts included[31]. So in the relationship between women and Satan the intellectual and spiritual dimension, or better the immaterial dimension prevails over the material: these virile women and their temptations move on a level which is above their natural limits. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* clearly testify to this. One day two famous hermits from the country near Pelusion came to visit Amma Sarra[32]. During their journey one told the other:'Let us humiliate this old woman'. On their arrival, they said to her: 'Take care: you must not pride yourself thinking: 'Here are two hermits and they have come to me, a woman''. Amma Sarra answered:'According to my nature I am a woman, but not according to my thought'. Even more explicitly, one day she said to her brothers: 'As for me, I am the true man, and as for you, you are women'[33].

[29] See *Apophthegmata Patrum* V,13, *op. cit.*, p. 253: 'On racontait d'Amma Sarra qu'elle demeura treize ans fortement combattue par le démon de la fornication et que jamais elle ne pria que disparaisse le combat, mais qu'elle disait seulement: 'Ô mon Dieu, fortifie-moi''.

[30] See *Apophthegmata Patrum* V,14, *op. cit.*, p. 253: 'On disait encore à son propos que le même esprit de fornication s'attacha à elle plus fortement, lui suggérant les vanités du monde. Mais, ne relâchant ni la crainte de Dieu ni l'ascèse, elle monta un jour dans sa chambre pour prier. Et l'esprit de fornication lui apparut corporellement et lui dit: 'Toi, Sarra, tu m'as vaincu'. Mais elle lui dit: 'Ce n'est pas moi qui t'ai vaincu, mais mon maître le Christ''.

[31] About γυνὴ ἀνδρεία and *mulier virilis* see E. Giannarelli, *La tipologia femminile nella biografia e nell'autobiografia cristiana del IV secolo* (Roma, 1980), pp. 13-25; U. Mattioli, *Ἀσθένεια e ἀνδρεία. Aspetti della femminilità nella letteratura classica, biblica e cristiana antica* (Roma, 1983). In a different perspective the problem was studied by A. Rousselle, *Porneia. De la maîtrise du corps à la privation sensorielle. IIe-IVe siècles de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1983), pp. 227-244.

[32] See *Apophthegmata Patrum*, n. 4 of the alphabetic serie.

[33] *Ibid.* n. 9. See J.C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Subsidia Hagiographica 36; Bruxelles 1962), p. 34. K.E. Børresen, *Le madri della Chiesa. Il Medioevo* (Napoli, 1993), pp. 128-130 explains Sarra's words as a consequence of the *imitatio Christi* or better 'come un riflesso di una raggiunta virilità cristomorfica'.

Pachomian Sources Revisited

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Among many interesting features of the sources for the history of the Pachomian monastic community is their inclusion of numerous chronological statements about the careers of Pachomius himself and Theodore, his most prominent disciple[1]. These chronological notices have been studied by many Pachomian scholars during the last century, for example by D.J. Chitty, who gave a communication on the subject to the second Oxford Patristics conference exactly forty years ago[2]. I intend in this communication to survey the evidence for the chronology of Pachomius' and Theodore's lives, drawing attention to the generally consistent character of the majority of the chronological statements in the sources, and giving reasons for the rejection of particular statements where this seems necessary. I shall indicate where I differ in my conclusions both from Chitty and from more recent (and more radical) revisions of Pachomian chronology by Rudolf Lorenz[3] and

[1] The following abbreviations have been used for the main Pachomian texts:

G1: the First Greek life, ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 19; Brussels, 1932), pp. 1-97.

Bo: the Bohairic life, ed. L.-Th. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita bohairice scripta* (CSCO, 89: Scriptores Coptici, 7; Louvain, 1925).

S1, S2 etc.: the Sahidic lives, ed. L.-Th. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vitae sahidice scriptae* (CSCO, 99-100; Scriptores Coptici, 9-10; Louvain, 1933-4).

Am: the Arabic life, ed. E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IVe siècle: histoire de saint Pakhôme et de ses communautés* (Annales du Musée Guimet, 17; Paris, 1889), pp. 335-711.

Ep. Am.: the Letter of Ammon, ed. J.E. Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 27; Berlin, 1986), pp. 123-58; also in Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae*, pp. 97-121.

The chapter numbers of G1 and Bo are valid both for the editions cited above and for the translations in A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* (Cistercian Studies Series, 45-7; Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1980-82), vol. i. Veilleux' translation of the Coptic life is, however, of a composite text, bridging lacunae in Bo with passages from the Sahidic lives and Am. I have preferred to cite the Sahidic lives from the complete translation of the Coptic material in L.-Th. Lefort, *Les vies coptes de saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs* (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 16; Louvain, 1943). This is referred to as *VC*, followed by a page number.

[2] 'A Note on the Chronology of the Pachomian Foundations', *Studia Patristica*, 2 (Berlin, 1957), pp. 379-85. Chitty's other contribution to Pachomian studies include 'Pachomian Sources Reconsidered', *JEH*, 5 (1954), pp. 38-77, and 'Pachomian Sources once more', *Studia Patristica*. 10 (Berlin, 1970), pp. 54-64. My title is intended to recall those used by Chitty and to signal my debt to his work, even where I differ from his conclusions.

[3] 'Zur Chronologie des Pachomius', *ZNTW*, 80 (1989), pp. 380-3.

Christoph Joest[4]. I shall then examine the evidence of the Greek and Coptic *Lives* G1, Bo, and S1 for the early organisation and development of the Pachomian community. My conclusion will be that the evidence of these works is complementary rather than contradictory in character, and that careful study confirms their reliability as historical sources.

The Chronology of the Pachomian Movement

The date of Pachomius' death

In his earliest publication on the Pachomian sources[5], Chitty confirmed that according to the evidence of G1, 116-20, the death of Pachomius took place on 9 May 346. One of Lorenz' and Joest's main difference from the chronology of Chitty and scholars who have followed him[6] is their revision of this date by one year to 347[7]. To discuss this disagreement in full would add greatly to the length of this communication, so I shall not try to resolve the problem–partly because the difference of one year between the dating of Lorenz and Joest and that of Chitty is not of major importance for the argument I wish to develop, and partly because I am not convinced that agreement on the date of Pachomius' death is likely. As a matter of fact I think the balance of probability still lies with the earlier date; but, for the sake of argument, I will base the next few paragraphs on the assumption that Lorenz and Joest are right and that Pachomius died in 347[8]. Differences which would result if 346 were to be preferred will, where necessary, be noted.

The chronology of Theodore's life and of Pachomius' early career

According to Bo, 199, Theodore, towards the end of his time as head of the Pachomian community, recalled that he had spent eighteen years as a disciple

4 'Ein Versuch zur Chronologie Pachoms und Theodoros'', *ZNTW*, 85 (1994), pp. 132-44.

5 'Pachomian Sources Reconsidered', pp. 43-5.

6 E.g. Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon*, pp. 212-3 and Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, p. 287 (see above, n. 1).

7 Lorenz, 'Zur Chronologie', pp. 281-2; Joest, 'Ein Versuch', pp. 136-9.

8 As Joest (139) frankly admits, the problem boils down to which of two mutually inconsistent accounts of Pachomius' death one prefers, that of G1 or that of S7 and S5. (These belong to the same family of lives as Bo and supply a Coptic version of events surrounding Pachomius' death, which are missing from Bo itself). G1 points to 346, S7 and S5 to 347. Joest opts for the 'farbigen Berichte' of the longer Coptic account in preference to the 'durchaus konsistent-zu konsistent vielleicht' chronology of G1. But there is always a subjective element in such a verdict, and I am not convinced that close analysis of the sources tells unambiguously in favour of the Coptic date.

of Pachomius[9]. This places Theodore's arrival in the community around 329[10]. When we turn to the narratives of G1 and Bo, we find broad confirmation of this date in the placing of Theodore's arrival at Pachomius' monastery at Tabennesi in close proximity to the first visit of Athanasius to the Thebaid, which we know from the Athanasian *Festal Index* to have taken place in the second year of his episcopate, i.e. 329-30 (G1, 30, 33-5; Bo, 28-30). In fact both G1 and Bo, if taken as strictly chronological narratives, would place Theodore's arrival after Athanasius' visit. I do not think too much weight can be attached to this, but, for what it is worth, it would help to confirm 347 as the date of Pachomius' death, for if he died in 346 Theodore's arrival in the community would need to be dated to 328.

According to Bo, 31. Theodore was in his twentieth year when he joined the community, and had previously lived for six years as a monk in Sne (Latopolis). The Arabic life, Am (392-3), though preserving a different tradition about Theodore's age (which will be discussed below), adds the detail

[9] He goes on to say that he has also spent eighteen years as leader of the community at the behest of Pachomius' successor-but-one Orsiesius, whose resignation in favour of Theodore took place less than five years after Pachomius' death (G1, 131), therefore c. 350 or 351. This gives a *terminus post quem* of 368 for Theodore's death, which is confirmed by the fact that he was still alive in 367 according to Bo, 189, which mentions his reaction to Athanasius' festal letter of that year dealing with the canon of Scripture. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, p. 294, concludes that Theodore probably died on 27 April 368 or 369 (Bo, 206; G1, 148), and this date is not questioned by Lorenz or Joest. The assumption that Theodore died shortly after making the speech preserved in Bo, 199 seems justified; it certainly has the character of a valedictory speech, though confusion is created by the fact that Bo places it in a context which links it chronologically to Athanasius' second visit to the Thebaid early in 363 (Bo, 200; the date depends on the Athanasian *Festal Index*). Presumably the author of Bo was confused about the chronology of this period, and incorporated Theodore's speech where it seemed to fit best for literary effect; but this does not cast doubt on inferences based on the words of Theodore himself.

[10] Though he does not discuss Bo, 199, Lorenz would presumably wish to change this to 330, since it is a contention of his that numbers of years given in the sources must be taken 'nach antikem Brauch' as examples of inclusive reckoning ('Zur Chronologie', pp. 282-3). *Ep. Am.*, 9, quoting words spoken to its author shortly after he joined the Pachomian community sometime between March and (at the latest) summer 352 (this date is not contested: Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon*, p. 210), records that Pachomius had then been dead for six years. On the assumption of inclusive reckoning, Lorenz sees this as evidence for dating Pachomius' death in 347, not 346. But it is easy to prove that *Ep. Am.* does not habitually use inclusive reckoning. In 1 and 30 Ammon speaks of his three years (or third year, 30) in the Pachomian community. In 31 he dates his departure from the community to six months before Athanasius was driven from Alexandria, which occurred on 8-9 February 356 according to the *Festal Index*. (For Ammon's accurate knowledge of Athanasius' career see also *Ep. Am.*, 33 and Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon*, 119-20). Ammon thus arrived in the community in 352 and left in August 355-a period of more than three years if reckoned inclusively, which proves that the three years of 1 and 30 cannot be interpreted in this way. It would be arbitrary to maintain that although Ammon did not use inclusive reckoning, his informant in *Ep. Am.*, 9 did. Thus, although Joest, 'Ein Versuch', p. 137, n. 22, accepts Lorenz' assumption of inclusive reckoning, I shall ignore it. This is one reason why I still prefer 346 to 347 for Pachomius' death, as the earlier date is supported by Ammon unless one assumes inclusive reckoning.

that the community was in the fifth year of its existence when Theodore joined it.

Working backwards from the date of Pachomius' death, Chitty[11] deduced that Theodore's appointment as steward of the monastery of Tabennesi (after Pachomius' move of his headquarters to his new foundation at Pabau) took place in 336-7. If Pachomius' death is moved to 347 this will have to be corrected to 337-8, but Chitty's reasoning otherwise seems sound[12]. According to G1, 78, Theodore was aged about thirty at the time[13]. Given reasonable margins of error, this is close enough to the previous conclusion that he was in his twentieth year in 329.

The evidence for Pachomius' career before the foundation of Tabennesi (G1, 2-11; Bo, 3-17) is consistent with these dates. It has been generally accepted by scholars that the conscription of Pachomius into the army at the age of twenty (Bo, 7) and his conversion to Christianity must have occurred in 312-13 when Maximin was preparing to fight Licinius[14]. From Pachomius' discharge from the army, before seeing active service, until the foundation of Tabennesi (G1, 12-15; Bo, 17-20) must occupy at least ten years; three years in Sheneset (Chenoboskion) after his baptism (Bo, 10) and seven as a disciple of the hermit Palamon who taught him the monastic life (Bo, 17). Tabennesi would then have been founded in c. 323-4, and the fifth year of the community would be around 328. Admittedly this is one year earlier than the date deduced from the information about Theodore; but this is also within plausible margins of error, and in any case the gap may be closed either by allowing a longer time for Pachomius' discharge from the army and baptism in Sheneset (Bo, 8; G1, 5), or by restoring the earlier date of 346 for Pachomius' death and bringing Theodore's arrival forward from 329 to 328.

The problem of Theodore's age

The ages assigned to Theodore in Bo, 31 and G1, 78 fit well with the chronology developed above. But they must face the challenge of an alterna-

[11] 'A Note on the Chronology', p. 379.

[12] Theodore was in office for seven years (G1, 106) before beginning a period of penance which lasted for two (G1, 107). Chitty dates the end of this period to the autumn before Pachomius' death on the strength of G1, 112-3. This is broadly confirmed by S6 (*VC*, 325), not mentioned by Chitty, which implies that Theodore's installation as head of the community (c. 350-1-see above, n. 9) took place seven years afer the start of his penance.

[13] The parallel in Bo, 69, gives thirty-three, but Lefort, *VC*, 131, n. 2 pointed out that this could be an error of transcription and that parallels in S4 (*VC*, 309) and elsewhere support G1.

[14] For the date see T.D. Barnes, 'The Constantinian Settlement', in H.W. Attridge and G. Hata (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (Studia post-Biblica, 42; Leiden, 1992), pp. 635-57 (see 642-3), and for Barnes' acceptance of the tradition of Pachomius' conscription see his 'The Career of Abinnaeus', *Phoenix*, 39 (1985), pp. 368-74 (see 370). G1, 4, and Bo, 7 notoriously name Constantine as the emperor, which is impossible on any chronology and must be regarded as a pious falsification; but the tradition of the conscription itself seems sound.

tive tradition about Theodore's age, represented by the statement of G1, 26 that he entered the community aged fourteen in the very early days of its existence, and by two other sources which give thirteen (*Ep. Am.*, 9) or fourteen (Am, 392) as his age on joining Pachomius. Chitty[15] used this evidence to date the foundation of the Pachomian community to 320-1[16]. But this is incompatible with the evidence of Bo, 10 and 17 for its foundation in 323-4, and with the evidence of Am for the fact that it had existed for five years when Theodore joined it[17]. Veilleux[18], noting these points, rightly holds to the date of 328 or 329 for Theodore's arrival in Tabennesi, but agrees with Chitty in preferring the evidence of G1, 26 etc. to that of Bo, 31 for Theodore's age. This has two further consequences: first, the rejection of the evidence of Bo, 31 for Theodore's six-year stay in Latopolis before joining Pachomius; and second, that Theodore was (contrary to the evidence of G1, 78 and Bo, 69-70) still considerably under thirty when he became steward of Tabennesi about eight years later.

The rejection of Bo, 31 is a weak point in Veilleux' use of the evidence. It is significant, as Goehring[19] points out, that G1, 33-4 is aware of Theodore's stay in Latopolis, even though, unlike Bo, it assigns no specific length to it. There is thus a hint of a discrepancy between G1, 26, which has Theodore join Pachomius at fourteen, and G1, 33, placed later in the narrative, which makes him leave home at fourteen to join the community in Latopolis. Developing Goehring's point, I suggest that two things may have happened to produce the conflict of evidence between G1, 26 and Bo, 31. First, the tradition or source which lies behind G1, 26, *Ep. Am.*, 9 and Am, 392 knew that Theodore entered the monastic life at fourteen, but was ignorant of (or suppressed) the fact that he had at first been a member of a non-Pachomian community. Second, the author of G1 knew both the accurate tradition about Theodore's stay in Latopolis incorporated into Bo, 31 and G1, 33-4, and the less reliable one which ignored this period. He tried to make use of both traditions, but failed to reconcile them completely. He rejected, if he knew it, the information that Theodore was nineteen when he joined Pachomius; and he placed the tradition of Theodore's coming to Pachomius aged fourteen in G1, 26, very early in the

15 'A Note on the Chronology', pp. 379-80.

16 I.e. sixteen years before Theodore's appointment as steward of Tabennesi at the age of thirty.

17 Chitty's rejection of the evidence of Bo is an example of his strong preference for the Greek over the Coptic sources as historical documents, a preference which has tended to give way to a more eclectic approach to the sources in more recent work. For an example of Chitty's approach, compare his treatment of developments in the community's attitude to visions in 'Pachomian Sources once more', pp. 59-64, with Goehring's discussion of the same subject in *The Letter of Ammon*, p. 219 and 'New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies', in B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 236-57 (see 245, n. 49).

18 *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, pp. 272-3.

19 *The Letter of Ammon*, p. 215.

history of the community, because he knew that Theodore cannot have been fourteen as late as 329 if he was thirty in 337-8[20].

In other words, the evidence of Bo, 31 and G1, 78 for Theodore's age is to be preferred to that of G1, 26, *Ep. Am.*, 9, and Am, 392 on the grounds that the alternative tradition can plausibly be explained as the result of an error or an attempt to gloss over the fact of Theodore's non-Pachomian monastic training. Of the numerous pieces of evidence discussed so far, *only* G1, 26 and its supporting witnesses need to be discounted in order to obtain a coherent and well-supported chronology of the Pachomian movement[21].

A false summary of Pachomius' career

If these conclusions are correct, there is one other piece of evidence for the chronology of Pachomius' life which must be rejected. This is the death-notice, containing details of Pachomius' life, which forms the conclusion of S7 (*VC*, 51), the first sentence of which states that Pachomius died at the age of sixty after becoming a monk at twenty-one and living the monastic life for thirty-nine years. This information is incompatible with the account of the early life of Pachomius contained in G1 and Bo, but this has not prevented both Lorenz[22] and Joest[23] from accepting it as good evidence that Pachomius was born in 287 and converted in 308. Neither scholar seems perturbed[24] by the fact that this requires the rejection of the story of Pachomius' conscription,

[20] Since he explicitly places Pachomius' death in the year that Athanasius returned from exile (i.e. 346; G1, 120), the author of G1 clearly had good information about Athanasius' career. He must, then, have been aware that only seventeen or so years elapsed between Athanasius' first visit to the Thebaid (G1, 30) and Pachomius' death. He accounts explicitly for nine of these years (see above, n. 12), and states (G1, 78) that Theodore was about thirty at the start of these nine. He thus had information readily available to show him that Theodore could not have been fourteen at the time of Athanasius' visit.

[21] Admittedly, G1, 26, *Ep. Am.*, 9, and Am, 392 find support in *Ep. Am.*, 10, which makes Theodore twenty-two when he witnesses one of Pachomius' visionary experiences. Both Veilleux (*Pachomian Koinonia*, i, p. 273) and Goehring (*The Letter of Amon*, pp. 216-9) equate this incident with that reported in G1, 88 and Bo, 73, *after* Theodore's appointment in Tabennesi. If Theodore was still only twenty-two sometime after 337-8, he could have been only thirteen or fourteen in 329. But Goehring (219-20) is right to be cautious about this evidence. Ammon's informant may have been mistaken about Theodore's age after his appointment at Tabennesi *precisely as a result* of an earlier error about Theodore's age at his entry into the community. The interlocking evidence of Bo, 31 and G1, 78 about Theodore's age is surely to be preferred. Interestingly, Chitty, 'A Note on the Chronology', pp. 380-1, eliminated the problem by using the age given in *Ep. Am.* 10 to date the story to c. 329, and refusing to equate it with the event of G1, 88 and Bo, 73. Chitty's aim was to prove that Pabau had been founded by 329, as Pabau is mentioned in the continuation of the story in *Ep. Am.*, 11. In view of the problem over Theodore's age and the possibility of a link between *Ep. Am.*, 10 and G1, 88, this is extremely dubious (cf. Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon*, pp. 223-4); the best that can be done is to conclude that Pabau was founded between 329-30 and 337-8.

[22] 'Zur Chronologie', p. 283.

[23] 'Ein Versuch', pp. 135-6, 141.

[24] Especially Joest, 'Ein Versuch', p. 144.

even though this is fundamental to the account of Pachomius' early life in G1 and Bo and (when dated to 312-13) provides a starting point for a chronology of Pachomius' early career which meshes excellently with the chronology of Theodore's life deduced from Bo, 199.

The death-notice raises other problems besides this. First, it reports that Pachomius had been a *monk* from the age of twenty-one, and is thus apparently ignorant of any tradition of his conversion, baptism, and three years in Sheneset before joining Palamon. To avoid too many conflicts with the date of Bo, 7 and 10, and obtain the date of 308 for Pachomius' conversion, Lorenz and Joest must resort to the unlikely view that in the death-notice 'monk' means 'Christian'[25]. Second, the death-notice is incompatible with a statement in *Ep. Am.*, 12 that Alexander was bishop of Alexandria when Pachomius became a monk. If this statement is true, Pachomius cannot have joined Palamon before late 312, whereas the death-notice certainly requires him to have done so before this[26]. In view of these facts, the death-notice looks more like a late and inaccurate summary of Pachomius' career than a sound basis for its reconstruction[27].

The first five years of the community

Pachomius, then, left Palamon and founded Tabennesi around 323-4 (G1, 12; Bo, 17). The death of Palamon followed shortly afterwards (G1, 13; Bo, 18)[28]. At first Pachomius lived in Tabennesi alone, but he was then joined by his brother John. Together they began to build a monastery which Pachomius wished to be large enough to receive those who would come to him; his argument with John about this is described in G1, 15-16 and Am, 361[29]. After a while, Pachomius' first disciples began to arrive and the process of organising them into a community commenced (Bo, 23-4; G1, 24-6). No great length of time is presupposed by the sources for the events preceding the arrival of the first disciples, and I suggest

[25] Lorenz, 'Zur Chronologie', p. 283; Joest, 'Ein Versuch', p. 135. Lorenz points out that Pachomius' conversion is marked by an act of ascetic renunciation when he goes to Sheneset after his release from the army, rather than returning to his family. This may be true, but it is still a fact that according to the terminology of the sources he becomes a *monk* only when he joins Palamon (Bo, 10; G1, 6).

[26] Lorenz, 'Zur Chronologie', p. 283, questions the reliability of *Ep. Am.*, 12 on the basis of Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon*, pp. 227-30. But Goehring, though seeing several problems in accepting the story of Pachomius' vision in *Ep. Am.*, 12 at face value, does not question that he became a monk during the episcopate of Alexander (233). The evidence of Ammon is coherent with the rest of the evidence already discussed and should not be rejected.

[27] Perhaps the death-notice was created in the later fourth century as a result of confusion or assimilation of information about Pachomius and Theodore. If Theodore died in 368 or 369 (see above, n. 9), he would have been nearly sixty, and have spent roughly thirty-nine years in the Pachomian community–close to the figures in S7.

[28] Bo, 18 is missing after the first two sentences (*VC*, 92), but the text can be supplied from the fragments of the composite life S3 (*VC*, 57).

[29] The lacuna in Bo continues in 19 and S3 (*VC*, 58-9, 62) supplies only some of the missing text. See Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, p. 269.

that they do not take us very far into the period between 323-4 and the arrival of Theodore at Tabennesi in (depending on which date is preferred) 328 or 329[30].

The period of four or five years available between the foundation of Tabennesi and the arrival of Theodore is neatly filled by the events described in S1, which mentions (*VC*, 4-5) a period of exactly this length in the course of its well-known narrative of Pachomius' expulsion of a group of disciples who refused to accept the discipline which he imposed on them and exploited his humility and willingness to act as their servant[31]. The evidence of S1 is the last piece of chronological evidence from the main Pachomian sources which needs to be considered in this section of this communication.

Since the work of Lefort, it has been normal to regard S1 as the most primitive of the Pachomian *Lives*[32], and it is now almost a commonplace of Pachomian scholarship to treat the events of S1 as a false start in the history of the community, a failure on Pachomius' behalf which is ignored or suppressed by the later *Lives* G1 and Bo[33]. Lorenz[34] refers to Pachomius' 'gescheiterter Versuch einer Klostergründung' and the 'Neuanfang' which followed it; Joest[35] consistently reckons a period of four years for the 'Mißerfolg' of the events of S1, after Pachomius left Palamon but before the foundation of the eventual community in 323. In other words, on this interpretation, the coming of the first disciples in G1, 24 and Bo, 23 was not really the first time Pachomius had been joined by others, but a fresh start following the failure described in S1. This assumption, necessitating the placing of Pachomius' conversion around

[30] Joest, 'Ein Versuch', p. 135 and *passim*, consistently assumes that at least one or two years (and in his summary on 144, three years) must be assigned to Pachomius' period with John, but I can see no justification for this. Oddly, he compensates for this arbitrary lengthening of the period before the arrival of Pachomius' disciples by reducing the three and seven years of Bo, 10 and 17 to two and six.

[31] Only one identifiable fragment of S1 is preserved (*VC*, 1-5), which contains the first part of the narrative of the unruly disciples. This is also found in a more complete form in S3 (*VC*, 60-62, 65, 66-7), where, however, the passages based on S1 must be disentangled from material borrowed from a *Life* similar to Bo. The second part of the narrative is preserved only in S3 (*VC*, 67-9), but the view that S3 derived this passage from a now lost part of S1 is sound and I shall refer to it as S1. Vielleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, pp. 427-38, offers an English translation of the narrative.

[32] *VC*, p. lxxii. Chitty, 'Pachomian Sources Reconsidered', pp. 74-5, dissented from Lefort's view, regarding S1 as a free elaboration of the tradition represented in G1; but he has not been followed by more recent scholars.

[33] Goehring, 'New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies', p. 246, n. 51, speaks of Pachomius' 'failure' in connexion with S1, and Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, p. 270, believes that Pachomius made a false start. H. Chadwick, 'Pachomios and the Idea of Sanctity', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost*, 5; London, 1981), pp. 11-24 (see 19), also writes that Pachomius 'abandoned his efforts and dissolved the community' after the events of S1, and that G1 'suppresses or ignores' them.

[34] 'Zur Chronologie', p. 281.

[35] 'Ein Versuch', p. 134 and *passim*.

308[36], is, in fact, the mainstay of Lorenz' and Joest's chronology of the Pachomian community. Without it they would have no reason for seeking (extremely dubious) chronological support for dating Pachomius' conversion around 308 in the death-notice of S7, and thus no reason for rejecting the evidence of *Ep. Am.*, 12 and the tradition of Pachomius' conscription[37].

But there are too many parallels between S1 and the accounts of the community's foundation in G1 and Bo for the assumption that S1 refers to a separate period or different events to make sense. G1 and Bo both preserve the information that Pachomius expelled some of those who came to him (Bo, 24; G1, 38)[38]. G1 speaks in terms very similar to S1 of Pachomius' attempt to impose discipline on the unruly disciples and of their expulsion when this fails, but not of the disobedience of all his disciples nor the complete dissolution of the community[39]. Bo describes the expulsion of a specific group of disciples who had come to Pachomius from Thbakat, which looks like an authentic detail.

Lorenz[40] writes that G1 has 'veiled' (verschleiert) the truth about these events, but G1's account is just as likely to be the true one as the complete failure and dissolution of the community which scholars have seen in S1. In fact, S1 breaks off in mid-sentence, while bishop Serapion (to whom the expelled disciples have complained) is defending Pachomius' actions (*VC*, 68-9). We are not entitled to assume that, had the complete account survived, S1 would have shown Pachomius beginning again from scratch to form a community. In his narrative of the unruly disciples, the author of S1 may simply have failed to mention other, more obedient disciples who stayed with Pachomius all along and continued the original community in being after the expulsions; or he may have deliberately portrayed Pachomius as tackling the trouble-makers alone in order to heighten the sense of his endurance and virtue.

It follows from these observations that scholars who assume that S1 requires a new beginning for the community, or assert a conflict of evidence between it and the other sources, are on weak ground. The assumption made above in

[36] I.e. ten years (Bo, 10, 17) before the 'Mißerfolg' of c. 319-23.

[37] Joest's chronology is so deeply affected by the assumption about S1 that it is often hard to isolate the rest of his argument from it. This is why I have not discussed separately his views of the date of Tabennesi's foundation or the reliability of *Ep. Am.*, 12 ('Ein Versuch', pp. 136, 144).

[38] G1, 38 is placed after Athanasius' visit of 329-30 and the arrival of Theodore in the community, but explicitly refers back to a period 'before the community expanded to great numbers', and thus probably before it was organised more formally as described in Bo, 26 and G1, 28 (discussed below).

[39] The common elements are (a) Pachomius' prayer for the disciples (*VC*, 5, 66-7); (b) his order to the disciples to attend the σύναξις (*VC*, 67); (c) the mention in G1 of 'other rules' and the (damaged) list of rules in S1 (*VC*, 67); (d) expulsion when the disciples still refuse to obey him (*VC*, 68). The probability seems high that G1, 38 is a summary of this part of S1.

[40] 'Zur Chronologie', p. 281.

first referring to S1, that the events it describes took place in the years between the foundation of Tabennesi and the arrival of Theodore, makes better sense of the sum of the evidence of S1, G1 and Bo[41].

The Organisation of the early Pachomian Community

The argument just given for the dating of the events of S1 will find support if the description of Pachomius' first organisation of the community in this source turns out to be at least broadly consistent with those of G1 and Bo. This is the first question to be answered in the second part of this communication.

The earliest days

There is at least one immediately apparent contradiction between the sources, in that S1 (*VC*, 3) speaks of the first disciples living an anchoritic life with Pachomius, whereas G1, 25 refers to their life as cenobitic (κοινόβιον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς). It is possible, however, that this phrase in G1 is a gloss[42], and in any case, whatever word is applied to the life of the community in its early days, the descriptions of its organisation in S1, G1, and Bo are not so different, even though G1 and Bo portray the early disciples as cooperative, S1 (after a honeymoon period) as troublesome. In S1 each member of the early community is self-sufficient as regards his material needs[43]; but all contribute (initially enthusiastically, since they regard Pachomius as trustworthy) to a common stock of goods administered by Pachomius, out of which he prepares their meals and provides for guests (*VC*, 3-4). G1, 24 and Bo, 23 have a list of Pachomius' duties in addition to preparing meals: gardening, caring for the

[41] An objection to placing the events of S1 in this period might be that if Pachomius was having such trouble with his disciples, Athanasius would not already have become aware of his reputation as a monastic leader before he became archbishop in 328 (Bo, 28). Yet there is no reason why Pachomius' reputation should not have spread despite the troubles he was having–or even because of them! Bishop Serapion may have been encouraged to ask Athanasius to ordain Pachomius (G1, 30; Bo, 28) precisely because the recent complaint by the expelled monks had drawn his attention to Pachomius' need of support. I assume that the Serapion of S1 is the same as the Serapion of G1 and Bo, who was bishop of Nitentori (Tentyra), the diocese in which Tabennesi lay. This seems likely, though the name of the diocese is illegible in S1 and Lefort doubted whether Nitentori could be restored (*VC*, 68, n. 76).

[42] It is found in the Florence ms. edited by Halkin in 1932 (above, n. 1), but is missing from the Athos ms. subsequently published in F. Halkin, *Le Corpus Athénien de Saint Pachome* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 2; Geneva, 1982) (see p. 18). The form of the comment makes it look like an explanatory gloss on the preceding word μονή.

[43] Presumably this means that each organised his manual work and any sales and purchases connected with it himself; at a later date, these tasks were assigned to particular reliable brothers (G1, 28; Bo, 26).

sick, and answering the door[44], but the basic point, that it is Pachomius who does all the work, is the same.

S1 makes no reference to regulations concerning clothing or sleeping arrangements, and it is possible that its author envisaged that these were within the individual's control; but this is not certain, and there is no explicit contradiction with the statements of Bo, 23 and G1, 25, that regulations concerning clothing and sleeping were made. Perhaps more significant is the agreement among the sources that Pachomius' initial policy was shaped by the fact that his disciples were not yet ready to serve one another (G1, 24, Bo, 23), or, as S1 puts it, 'to bind themselves together in a perfect community' (*VC*, 3). None of the sources mentions a common monastic office (σύναξις) at this point in its account; it is first mentioned in connexion with the expulsion of Pachomius' unruly disciples[45]. But it would be wrong to conclude that a common σύναξις was not instituted until Pachomius attempted to discipline the trouble-makers, for S1 in fact makes it clear that it had previously existed; what is at issue when Pachomius confronts the trouble-makers is their irregular and unpunctual attendance (*VC*, 67-8).

It seems clear from these points that there is no difference between G1, Bo, and S1 as regards the stage of development of the community[46]. Veilleux[47] is wrong to try to drive a wedge between the sources by refusing to describe the community of S1 as *monastic*-by seeing it, in other words, as just the same sort of phenomenon as the group of people who gathered round Pachomius at Sheneset (Bo, 8), attracted by his reputation for charity and his ability to speak encouraging words. In all three sources the community *is* monastic, although it is of a different pattern both from the anchoritic life of the fourth and fifth-century communities of Nitria and Scetis, which had neither common meals nor a common σύναξις (though they met for worship at week-ends), and from the more carefully regulated cenobitism which Pachomius was later to develop.

This is a significant point. It has been suggested recently that the literary sources for Egyptian monasticism are misleading evidence for the pattern of

[44] This is not an anachronism, for it is probable that, even at this period, the monastery was contained within a walled enclosure. The structure built by Pachomius and John is described as an enclosure wall in S1 (*VC*, 1), and as a wall in Am, p. 361 (see above, n. 29), though not in G1, 15. S1 (*VC*, 68) refers to a bolt as Pachomius' weapon when he drives out the unruly disciples, though this could, of course, have been from the door of an individual cell.

[45] See above, n. 39.

[46] One important difference not so far mentioned is the fact that S1 does not give the names of the earliest disciples, whereas G1, 25-6 and Bo, 23-4 each have two lists totalling eight names. The author of S1 may not have known of these names, or he may have omitted them in order to avoid giving the impression that any of the named disciples was among those disciplined or expelled by Pachomius, for several of them became leading figures in the community when it expanded (G1, 79). G1, 24-5 and Bo, 23 do not scruple to criticise the first three disciples as initially unable to serve one another, though they balance this by stressing their admiration of Pachomius and of his work on their behalf.

[47] *Pachomian Koinonia*, i, p. 442.

life of early monastic communities because of their tendency to assign forms of monastic organisation to either a fully anchoritic or a fully cenobitic model. These models are, it is argued, literary constructs which fail to reflect the variety of patterns of organisation available to pioneers of the monastic life[48]. But the evidence of the Pachomian *Lives* shows that the assumption that the literary sources describe monasticism mainly in terms of these questionable models is wrong. The Pachomian sources neither unconsciously assimilate the structure of the early Pachomian community to the later cenobitic pattern, nor attempt to conceal or deny that changes in its organisation took place. Their picture of the early community is a credit to their historical awareness and honest reporting. Generalised aspersions cast on the reliability of monastic sources often prove to be indefensible in detail[49].

Later developments

Eventually, of course, the Pachomian community did come to be fully cenobitic, and to defend cenobitism as the better way of life compared with anchoritism[50]. S1 refers to the increasingly regulated life of the community in connexion with Pachomius' attempt to discipline the unruly disciples by laying down that they must attend the σύναξις and common meals together and take part together in any activity necessary for the common good (*VC*, 67)[51]; but, as we have seen above in relation to the σύναξις, this looks more like an attempt to stamp out irregularity and

48 J.E. Goehring, 'Through a Glass Darkly: Diverse Images of the *Apotaktikoi(ai)* of Early Egyptian Monasticism', in V.L. Wimbush (ed.), *Discursive Formations, Ascetic Piety, and the Interpretation of Early Christian Literature* (Semeia, 58; 1992), pp. 25-45, especially 34 ('any sharp division between anchoritic and cenobitic communities in Egypt in general is best eliminated as a product of the impact of the literary sources'); and P. Rousseau, 'Christian Asceticism and the Early Monks', in I. Hazlett (ed.), *Early Christianity: Origins and Evolution to A.D. 600. In Honour of W.H.C. Frend* (London, 1991), pp. 112-22, especially 119 and 122 ('The texts are tendentious. Their apparent reportage is an illusion. We must let them hint more loudly at the variety they attempt to deny or undermine').

49 Cf. my 'The *Life of Antony* and the Origins of Christian Monasticism in fourth-century Egypt', *Medieval History* I. 2 (1991), pp. 2-11 (especially 8), and *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 139-41, where I draw similar conclusions about the *Life of Antony* and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, respectively. Goehring has made a further case for a large element of literary construction, rather than reality, in Egyptian monastic sources in 'The Encroaching Desert: Literary Production and Ascetic Space in Early Christian Egypt', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 1 (1993), pp. 281-96. I find this no more convincing, especially the statement (292, n. 48) that the historical detail contained in the literary sources is of no real significance since 'so long as the details exist against the background of the overarching (and simple) theme of the desert, they serve *merely to fill the mythic landscape*' (italics added).

50 See Bo, 105. It is impossible, of course, to say when such views originated, though it would be arbitrary to deny that it was in Pachomius' lifetime.

51 This must refer to activities such as harvest-work (mentioned in *VC*, 4) or building, which could not be organised individually (see above, n. 43), or which individuals might try to evade.

laziness than the introduction of new practices as such. For an account of the development of the community towards cenobitism we must turn to G1 and Bo.

A key step must have been Pachomius' decision to hand over some responsibility for the material management of the monastery to others. This is mentioned in general terms in G1, 26, where it is placed after the arrival of Theodore, which is itself put 'a few days' after the coming of the second group of named disciples, and certainly very early in the life of the community. (Bo, 23 places the arrival of these disciples before Pachomius' troubles with the brothers from Thbakat). As has been previously argued, the placing of Theodore's arrival at such an early point looks like an attempt to reconcile two incompatible traditions about Theodore's age[52]. But perhaps the sequence of events is correct, and the change in the way the material side of the monastery was run did take place around the time of Theodore's arrival, after the expulsion of the troublesome brothers, but before the community became very large (G1, 38). The figure mentioned at the end of G1, 26 is a hundred.

Details of the eventual cenobitic organisation of the community are preserved in G1, 28 and Bo, 26. Unlike G1, 26, these chapters describe a system which is both administrative and pastoral. They are consistent with one another, even though not all of the details are clear[53]. Attempts to date the introduction of all the features described in these chapters to the time around 329-30 would, however, be fruitless, for it is clear that they contain an element of anachronism. Whereas Tabennesi was the only monastery in the period before Athanasius' visit, G1, 28 and Bo, 26 presuppose the existence of Pabau and other daughter-houses which were later founded or incorporated into the community (G1, 54, 80-83; Bo, 49-51, 56-8; S5, *VC*, 246-8). This is particularly obvious from the fact that the role of Pachomius himself is not mentioned in either G1, 28 or Bo, 26; he is anonymised in the person of the steward (οἰκονόμος) or Father of the monastery, a role which would be filled by others as the number of monasteries grew, including of course by Theodore at Tabennesi after 337-8. Pachomius by this time was resident at Pabau (G1, 78; Bo, 70), together with the other main officer of the whole community, the great steward (G1, 83; Bo, 70-1), whose responsibilities were administrative[54]. The development of the community to this level of organisation must have been gradual. All we are entitled to conclude is that the first moves were *probably* made in the approximate period of Athana-

[52] See above, n. 20.

[53] E.g., the exact way in which the duties of catering, manual work, etc. were shuffled every three weeks between the monks of the 'houses' into which Tabennesi was divided.

[54] G1, 28 has the term 'great steward' once, though here it seems to be used, probably merely inadvertently, for the steward or father of the monastery.

sius' visit of 329-30, to which, by their position in the *Lives*, these chapters are assigned[55].

Relations with the church

The final passages in G1 and Bo which need to be considered as evidence for the early history of the Pachomian community are the chapters discussing its relations with the church up to and including Athanasius' visit. In Tabennesi, Pachomius continued to be as attractive a figure to lay people as he had been in Sheneset (Bo, 8). People came to live in the village of Tabennesi (previously deserted) because of him, and he built a church to cater for them and for the local herdsmen, as well as for his own community (Bo, 25; G1, 29). It was not until the community was a hundred strong that he built a church within the monastery (Bo, 25)[56], but even then he kept in contact with the church of the village, since he wanted no priest to be a member of the community and needed to call on the village priest for the celebration of the eucharist (Bo, 25; G1, 27). These incidents cannot be dated, but probably they too belong, like G1, 26 and 28 and Bo, 26, to a period quite close to the arrival of Theodore and Athanasius' visit (they are not, of course, mentioned in S1).

The visit of Athanasius brought Pachomius into contact not only with the archbishop but also with the local bishop, Serapion of Nitentori, whose request for Athanasius to ordain Pachomius is recorded in G1, 30 and Bo, 28[57]. It is possible that Pachomius' later move to Pabau, in a different diocese, was motivated by a wish to avoid further pressure from Serapion[58]; but in the absence of definite evidence for the date of foundation of Pabau[59], this can hardly be proved. It must be emphasised that neither G1 nor Bo criticises Serapion, nor suggests that his motive was to bring the community under his control, as has

55 As noted when discussing the date of Theodore's arrival (above, p. 203), complete reliance cannot always be placed on the exact position in the *Lives* which an incident occupies, for the *Lives* are obviously arranged thematically to an extent. Bo, 27 and G1, 32 both place the foundation of the women's monastery near Tabennesi close to (either before or after) Athanasius' visit. In this case (unlike G1, 28 and Bo, 26), there is no evidence other than the location of these chapters to confirm exactly when the women's house was founded, though the reference in both G1 and Bo to Pachomius writing down the rules of the men's community, so that the women could receive and follow them, may suggest that a later date should be preferred. There is no other evidence that the written Rule of Pachomius originated in the period before Athanasius' visit. But would it be too speculative to wonder whether the need to provide the women's house with instructions was in fact the occasion for the *first* commitment of the rules of the community to writing?

56 G1 does not mention this, though it is assumed that a church exists within the monastery in 27.

57 Pachomius had previously refused to be ordained by Serapion himself (Bo, 28).

58 Chitty, 'A Note on the Chronology', p. 381.

59 See above, n. 21.

too often been assumed[60]. Later, Pachomius enjoyed a close friendship with the steward of the diocese of Nitentori, if not (he is not mentioned) with Serapion himself (G1, 40-41; Bo, 40-41).

It is perhaps the case that G1 stresses contacts with the episcopate more than Bo, for instance in the statement that the church in the village of Tabennesi was built with the advice of Serapion (G1, 29). G1 also, at a later date in the history of the community, overlooks the one example of bad relations between Pachomius and a bishop which has survived in the sources, the attempt by the bishop of Phnoum to prevent the foundation of a monastery in his diocese (Bo, 58)[61]. But it is far from true that G1 and Bo are in real conflict on the question of relations with the church, or indeed that either envisages conflict between the Pachomian community and the hierarchy; with the exception of the incident at Phnoum, the picture is one of harmony and cooperation between Pachomius and the episcopate, as between Pachomius and the lay Christians of the area. It would be arbitrary to deny the cumulative force of this evidence for good relations between Pachomius and the church, even if one or two references (e.g. G1, 29) are of a slightly tendentious character. But to discuss this subject further would take us into the later years of the history of the community, and thus beyond the limits of concern of this section of this communication[62].

What has been written here belongs strictly to the category of prolegomena to the study of the Pachomian monastic movement. An apology is perhaps necessary for devoting yet another publication to the chronological problems and the question of historical reliability which have loomed so large in the history of Pachomian scholarship, rather than to the more important subjects of

[60] E.g. by P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in fourth-century Egypt* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 6; Berkeley, 1985), pp. 161-2. The actions of Serapion are also discussed by D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 114-20, esp. 118. Here too the view that power over the Pachomian community was the issue seems to be an assumption brought to the evidence, rather than a conclusion arising from it.

[61] G1, 81 mentions opposition to one of Pachomius' foundations, Panopolis, but not from the local bishop, Arius, who is favourable; cf. S5 (*VC*, 248) for the same story, with the added detail that Arius gave the community a boat.

[62] I have discussed the evidence and some views in 'Early Egyptian Monasticism and the Church', in J. Loades (ed.), *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition* (Bangor, 1990), pp. 1-10, especially 3-6. G1, 39 and Bo, 39 report a gift of wheat to the community by a local layman. It would have been natural for the Pachomian movement to grow more closely involved with Athanasius over time; but it is an over-interpretation of this process to erect around it a theory which pits Theodore against Pachomius as a representative of a more receptive attitude to the authority of the church, and decries the evidence for good relations in the earlier period as an idealisation promoting the later view (Goehring, 'New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies', pp. 244-6). Similarly, new theories about what the Pachomians may have read (e.g. the Nag Hammadi writings) do not prove that the evidence for good relations with Athanasius is untrue without further possibility of discussion, as Goehring suggests in 'The Origins of Monasticism', in Attridge and Hata (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (above, n. 14), pp. 235-55 (see 246-7); he was more cautious in 'New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies', pp. 246-7.

Pachomian spirituality and the contribution of the Pachomian sources to our understanding of the theological and practical character of early monasticism in general[63]. My aim has simply been to show that detailed study both of the chronology of the principal Pachomian documents, and more especially of their evidence for the character and pattern of life of the early Pachomian community, vindicates, against much modern criticism, their reliability as historical sources.

[63] I have made a contribution to these subjects in 'Pachomios of Tabennesi and the Foundation of an Independent Monastic Community', in W.J. Sheils (ed.), *Voluntary Religion* (Studies in Church History, 23; Oxford, 1986), pp. 15-24.

Hesychastische Gebetslehre bei Gregorios Sinaites*

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Meine langjährige Forschung konzentriert sich auf eine große Mönchsgestalt des christlichen Ostens, den heiligen Gregorios Sinaites. Er war einer der hervorragendsten Lehrer den sogenannten athonitischen Hesychasmus im 14. Jahrhundert. Das Ergebnis meiner diesbezüglichen Studien ist bereits im November des vorigen Jahres in der Serie 'Münsteraner Theologische Abhandlungen' Band 34. mit dem Titel 'Gregorios Sinaites als Lehrer des Gebetes' veröffentlicht worden. In diesem Referat möchte ich vor allem die Gebetslehre des Gregorios behandeln.

Bevor ich aber auf das Hauptthema eingehe, möchte ich erst kurz das Profil des Sinaiten vorstellen. Als Hauptquelle für sein Leben gibt es die von seinem Schüler dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Kallistos dem 1. (1350-1353; 1355-1363) verfaßte Vita[1]. Gregorios wurde in Kukulos (Kleinasien), der Umgebung des heutigen Izmir in der Türkei, in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, frühestens etwa 1255 geboren. Nachdem er auf der Insel Zypern unter einem Mönch namens Leo Mönchsnovize geworden war, trat er in das Katharinenkloster auf dem Sinai ein, wo er die Profeß ablegte. Doch wegen der für ihn unerquicklichen Atmosphäre des Klosters verließ er es und fuhr nach Kreta. Auf dieser Insel begegnete er einem Mönch namens Arsenios, bei dem er dann über die Theoria und wahrscheinlich auch über das sogenannte Jesusgebet lernte. Nach kurzem Aufenthalt auf Kreta fuhr er aber nach dem Berg Athos, wo er für seine Lehrtätigkeit hesychastischer Spiritualität berühmt wurde. Doch von mehrmaligen Überfällen der Türken gezwungen, wanderte er aus, hielt sich kurz in Konstaninopel auf und ließ sich schließlich in Paroria, dem südöstlichen Grenzgebiet Bulgariens, nieder. Dort baute er das Kloster Katakekryomene und einige Lauren. Seine Mönchsgemeinschaft florierte mit finanzieller Unterstützung des damaligen Zaren Ivan Alexander (1331-1371) des zweiten Bulgarischen Reichs. Nach dem Tod des Gregorios im Jahr 1346 verbreitete sich sein geistliches Erbe durch seine mittelbaren bzw. unmittelbaren Schüler in den slawischen Ländern wie Bulgarien, Serbien und später Rußland.

* Abkürzung der Zeitschrift, der Serien sowie der Lexika gemäß dem von S. Schwertner zusammengestellten Abkürzungsverzeichnis der *Theologischen Realenzyklopädie* (hg. v. G. Kraus / G. Müller, Berlin / New York, 1976).

[1] Fundort: I. Pomjalovskij (ed.), *Zapiski Istoriko-Filologischeskago* (Fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Petersburgskago Universiteta, Bd. 35; St. Petersburg, 1896), 1-46.

Er hinterließ einige asketische Schriften, von denen sechs Werke bis heute uns bekannt sind, nämlich erstens, *Äußerst nützliche Kapitel im Akrostichon*, zweitens, *Weitere Werke*, drittens, *Vorrede über die Wirksamkeiten der Gnade, die aus dem Gebet entstehen, und die Besonderheiten, die von der Verfehlung herrühren*, viertens, *Kleine Unterweisung über Hesychia von Gregorios dem Sinaiten für den wachsamen hochheiligen Herrn Ioakeim mit Beinamen auf dessen Wunsch in 15 Kapiteln*, fünftens, *Kapitel über das Gebet*, sechstens, *Rede über die heilige Verklärung unseres Herrn Jesus Christus*. Die ersten fünf Werke wurden zum ersten Mal in den *Philokalia* 1782 publiziert, sodann in die *Patrologia graeca* Band 150 übernommen. Die kritische Ausgabe ist inzwischen unternommen worden von Dr. Hans-Veit Beyer, Philologe und Mitarbeiter der Byzantinischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, aber leider ist sie noch nicht publiziert. Ich habe von ihm das für die Drucklegung definitive Manuskript[2] erhalten, das ich für meine Arbeit benutzt habe.

Seine Gebetslehre kann in zwei klare Kategorien unterschieden werden, nämlich in die theoretische und die praktische Lehre. In der ersten handelt es sich um die Frage, was Gebet ist, in der zweiten, wie man beten soll, also Gebetsmethode, und welche Effekte daraus sich ergeben. Wegen Zeitbeschränkung behandle ich nur die theoretische Lehre.

Wir beginnen mit der Definition des Gebets. Das wird uns helfen, den Umriß seiner Gebetslehre zu erfassen, da die Definition diese in kondensierter Weise darstellt. Sodann wenden wir uns seiner Gnadenlehre zu, die der behandelten Definiton zugrundeliegt.

In den geistlich-asketischen Überlieferungen finden sich vielfältige Definitionen, von denen die folgenden drei berühmt geworden sind, nämlich 'Das Gebet ist Flehen der Frommen zu Gott um das Gute' (Basileios der Große)[3], 'Aufstieg des Nous zu Gott' (Evagrios)[4], 'Dialog des Nous mit Gott' (Evagrios)[5]. Diese Beispiele sind aber im eigentlichen Sinne nicht die Definition; das Wesen des Gebetes ist so gehaltvoll, daß sich nur seine Aspekte beschreiben lassen. Auch für den Sinaiten ist das Gebet mit einem Wort oder Satz nicht zu definieren. Stattdessen gibt er folgende Titel für das Gebet, die dessen mannigfaltige Merkmale und Aspekte bergen:

[2] Da das Manuskript nicht nach Seiten durchnummeriert ist, werden die in diesem Referat zu behandelnden Textstellen mit der Seiten- und Zeilennummer des vierten Bands der Philokalia (3. Auflage) in der Athen-Version (Abk: Phi IV), die 1961 herausgegeben worden ist, angegeben. Die Titel der genannten ersten fünf Werke (Abk: Greg1; Greg2; Greg3; Greg4; Greg5) gemäß diesem Manuskript. Das sechste Werk ist von D. Balfour ediert worden: D. Balfour (ed.), 'Saint Gregory the Sinaite. Discourse on the Transfiguration. First critical Edition, with English Translation and Commentary', in: *Theol* (A) 52/2 (1981), 644-680.

[3] *Homilia in martyrem Iulittam* 3 = PG 31, 244A.

[4] *De oratione* 35 = PG 79, 1173D.

[5] Ebenda 3 = 1168 C.

'Gebet ist Predigt der Apostel, Wirksamkeit des Glaubens, vielmehr unmittelbarer Glaube; es ist "Substanz des Erhofften" (Hebr 11,1), gewirkte Liebe, engelhafte Bewegung, Macht der Körperlosen, ihr Werk und ihre Freude, frohe Botschaft Gottes, Gewißheit des Herzens, Heilserwartung, Zeichen der Heiligung, Symbol der Heiligkeit, Gotteserkenntnis, Manifestation der Taufe, Entsühnung durch das Bad, Unterpfand des Heiligen Geistes, Jesu Frohlocken, Freude der Seele, Barmherzigkeit Gottes, Zeichen der Versöhnung, Siegelabdruck Christi, Strahl der geistigen Sonne, Morgenstern der Herzen, Bestätigung des Christentums, Versöhnungsbekundung Gottes, Gnade Christi, Weisheit Gottes, besser gesagt, Prinzip der Weisheit selbst; es ist Manifestation Christi, Werk der Mönche, Lebensform der Hesychasten, Anlaß der Hesychia, Zeichen der engelhaften Lebensweise'[6].

Als Vorlage dieses Überschwangs oft lyrisch geprägter Bezeichnungen benutzt Gregorios in der Tat einen Katalog der Gebetsdefinitionen des Johannes Klimax[7], gibt ihm aber starke Modifizierungen. Erstens, der Katalog des Klimax erwähnt ausschließlich subjektive Gegebenheiten bzw. Wirkungen auf seiten des Betenden wie 'Brücke über die Versuchungen', 'Auslöschen der Kriege', 'endlose Tätigkeit', 'Auflösung des Kummers' etc. Ganz im Unterschied zu Klimax widmet Gregorios nämlich den Einwirkungen Gottes bzw. den trinitarischen Hypostasen ausführliche Erwägungen. Das zeigt sich an solchen Ausdrücken wie 'Unterpfand des Heiligen Geistes', 'Jesu Frohlocken', 'Barmherzigkeit Gottes', 'Siegelabdruck Christi', 'Gnade Christi', 'Weisheit Gottes' oder 'Manifestation Christi'. Diese Ausdrücke finden sich bei Klimax nicht. Das Gebet ist also in seinem Wesen und in seinen Wirkungen primär die Sache Gottes. Seinen Katalog der Gebetsnamen beendet er deshalb plötzllich ganz einfach mit folgendem beeindruckenden Satz: 'Und was soll man mehr sagen? Gebet ist "Gott, der alles in allem wirkt" (1 Kor 12,6)'[8]. Dazu kommentiert K. Ware: 'Beten ist Gott — es ist nicht etwas, das von mir ausgeht, sondern etwas, an dem ich teilhabe; es ist nicht in erster Linie etwas, das ich tue, sondern es ist Gott, der in mir handelt'[9].

Zweitens, der Katalog des Gregorios enthält einige bei Klimax nicht vorhandene, jedoch überaus wichtige Elemente, nämlich 'Wirksamkeit des Glaubens', 'Manifestation der Taufe', 'Gewißheit des Herzens', 'Bestätigung des Christentums'. Hierzu wollen wir die schon erwähnten Titel 'Unterpfand des Heiligen Geistes', 'Gnade Christi', und 'Manifestation Christi' hinzufügen, die ebenfalls im Katalog des Klimax nicht vorhanden sind. Der Sinaite hat aus einer für seine hesychastische Gebetslehre entscheidenden Überzeugung diese Titel gewählt. Wenn diese Bezeichnungen zusammengesetzt werden, ergibt sich fol-

[6] Gregl, Kap. 113 = Phi IV, 51, 21-31.
[7] Vgl. *Scala paradisi* 28 = PG 88, 1129A-B.
[8] Gregl, Kap 113 = Phi IV, 51, 31-34.
[9] K. Ware / E. Jungclaussen, *Hinführung zum Herzensgebet* (Freiburg / Basel / Wien, [3]1986), 12.

gende Definition: Gebet ist 'Manifestation' und 'Wirksamkeit' der 'Gnade', die bei der 'Taufe' gegeben worden ist; dadurch bringt Gebet die 'Gewißheit des Herzens' und gilt als 'Bestätigung des Christentums'. Dies umfaßt in Wirklichkeit alles Wesentliche der Gebetslehre des Gregorios. Hinter diesem Gedanken liegt eine den Hesychasmus grundsätzlich charakterisierende Gnadenlehre.

Seine Gnadenlehre[10] wird immer im sakramental-ekklesiologischen Kontext erörtert, da ihr Ausgangspunkt die Taufe ist. Gnade ist für Gregorios par excellence Taufgnade, genauer der Heilige Geist selbst, die man bei der Taufe empfängt. Der Effekt der Taufe ist in erster Linie eine ekklesiologisch-ontologische Wandlung, also Mitgliedwerden im Leib Christi. Aber der Nachdruck liegt eigentlich nicht auf der sakramentalen Wirklichkeit zur Zeit der Taufe, es geht vielmehr um Verhältnisse 'nach der Taufe'. Es ist eine characteristische Geisteshaltung des Sinaiten, daß er beim bloß passiven Aspekt des Empfangs der Taufe nicht stehen bleibt. Denn die Taufgnade soll sich entfalten, d.h. der Getaufte soll sie *wirken lassen.* Und dies geschieht nicht automatisch, sondern unter dem *Mitwirken* (synergeia) des Menschen. Dieser Synergismus bestimmt von alters her die Gnadenlehre der Ostkirche. Nach seinem Grundprinzip wird 'das Heil durch ein Miteinander von menschlicher und göttlicher Aktivität erreicht'[11]. Dabei hängt die Initiative und Vollendung des Heilswegs einzig von der Gnade Gottes ab, der menschliche Beitrag wird aber durch moralische Bemühung geleistet. Für Gregorios besteht dieser moralische Beitrag aus zwei Elementen, nämlich Gebot und Jesusgebet. Beide sind Methode, die Taufgnade zu entfalten. Taufgnade entfalten bedeutet aber der 'Energeia', also Wirkkraft bzw. Wirksamkeit des Heiligen Geistes teilhaftig zu werden. Was man bei der Taufe substantiell empfängt, ist der Heilige Geist selbst, aber die Wirkkraft des Heiligen Geistes wird 'bei der Taufe geheimnisvoll', das heißt also nur 'vorwegnahmhaft (potentiell) mitgeteilt' (prolambanein). Diese Energeia der Gnade soll sich nun entfalten. Das bedeutet aber, daß der Getaufte selbst der Wirkkraft der Gnade teilhaftig wird, d.h. gänzlich durch die Gnade bewegt wird. Gregorios betont, wenn die Getauften der Gnade teilhaftig seien, könne sie diese auch gegen deren Willen auf sich lenken. Teilhabe an der Gnade bedeutet also, daß der Mensch Besitzer der Charis energoumenos wird. 'Das energein', so D. Wendebourg, 'schlägt sich in der Weise in ihm nieder, daß er selbst zum Wirken, zur energeia gebracht wird — das energein der Gnade ist nichts anders als die energeia des Christen'[12]. Und zu dieser Anteilnahme werden dem Christen die

[10] Vgl. Greg1, Kap. 129 = Phi IV, 59, 18-35.

[11] Vgl. E. Mühlenberg, 'Synergism', in: *ZNW* 68 (1977), 122.

[12] D. Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie. Zur Frage der innergöttlichen Verankerung des christlichen Lebens in der byzantinischen Theologie* (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften 4; München, 1980), 159.

oben genannten zwei Wege eingeräumt, nämlich Gebot und Jesusgebet, wie Gregorios sagt:

'Auf zwei Weisen wird die Wirkkraft des Heiligen Geistes gefunden, die wir bei der Taufe geheimnisvoll vorwegerhalten haben. Erstens, um es allgemein zu sagen, offenbart sich die Gnade durch das Tun der Gebote unter viel Mühe und Zeitaufwand...in dem Maß, in dem wir die Gebote wirken, läßt sie immer deutlicher die ihr eigenen Lichtstrahlen hervorleuchten. Zweitens erscheint sie durch die auf Wissen beruhende ständige Anrufung des Herrn Jesu, d.h. das Gedenken Gottes im Zustand der Unterordnung, und zwar nach der ersten Vorgangsweise langsamer, nach der zweiten schneller, wenn er nur lernt, (Wirkkraft) zu finden, angestrengt und ausdauernd die Erde umzugraben und das Gold aufzuspüren'[13].

Gebot bezeichnet für Gregorios und für alle Mönchsführer im Osten alle mönchischen Tätigkeiten zur Reinigung der Seele von Leidenschaften. Jede körperliche und geistige Übung wie Fasten, Handarbeit, Schweigen, Psalmodie, geistliche Lektüre oder ganznächtliches Gebet sind Gebote, die in der Terminologie des östlichen Mönchtums üblicherweise 'Praxis' genannt werden. Jesusgebet oder Anrufung des Jesusnamens ist, wie schon bekannt, ein Gebet, das aus der beständig wiederholten, kurzen Formel besteht: 'Herr Jesus Christus, Sohn Gottes, erbarme dich meiner' oder 'erbarme dich über mich Sünder'. Die Hervorhebung der Kombination beider Komponenten, die Geboterfüllung und das Jesusgebet, stammt von Diadochos von Photike im 5. Jahrhundert[14]. Bei diesem hatte jedoch die Anrufung des Jesusnamens noch keine fixierte Formel wie bei Gregorios. Außerdem stellte Diadochos die Kombination von Gebot und Gebet als mächtiges Abwehrmittel gegen die Dämonen hin. Bei Gregorios hingegen handelt es sich um eine Methode, die Energeia der Gnade zu 'finden', d.h. ihrer teilhaftig zu werden. Das obige Zitat enthält eine wichtige Bemerkung: 'nach der ersten Vorgangsweise (nämlich durch das Tun der Gebote) langsamer, nach der zweiten (nämlich durch das Jesusgebet) schneller'. Hier drückt Gregorios eine Grundüberzeugung des Charismatikers der hesychastischen Methode aus: Das Jesusgebet ist wirksamer und führt schneller zum Ziel als das Einhalten der Gebote. Bei Diadochos ist eine so einschneidende Affirmation nicht zu finden. Frage ist aber, ob Gregorios etwa damit sagen will, die Beobachtung der Gebote sei sekundär und man könne sie überspringen, um gleich mit dem Gebetstraining zu beginnen. Das ist keineswegs der Fall. Wie K. Ware schreibt, 'sind die beiden keine alternative. Diejenigen, die das Jesusgebet nutzen, werden dabei vom Befolgen des ersten Weges, des Weges der Gebote, nicht dispensiert...Der Punkt des Gregorios ist, daß wir nicht nur auf der tätigen Ebene (nämlich auf der Ebene der Praxis) kämpfen sollen, denn es gibt eine weitere Dimension des geistlichen

[13] Greg3, Kap. 3 = Phi IV, 67, 26-34.
[14] Vgl. Diadochos von Photike, *Capita centum de perfectione spirituali* 85; 96 = E. des Places (ed.), Diadoque de Photicé. *Œuvres spirituelles* (SC 5bis; Paris, 1955), 144-145; 159.

Lebens, in die wir ebenfalls eintreten können... Wenn der Weg des inneren Gebetes als kürzer gekennzeichnet wird, so nur im relativen Sinn'[15]. Diesem Kommentar muß hinzugefügt werden, daß der Sinaite meint, auf dem Weg des Jesusgebets gelange man schneller ans Ziel, aber nirgends sagt, dieser Weg sei einfach. Im Gegenteil: Wie den Weg der Gebote soll man den des Jesusgebets ebenso 'angestrengt und ausdauernd' gehen. Wie man dann das Jesusgebet verrichten soll, d.h. die Gebetsmethode möchte ich bei anderer Gelegenheit erörtern.

[15] K. Ware, 'The Jesus Prayer in St. Gregory of Sinai', in : *ECR* 4 (1972), 10.

Evagrius Ponticus in Spiritual Perspective

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Evagrius Ponticus was one of the second generation of Egyptian desert fathers and a theologian in the Origenist tradition. Despite his obscurity, especially today, few figures can claim to have had as broad an influence over subsequent spiritual history. He has been called the 'father of our literature of spirituality'[1], the creator of 'the first complete system of Christian spirituality'[2], 'the ideologue of late Antique monasticism'[3], and 'almost the absolute ruler of the entire Syriac and Byzantine mystical theology'[4]. Evagrius did have a lasting influence, especially over the Eastern churches, and arguably over Islam and Sufism as well. Yet this influence was seldom acknowledged by name, even by his close followers, and his legacy is undeniably a mixed one. He was condemned 150 years after his death, and his place in the history of spirituality has been underestimated until quite recently. The attention he is now receiving from specialists would seem to be mostly a matter of correcting the historical record, since his ideas on the origin of the world, the fall of the soul, asceticism and the mystic return to God seem to be either outmoded or too outlandish to merit attention by non-historians. However, I will argue that the Origenist crisis, which arose over the dissemination of his ideas, represents an important crossroads in spiritual history, and the forceful supression of the creed of Evagrius merely drove underground issues which are perennial in Western thinking and show up later just as clearly as before. If we interpret Evagrius in terms of the greater themes of Western spirituality, then he moves in from the margins of history and becomes a signpost instead of a paradox[5].

There is in Western thought a basic division or split between an inward, spiritual perspective and a more normative outward orientation. The quintessential examples of this division are Plato and Aristotle, the one attuned by

[1] O. Chadwick, *John Cassian* (2nd ed.; Cambridge, 1968), p. 36.

[2] L. Boyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers* (Vol. 1 of *A History of Christian Spirituality*; New York, 1982), p. 381.

[3] S. Otto, 'Esoterik und individualistische Gnosis: Der mönchische Platonismus des Euagrios Pontikos', in *Idem, Die Antike im Umbruch* (List Taschenbücher der Wissenschaft; Geschichte des politischen Denkens, Vol. 1513; Munich, 1974), p. 70.

[4] H. v. Balthasar, 'The Metaphysics and Mystical Theology of Evagrius', trans. *Monastic Studies* 3 (1965), p. 183.

[5] Despite my title, I do not intend to provide here a summary of the spiritual doctrine of Evagrius, for which the reader may now consult R. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism* (Vol. 1 of *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*; New York, 1994), pp. 144-57.

some inner force towards the transcendent, the other grasping the physical properties and internal dynamic of objects, persons and soul itself. This complementary two-sidedness of western thought has often been observed, and was portrayed iconographically in the Renaissance period by Rafael in *The School of Athens*, in which Plato and Aristotle stand together at the center, Plato with his hand pointing up, Aristotle with his hand pointing down and forward[6]. However, perhaps Heinrich Heine said it best:

> Plato and Aristotle! These are not merely two systems, they are types of two distinct human natures, which from time immemorial, under every sort of disguise, stand more or less inimically opposed. The whole medieval world in particular was riven by this conflict, which persists down to the present day, and which forms the most essential content of the history of the Christian Church. Although under other names, it is always of Plato and Aristotle that we speak. Visionary, mystical Platonic natures disclose Christian ideas and the corresponding symbols from the fathomless depths of their souls. Practical, orderly Aristotelian natures build out of these ideas and symbols a fixed system, a dogma and cult. Finally the Church embraces both natures, one of them entrenched in the clergy and the other in monasticism, but both keeping up a constant feud[7].

It is this type of visceral conflict which was at the root of the Origenist controversy, but in order to see this we must approach intellectual history more synthetically and allow larger patterns to emerge. I have found a helpful example of this sort of interpretive thinking in the work of church historian Justo González. In his volume, entitled *Christian Thought Revisited: Three Types of Theology*[8], González traces the emergence and impact of three theological approaches, a normative approach he identifies with the spiritu of Tertullian, a spiritual alternative he identifies with Origen[9], and a third, historical and incarnational model typified by Irenaeus. González calls these merely Types A, B and C, but I have named them, using categories borrowed from Biblical theology, the Nomistic, the Wisdom and the Prophetic types; these names remind us that such approaches are indeed perennial aspects of the Christian tradition found already in Scripture. Type A, the nomistic approach, is what Heine equates with Aristotle. This attitude is practical, doctrinal, sober, and has served the Church 'infallibly' since the time of the Pastoral Epistles. Of decidedly less probity is the intellectual, spiritual and apologetic approach variously called Platonist, sapiential or simply Type B. The fainter lines of the prophetic voice are found by González most clearly in parts of the New Testament, in Irenaeus, in Luther, and in Third World theologies today.

6 This is also noted in R. Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind* (New York, 1991), p. 68.

7 H. Heine, *Deutschland*, I, quoted as the epigraph in C.G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (Collected Works, Vol. 6; Princeton NJ, 1971), p. 2.

8 J. González, *Christian Thought Revisited: Three Types of Theology* (Nashville, TN, 1989).

9 Although González was unaware of it, Carl Jung had already described Tertullian and Origen as absolutely opposite personalities in his *Psychological Types*, pp. 8-20, esp. 11.

My concern is with Type B, the wisom approach, which has Origen as its exemplar and patron saint. That there is a strong Platonist strain in Christian, and particularly in Patristic thought has been adequately established and is virtually undeniable[10]. This Platonic strain in the Fathers is also undeniably linked to spirituality, as Festugière famously summarized: 'When the fathers think their mysticism, they platonize'[11]. This differentiated wisdom attitude begins to be clearly seen in Greek-language apologetic works such as the Wisdom of Solomon and the writings of Philo and Justin Martyr. In the early doctrinal disputes of Christianity the Platonist, sapiential approach can then sometimes be identified with the Alexandrian school. Here, then, is the primary key to the interpretation of Evagrius: he is to be situated within this Platonizing, spiritual strain embodied in the Alexandrian tradition, and was heir to the synthesizing, apologetic theologies of Philo, Clement and Origen.

Another key to interpreting Evagrius lies close at hand: In 381 Evagrius abruptly left the position he held as archdeacon in Constantinople and, after a short stay in Jerusalem, withdrew into the Egyptian desert, that intense personal laboratory of 4th century spirituality. Life for Evagrius became an experiment, and his vast gnostic synthesis was an intellectual experiment — this is why no one of Evagrius' followers adopted his system without modification. The 'philosophe au désert', as Guillaumont dubbed him[12], provided a much-needed theoretical framework addressing all the problems of incipient monasticism. He did not build on a Cappadocian foundation, as might be expected, but returned to the more clearly Platonic models of nearby Alexandria[13]. His apologetic synthesis conforms to traditional Alexandrian conventions: the data he accepts and comments upon are biblical, the issues are Christian-gnostic[14], the tools and categories are philosophical. Although Evagrius wrote a great deal, he took no interest in the wider presentation of his ascetical or theological system. Indeed, he took pains to conceal his speculative theories from public view. His teachings about cosmology and the higher stages of the mystical life are contained only in private correspondence[15] or in deliberately obscure

[10] See, e.g., E. v. Ivánka, *Plato Christianus* (Einsiedeln, 1964) and D.J. O'Meara (ed.), *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Studies in Neoplatonism: Ancient and Modern, vol. 3; Albany, NY, 1982).

[11] A.J. Festugière, *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon* (Paris, 1967), p. 5.

[12] A. Guillaumont, 'Un philosophe au désert: Évagre le Pontique', *RHR* 181 (1972), pp. 29-56.

[13] On the difference between Alexandrian and Cappadocian mysticism, see B. Otis, 'Nicene Orthodoxy and Fourth Century Mysticism, *Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Ohrid, 1961* (Vol. 2; Beogard, 1964), pp. 475-84.

[14] On gnostic elements in Evagrius, see A. Guillaumont, 'Gnose et monachisme: Exposé introductif', in Julien Ries (ed.), *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique: Actes de Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve*, 1980 (Louvain-la-Neuve), 1982), pp. 308-10.

[15] I refer to the *Epistula ad Melaniam*: English translation in Martin Parmentier, 'Evagrius Ponticus' "Letter to Melania"', *Bijdragen, tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 46 (1985), pp. 2-38. See also Gabriel Bunge, *Briefe aus der Wüste* (Sophia 24; Trier, 1986).

esoteric meditations[16]. In the controversy over his writings and those of Origen, Evagrius apparently took no part.

Evagrius was a spiritual teacher, not a controversialist. He brought Alexandrian theoretical sophistication to the monastic experiences of the desert, and was able to frame the monks' intense inner experience of God in Neoplatonic terms. This was his greatest contribution to the history of spirituality. As von Ivánka said of him, Evagrius 'justifies and explains — both ontologicaly and philosophically — a direct, inner, suprarational knowledge of God in the deepest layer of the individual ego'[17].

This manifestation of an elitist and perfectionist wisdom theology did not go unchallenged. The increasingly established nature of 4th century Christianity, especially in the East, and the emergence of a more deterministic and practical Latin theology in the West both signal a consolidation of the more nomistic approach to Christianity. The wisdom alternative, which the Origenist monks represented, was necessarily thrust into the periphery by the evolving of the Western mind in a more externalized, dogmatic direction. This fundamental shift in the psychological balance of western spirituality was the true cause of the Origenist controversy, not differences in doctrine. If we view Evagrius merely as a participant in a complex doctrinal dispute, and then attempt to judge his case on its merits, we are ourselves assuming the doctrinaire psychology of those who condemned Origenism in the first place. We then run the risk of missing the insights which the wisdom approach has to offer, as they were missed by the opponents of Origenism in late Antiquity.

Origenism, particularly as seen in the figure of Evagrius, is a Christian Neoplatonism. It is based on a discovery of God in the depth of the self, and however indirectly, this spiritual experience represented a challenge to the legitimacy of sacraments and hierarchy, let alone ordinary society[18], for the value system of the wisdom approach is highly personal, reflective and non-dogmatic. Evagrius exalted the gnostic *individual* as one who alone has overcome the world and found the meaning of life. Perhaps he was reacting to the strange character of the times. The establishment of an official, imperial Christianity under Constantine has long been noted as a significant catalyst in the emergence of monasticism. In fact, Evagrius brought out a full-blown interiorized spirituality compensatory to the growing insitutionalization of the faith. The Alexandrian tradition provided all the tools he needed. Origen, with his emphasis on interiority, individual freedom and responsibility, provided a theological model made to order for early monastic experiments[19] — the overrid-

[16] This is the *Kephalaia Gnostica*: French translation of the original and the expurgated text, in A. Guillaumont, *Les Six centuries des 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique* (Patrologia Orientalis 28; fasc. 1; Paris, 1958).

[17] E. v. Ivánka, p. 148.

[18] Otto, pp. 66-70.

[19] McGinn, xvi, does note Origen's significance for monasticism and mysticism.

ing principle of Origen's theology was God's goodness in an indeterminate universe of choice. If the individual is responsible for choosing God and can seek him through a life of piety, then asceticism becomes a serious option. In the fourth century Evagrius represented the full implementattion of Origen's theology of free will in a monastic setting.

Such a triumph of individual responsibility and freedom calls into question the deepest assumptions of the nomistic Christian mind. The violent suppression of the movement, even the apparently 'accidental' loss of Evagrius' name from the historical record, unusual in themselves, make sense psychologically as a kind of repression. In order for a more institutionalized, external religion to gain the ascendancy in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, the spiritual option needed to be discredited, smothered in labels and forgotten. This was one of the greatest defeats for the spiritual perspective in Christian history and we suffer from it still[20].

I am not assuming that there was any sort of conspiracy against Origenism nor a conscious effort on the part of self-identified nomistic Aristotelians to search out and destroy Neoplatonism. However, when one considers the one-sided nature of the attack and the irrational fury unleashed against the monks, it would appear that psychological factors were involved. The substantive doctrinal charges — against subordination, against metempsychosis, and against a spiritual resurrection or a spherical body, etc. — are really an attack on Platonism, which was a familiar enough element of the common tradition[21]. The insight of Plato, so fundamental to western thinking that the latter might be described as a series of footnotes on the former[22], of course proved impossible to simply delete. When Origen and Evagrius are understood as representatives of Platonism, a perennial western attitude, it also becomes clear why a decisive refutation of their ideas has never been possible. The complete studies of the charges against Origenism now provided by Dechow[23] and Clark[24] are proof that this was not a doctrinal misunderstanding, not a question of personal intolerance on the part of Epiphanius, Jerome or Theophilus, but a coming into clear visibility of two opposing tendencies deep in the western psyche. The doctrinal charges are more a smokescreen than serious, or at best are a nomistic interpretation of a wisdom phenomenon. As Jon Dechow recognized,

[20] On the permanently externalized nature of Western spirituality, see C.G. Jung, 'The Difference Between Eastern and Western Thinking', in J. Campbell (ed.), *The Portable Jung* (Harmondsworth and New York, etc., 1971), pp. 480-502.

[21] See S. Gersh and C. Kannengiesser (eds.), *Platonism in Late Antiquity* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, vol. 8; Notre Dame, IN, 1992).

[22] This quip is attributed to A.N. Whitehead by A. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), p. 24.

[23] J. Dechow, *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity: Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen* (Patristic Monograph Series 13; Macon, GA, 1988).

[24] E. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, NJ, 1992).

this was a conflict over 'dogma' and 'mysticism', terms which 'serve as an approximation of *distinctive definitional parameters* making Christianity's vicissitudes from the late fourth century on'[25].

Origenism exemplifies a neglected, but fundamental option in Western spirituality. Within the wisdom tradition, Evagrius stands out as the great extreme — a new level of fusion between Christ and Plato. To the mystical experience of God within the self he applied the Neoplatonic concept of *νοῦς*, which cannot be simply translated as 'mind' or 'spirit' because it is an experience[26]. The νοῦς for Evagrius was a relational element, what we would today call an 'interface'. As Grabiel Bunge writes:

> Evagrius defines the *νοῦς*[27] as 'imaging God'[28], referring to the completely natural *personal relationship* of the creature with his creator, the trinitarian God of revelation. The Evagrian *νοῦς* is therefore not a mind, but the faculty of one's created personhood. As the image of God, the *νοῦς* is not only in relationship of God, it is receptive to God, it is *capax Dei*[29].

It is the *νοῦς*, that hightest spiritual principle, which is the vehicle for contemplative union and return to God. The body and the soul also perform definite spiritual functions in support of that return. Body, soul and *νοῦς* are thus the operative concepts for the spiritual life and for salvation. In fact, no other early Christian bases spirituality so completely on anthropology as Evagrius.

If we wish to see Evagrius in spiritual perspective then we must ask if this Platonic anthropological system has any residual value. Here it may be instructive to note how this tripartite division has been transformed by the modern Jesuit spiritual director, George Aschenbrenner[30]. In his work Fr. Aschenbrenner recognizes first a deep self, which is the 'core of the soul' and that element of ourselves which is the most tranquil and the most capable of profound personal encounter with God. He also recognizes a sphere of feelings and thoughts which drift in positive and negative directions with passing images, impluses and moods. He calls this the 'skin of the soul'. Thirdly, he sees an outwardly-focused, relational and business self which keeps us in balance with the world. This framework is virtually identical with the Evagrian system of *νοῦς*, soul and body. Fr. Aschenbrenner's purpose, which is to 'highlight the

25 Dechow, 11 (Emphasis added).

26 See R. Wallis, 'ΝΟΥΣ as Experience', in R. B. Wallis (ed.), *The Significance of Neoplatonism* (Studies in Neoplatonism: Ancient and Modern, vol. 1; Norfolk, VA, 1976), pp. 121-5.

27 Here and in the following lines the German reads 'Intellect'.

28 The German reads: 'Gottebenbildlichkeit'.

29 G. Bunge, *Das Geistgebet: Studien zum Traktat De Oratione des Evagrios Pontikos* (Cologne, 1987), p. 11.

30 G. Aschenbrenner, 'A Hidden Self Grown Strong', in R.J. Wicks, *Handbook of Spirituality for Ministers* (New York and Mahwah, NJ, 1995), pp. 228-48. Fr. Aschenbrenner presents his theory very directly, with no refrences to sources or history.

tremendous importance of the core of the soul for all mature human living'[31], would also have been embraced by Evagrius as the key to spiritual progress and salvation.

Fr. Aschenbrenner's model suggests that the spirituality of Evagrius, so rooted in the tripartite division of the person, can transcend the boundaries of time and be useful for spiritual practitioners today, although many of his concepts must undergo this kind of translation. We must also rid ourselves of a reductive mindset which would reduce the soul and the spirit to the rational level, or deny their existence altogether[32]. We do well to remember Jung's words to the effect that the mind will never understand the soul[33], let alone a spiritual principle like the *νοῦς*.

The rediscovery of Evagrius is then an opportunity to recover a piece of ourselves, a lost tradition which is nevertheless central to western thought. Evagrius, the suppressed figure, has a psychological significance for our culture. He represents lost possibilities, and a way of being Christian which we put aside to become what we are today[34]. With his help perhaps we can discover within us a level of existence where a natural union with God is still possible. In the incarnational, graced world of Evagrius, the door to heaven stands open. Humanity is limited only by the forces of darkness and its own unresolved questions of will and choice.

[31] Ibid., p. 240.

[32] W. Barrett, *Death of the Soul: From Descartes to the Computer* (New York, 1986); J. Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology* (2nd ed.; New York, 1992); also see my 'Saving the Soul From the Discard Pile', *Bulletin of Christian Spirituality* 1 (1993), pp. 16-7.

[33] C.G. Jung, 'Introduction to the Religious and Psychological Problems of Alchemy', in V. de Lazlo (ed.), *The Basic Writings of C.G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ, 1990) 464.

[34] For the psychological significance of suppressed or unchosen possibilities, see C. Zweig and J. Abrams (eds.), *Meeting the Shadow: The Hidden Power of the Dark Side of Human Nature* (Los Angeles, 1991).

The *Vita Syncleticae*: Its Manuscripts, Ascetical Teachings and its Use in Monastic Sources

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The *Vita Syncleticae* is a Greek text, possibly dating back to the fifth century. In this communication I am going to introduce you to this ascetical saint's life in the following manner: first I will speak about the manuscript tradition of this *Vita*, then about Synkletike's *logismoi*, and then about other monastic sources in which Synkletike appears.

1. Manuscripts

My research aims at a critical edition of the *Vita Syncleticae*. At this stage I am busy collecting manuscripts that mention the Vita or an excerpt from it. I have also made a start with the collation.

The *Vita* has been edited, though not critically, in Cotelerius' *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, using codex Regius 2480[1]. A different text was used by Migne in tomus 28 of his *Patrologia Graeca* series[2].

There are at least 10 manuscripts which carry the *Vita Syncleticae*. Three other manuscripts have an excerpt of the *Vita*. Some manuscripts mention Athanasius of Alexandria as its author, but it is not certain that he did actually write this *Vita*. The resemblance of the *Vita Syncleticae* with the *Vita Antonii* could be a reason why eight of the manuscripts I have recovered mention Athanasius[3]. These texts are all in *menologia*. Three of the manuscripts that are known to me carry the name of Polycarp as its author[4]. One manuscript has the name Arsenios Pegados written underneath[5]. Some of the manuscripts have

[1] Johannes Baptista Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, T. 1 (Luteciae Parisiorum, 1677), pp. 201-277. According to Henri Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1921), Regio cod. 2480 Colbert. is nowadays no. 1568. This manuscript is a *menaion Augusti*. It seems unlikely to me that this manuscript will contain the *Vita Syncleticae*, because Synkletike is celebrated in January.

[2] *Patrologiae, cursus completus, series graeca prior*, accurante J.-P. Migne, Tomus XXVIII: S. Athanasius Archiepiscopus (Petit-Montrouge (Paris), 1857), col. 1487-1558.

[3] Uppsala gr. 5 (used for Esc. 423 and 613), Gotoburgensis 4, Vaticanus Graecus 825, Flor. Machl./Bibl. Nat. 50 (B.I. 1214), Madrid 5 (4548), Athos Panteleimon 5670.

[4] Vaticanus Graecus 1589, Paris Grec 1598, and Paris Coislin 124.

[5] Paris Coislin 303: see for details: R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits Grecs* II: *le Fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), p. 288 and Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* III, p. 927. J.-P. Migne's edition may have used this manuscript, because Arsenios Pegados is mentioned.

Thekla in their title instead of Synkletike[6]. Thekla is mentioned in the *Vita Syncleticae*.

No critical edition of the *Vita Syncleticae* exists today: our knowledge of the text and its contents is based on Migne's edition. Apart from Latin, it has been translated into modern languages: in the eighteenth century into Italian, in this century in French, English, Spanish, modern Greek, and soon it will be available in Dutch[7]. So everything I refer to in this paper is based on Migne's edition.

2. Teachings

Synkletike was a girl from a rich family, which had come to live in Alexandria from Macedonia. She had two brothers, who died early, and a blind sister, whom she took with her when she went to live in a family tomb after the death of both her parents.

The *Vita*, which has 113 chapters in Migne's version, can be divided into three parts: 1) the above story of Synkletike's life before she became an ascetic, 2) her teaching period, which can be compared to St Anthony's teaching monologue, and 3) the description of the author of her sufferings and death.

The second part is the longest, with 81 chapters[8]. This is the part in which Synkletike teaches an audience of women about the life of an ascetic, especially for a woman who wants to be a 'Bride of Christ'. Synkletike uses for her spiritual teachings the terminology which is used by Evagrius Ponticus in his *Praktikos*[9]. In his writings, Evagrius mentions eight *logismoi*, or 'thoughts'. These are: gluttony (γαστριμαργία), fornication (πορνεία), love of money (φιλαργυρία), grief (λυπή), indifference (ἀκηδεία), vanity (κενοδοξία), and arrogance (ὑπερηφανία).

Before Evagrius, lists of these 'thoughts' may have already existed, but Evagrius has arranged them in his writings: these *logismoi* are set in a par-

[6] On this error and concerning the Escorial manuscript tradition, Gregorio de Andrés has written an important article: 'Historia del texto griego Escurialense (θ.IV.V.30) de la vida de S. Sinclética y sus traducciones latinas' in *Ciudad de Dios*, 178 (1965), pp. 491-511.

[7] French: Odilia Bernard, *Vie de Sainte Synclétique* (Spiritualité Orientale 9; Bellefontaine, 1972). English: E. Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius, The life and activity of the holy and blessed teacher Syncletica' in *Ascetic behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity, a sourcebook*, (ed.) V.L. Wimbush (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Minneapolis, 1990), pp. 265-311. Spanish: Odilia Bernard, *Vida de Santa Syncletica*, palabra de salvacion a una virgen (Burgos, 1979). Modern Greek: A. Kantiotès, Αγία Συγκλήτικη (2nd edition, Athinai, 1989 (first edition: 1958?)). Italian: *Vita di Sincletica ...* tradotta ... da un sacerdote lucchese (Lucca, 1720). Dutch: Annabelle Parker: *Leven en handelingen van de heilige en gelukzalige lerares Synkletike* (Bonheiden, forthcoming).

[8] Beginning with 22, and ending at 103.

[9] A. et C. Guillaumont (eds.), *Évagre le Pontique: Traité Pratique ou le moine* (Sources chrétiennes, 171; Paris, 1971).

ticular order: first the more external 'thoughts' are treated, then the more 'internal'. For instance, according to Synkletike, the beginner has to master first: fornication (πορνεία), gluttony (γαστριμαργία), and love of pleasure (φιληδονία). Then for the advanced, there are: greed (πλεονεζία), love of money (φιλαργυρία), indifference (ἀκηδεία), and disobedience (παρακοή). The next, arrogance (ὑπερηφανία) is for the more advanced, whereas the four *logismoi* anger (θυμός), rancour (μνησικακία), backbiting (καταλαλία) and determinism (εἱμαρμένη) are very dangerous when neglected. In chapter 49 of the *Vita Syncleticae* the author puts it this way:

'But what are his first steps? Clearly, gluttony, love of pleasure, fornication. For these spirits come together mostly in youthful years. Love of money follows after them, then covetousness, and the things like them. Therefore the struggling soul, when it prevails over these passions, when it governs the stomach, constrains completely sexual pleasure by means of chastity, and looks disdainfully at money; then the malignant one, perplexed, attacks the soul from all sides through undisciplined movement. For he increases the soul's magnitude by indecently elevating it against its sisters'[10].

As can be seen, the *Vita Syncleticae* has added some *logismoi* to Evagrius' list. There are three principal sins though, 'from which all evil descends', according to Synkletike: desire, pleasure, grief. In Caput 96, we read:

'These depend one upon the other, and one follows from the other; one may be able in a measure to govern over pleasure, but one cannot govern over desire. For the one is fulfilled by pleasure through the body; the other begins from the soul. But grief is furnished out of both of these. Therefore do not allow desire to operate, and the rest you will disperse. But if you allow the first to emerge, it is spead toward the second, they will make a circle of retribution toward themselves, and in no way will it allow the soul to recover. For it is written (Sir. 25, 25): "do not give water a way out"'[11].

Of course Synkletike stresses the use of virtues to fight the sinful 'thoughts'. The most important virtues for Synkletike are humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη) and unpossessiveness (ἀκτημοσύνη).

Finally, in the third part of the *Vita Syncleticae*, the author takes over the discourse again, and he or she describes in detail the illnesses that befall Synkletike, until she dies at the age of 84. In this part the only miracle in the whole *Vita* appears: Synkletike predicts the exact day and hour of her death.

3. The use of the *Vita Syncleticae* in other sources

In the Verba Seniorum, the sixth-century Latin collection of Sayings, compiled by Pelagius the Dean and John the Subdean[12] there are eleven chapters in

[10] Translation from E.A. Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius ...' (see note 7 for full title), p. 287.
[11] Translation of E.A. Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius ...', p. 304.
[12] J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. 73, col. 855-933.

which Synkletike's sayings appear. Her sayings appear also in Greek versions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*[13]. If we add up Synkletike's sayings in both collections, there are in total 26 sayings to be found in the printed editions which have been in use up to now and perhaps there are more sayings to be found in manuscripts that have not yet been studied. The most important difference between Synkletike's *Vita* and her sayings in the *Apophthegmata*-collection edited by Migne is that in her *Vita* the female form of the *participium* is used (because of her female audience), whereas in the *Apophthegmata* it has been written down in the male form; for example in chapter 100 we read οὖσαι, whereas in *Apophthegma* 16, the same passage occurs, using ὄντες. One saying, the eleventh in the Greek collection according to Migne, is not derived from the *Vita Syncleticae*, but from sixth-century *Adhortatio ad monachos*, written by Hyperechius[14].

The most problematic question concerning Synkletike's *Vita* and the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is that of origin: were Synkletike's sayings derived from her *Vita*, or was her *Vita* constructed around the sayings? I have not yet found an answer to this question, but I hope to find the solution in the course of my research, and hopefully once Synkletikes's sayings have been edited.

Finally, a short word on the appearance of Synkletike in the tenth-century monastic compilation of the Evergetis-monastery at Constantinople, the *Synagoge*[15]. In this florilegium, which consists of four books, and has not yet been critically edited, Synkletike's *Vita* is frequently cited: I have found about 45 of the 113 chapters in the four books. Some chapters have been rearranged or are mentioned by only one sentence, so that I cannot exactly give the number. Still, if about forty per cent of the *Vita Syncleticae* has been used, it has proved to be an important text for the monastic community in eleventh-century Constantinople. Once a critical edition of the *Vita* has been established, it will be easier to trace back the sources of the *Synagoge* of Paul of Evergetis.

13 J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, t. 65, col. 72-440.

14 J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, t. 79, col. 1480d.

15 See for the Evergetis-monastery: *The Theotokos* **Evergetis and eleventh-century** *monasticism*, ed. M.E. Mullett and A.J. Kirby, (Belfast, 1994).

Macarius and Diadochus: An Essay in Comparison

Marcus PLESTED, Oxford

Very little is known of the life and circumstances of Diadochus, simply that he was bishop of Photice in Epirus in 457, and had taken up his see some time after the Council of Chalcedon. He was dead by 486[1]. Rather more, however, is known of his inner life. His *Hundred Gnostic Chapters*, *Sermon on the Ascension* and *Vision* have left us ample testimony as to his mystical theology. Diadochus is now generally presented as a brilliant synthesiser of the more or less divergent spiritual traditions associated with Evagrius and pseudo-Macarius respectively. This model of synthesis has some value but must be treated with caution if were are to avoid setting up too sharp a dichotomy between these two 'currents' of sprituality, the one centred on the νοῦς, the other on the καρδία. I intend in this communication to present a brief summary of the debt of Diadochus to Macarius and Evagrius and then to suggest a slightly different way of looking at this three-cornered relationship.

From Evagrius Diadochus has the literary form and indeed title of his main work, the *Hundred Gnostic Chapters*. The chapters of Diadochus are, however, less concise than those of Evagrius, Diadochus follows Evagrius (*Praktikos* 81) in treating ἀγάπη as the fruit of ἀπάθεια in Chapter 17, whilst in Chapter 89 he implies that love produces dispassion, the reverse process to that in Evagrius and closer to that found in Macarius. Diadochus does not take up the schema of Evagrius distinguishing the stages of the spiritual life (πρακτική, φυσική, θεολογία), yet does use 'theology' in an Evagrian sense, to mean knowledge or contemplation of God (*Chapters* 7.66.67.72). The reference to the vision of the light of the intellect in prayer (*Chapers* 40.59) is certainly more Evagrian than Macarian (see *Praktikos* 64). Macarius does not rule out this possibiity (II, 7, 5-6)[2], yet prefers to speak of the light witnessed in prayer as divine[3]. The

[1] For a good general treatment of Diadochus, see Kallistos Ware, 'The Jesus Prayer in Diadochus of Photice', in *Aksum-Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain*, (Athens, 1985). I am deeply indebted to this work in what follows. See also the introduction of É. des Places to his edition of Diadochus' works (SC 5, 2nd. ed; Paris, 1955).

[2] Note on references to works of Macarius: I = *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694(B)* ed. Berthold. II = *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios* edd. Dörries, Klosterman, Kroeger. III = *Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon aus Typus III* edd. Klostermann and Berthold.

[3] 'The perfect mystery of the Christian faith (...) is the effulgence of celestial light in the vision and power of the Spirit. (...) The effulgence of the Holy Spirit is not merely some kind of revelation on the level of conceptual images, or merely an illumination of grace. It is the true and unceasing effulgence of God's own light in the soul'. (I, 58, 11; 2,1).

stress placed by Diadochus on the role of the νοῦς is not necessarily a sign of Evagrian influence since, as I intend to indicate, the νοῦς is quite as much at home in Macarian as in Evagrian spirituality. Diadochus takes the theme of undistracted prayer much further than Macarius, most noticeably in the non-iconic prayer of *Chapters* 59. Diadochus does not, however, mention the 'naked intellect' of Evagrius, indeed, he appears suspicious of the dangers of the pursuit of pure intellection (*Chapters* 58-59). In sum the influence of Evagrius is important, but not perhaps quite so extensive as is often supposed.

The debt of Diadochus to Macarius is very apparent, most noticeably in his treatment of man as a body-soul unity centred upon the heart. The dimension of the heart contributes the 'affective' strain in Diadochus[4]. Diadochus speaks constantly of the feeling, awareness, taste and perception of grace:

Our one purpose must be to reach the point when we perceive the love of God fully and consciously in our heart — that is 'with all your heart (...) and with all your soul and with all your mind'. (*Chapers* 40).

Diadochus is an experiential theologian, speaking of πεῖρα upwards of twenty times in the *Chapters*. He holds that the experience of God is a necessary precondition for discourse about Him; in *Chapters* 7 he writes, 'nothing is so destitute as a mind philosophising about God when it is without him'. This approach is substantially that of Macarius (cf I, 16, 3, 1-4). Diadochus would seem to follow Macarius in his treatment of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and of the spiritual sense(s):

For unless (the) divinity (of the Holy Spirit) actively illumines the inner shrine of the heart, we shall not be able to taste God's goodness with the spiritual faculty undivided. (*Chapters* 29).

Diadochus speaks in terms reminiscent of Macarius of the 'sweetness' of grace (*Chapters* 15-63 and others), of the soul as 'drunk' with love (*Chapters* 8), of spiritual warmth (*Chapters* 59-74 and others). Of the innumerable examples of this affective-experiential strain the most significant are the eight usages of the Macarian-Messalian phrase 'ἐν πάσῃ αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ' (*Chapters* 40.44.68.90(twice).91.94.95).

Diadochus corrects Macarius on only one major point, that of the co-existence of sin and grace in the soul:

There are some who allege that the power of grace and the power of sin are present simultaneously in the hearts of the faithful; and to support this they quote the Evangelist who says: 'And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth

[4] This strain merits him a standing alongside Macarius and Hesychius of Batos in Antoine Guillaumont's 'Cor et cordis affectus', *DS* 3, cols. 2281-88.

is not' (John 1.5). In this way they try to justify their view that the divine radiance is in no way defiled by its contact with the devil, no matter how close the divine light in the soul may be to the darkness. (*Chapters* 80; cf. 78)[5].

Macarius uses this passage of St. John to justify the co-existence of sin and grace in man, 'the two ordinances of light and darkness acting upon the same heart'[6]. Here he may be correcting the idiosyncratic conception of *ἀπάθεια* as impeccability alleged of the Messalians in his assertion that there is no respite to spiritual struggle in this life. Diadochus does not accept the co-habitation of sin and grace in the soul, and replies that after baptism the intellect remains inviolate, that grace dwells within man, while evil acts upon him from outside (*Chapters* 76ff). Diadochus does allow for the continued 'duality of will (τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς θελήσεως)' following baptism, yet insists that evil thoughts work from the outside and are permitted only so as to allow man to progress in virtue (*Chapters* 78). Diadochus is not here attacking the Messalian understanding of ἀπάθεια as such, but rather correcting the potentially unfortunate implications of the vigorous demonstration of the continued spiritual struggle made by Macarius. It is not so much a refutation but a revision of what is already a criticism of a Messalian position in Macarius.

The tendency I wish to avoid when dealing with the debt of Diadochus to his immediate predecessors is one which too sharply opposes Evagrian and Macarian spirituality and presents Diadochus as an amalgam of the two. Such a tendency is apparent in Fr. Irenée Hausherr's influential article, 'Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale' in which he contrasted the 'spiritualité intellectualiste' of Evagrius and the 'école du sentiment ou de surnaturel conscient' associated with Macarius[7]. The schema is attractively neat, yet represents an over-simplification of the Eastern Christian spiritual tradition. It reads in a head-heart distinction where no such distinction is evident[8]. To be fair, Hausherr did go on to admit that his schema of the currents of Eastern spiritu-

[5] Diadochus takes the 'comprehendeth' in an epistemological sense. This interpretation is also found in Macarius I,2,3,10.

[6] 'καὶ τὰ δύο πολιτεύματα εἰς μίαν ἐνεργεῖ καρδίαν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ σκότους' (II, 17, 4, lines 62-63).

[7] In *OCP* 1 (1935), pp. 114-138. In another article in the same volume, 'L'erreur fondamentale et la logique du Messalianisme', pp. 328-60, Hausherr went on to designate the equation of the presence of grace with the sense thereof as the fundamental error of Messalianism and to suggest that 'the great spiritual heresy of the Christian East is Messalianism'. His argument as to the logic of Messalianism goes beyond our evidence as to the exact nature of the amorphous Messalian tendency.

[8] Behind it lies what I take to be a medieval distinction between intellective and affective mysticisms witnessed in St. Bernard's comment that: 'there are two kinds of contemplation, one seated in the intellect, the other in the heart's disposition, the one is accompanied by light, the other by warmth, the one consists in perception, the other in devotion'. *On the Song of Songs*, 49 (PL 183:1018) quoted by Sebastian Brock, 'The Prayer of the Heart in the Syriac Tradition', in *Sobornost* 4:2.

ality is simply a working tool, one has to add the facts, this would be 'une autre conférence à faire, plus intéressante sans doute que le schématisme trop abstrait que vous venez d'entendre'. If we are to use a schema at all, that of Vladimir Lossky is arguably more illuminating. Lossky pointed out two main deviations:

the intellectualism of Evagrius with its source in Origen and the latter's Platonic spiritualism, and the Messalians' sensual experience of God (...) Between the two there is the mysticism of affection, of grace that is felt, experienced, the mysticism of the 'Spiritual Homilies' attributed to St. Macarius, and the doctrine of contemplation of St. Diadochus of Photice, more sober than that of Macarius, suspicious of all sensible depiction, but alien to the intellectualism of Evagrius[9].

Lossky's approach gives a slightly one-sided picture of Evagrius and tends to minimise Evagrian impact on Diadochus. The schema, like that of Hausherr, puts undue confidence in its categorisation of distinct currents of spirituality. Nevertheless, the location of the affective mysticism of Macarius and Diadochus between Evagrian 'intellectualism' and Messalian 'materialism' is worth consideration. If one is to oppose 'materialism' and 'intellectualism' at all, it is surely more just to oppose Evagrius and the Messalians rather than Evagrius and Macarius, since Macarius contains both 'intellectualist' and 'materialist' elements. Lossky's schema is perhaps less inadequate than most. The purpose of this communication is not, however, so much to refute or uphold any particular schema, but to suggest tentatively that the opposition between Evagrius and Macarius may, to some extent, be more apparent than real.

The contrast between Evagrius and Macarius is certainly valid in many respects. Evagrius is an Origenist and a sophisticated philosopher in his own right; Macarius a product of the vivid and emotive world of Syrian asceticism. Against the cycle of rest-movement-return of Evagrius, we have in Macarius far more clearly the linear, historical drama of Fall and redemption. Against the 'naked intellect' of Evagrius we have a wealth of colour and imagery. Finally, against an anthropology that treats man as primarily intellect, we have one that treats him as a unity of body and soul. It would seem natural to contrast the Hellenic intellect of Evagrius with the Semitic heart of Macarius. This contrast must, however, be modified, in particular by an appreciation of the 'intellectualist' elements in Macarius.

The highest faculty of the soul in Macarius' understanding is the intellect, which 'governs and reigns' over the bodily organism through the medium of the heart. The bipartite and materialist impression Macarius gives of his anthropology in certain parts of his work, most noticeably in Collection II, is balanced by the virtually tripartite and immaterial treatment given elsewhere in

[9] *The Vision of God* (London, 1963), p. 114.

the main collections. It is conceivable that Collection II deliberately tones down this more intellectualist, more 'Evagrian' aspect of Macarian anthropology.

Macarius treats the νοῦς as the highest faculty of the soul which 'governs and reigns' over the whole bodily organism through the medium of the heart[10]. The νοῦς is given great freedom in the Macarian writings; there is no indication that its role within in the heart implies a material restriction upon its activity:

Let no-one suppose that the soul is some small thing, seeing that she dwells in a small body and is entirely within that body. For she is in the body, yet also outside of the body is frame of mind (φρονήματι) and in thoughts (...) the soul has her seat here, but she is elsewhere by intellect (νῷ) and by mind (διανοίᾳ), in far countries, (III, 26, 4, III; 15, 5, 5; cf. III, 18, 2, 1).

Macarius' 'mystique du cœur' in fact contains a form of spirituality that allows for the direct apprehension by the νοῦς of divine realities, without apparent reference to the body. The intellectual-immaterial element in Macarius may have been employed as a deliberate corrective to the crudely sensory understanding of spiritual experience alleged of the Messalians. This element indicates the presence in Macarius of a diffused philosophical culture of Platonic and arguably Origenistic colouring. It allows him to speak of the Fall as forgetfulness, as the loss of the 'immaterial and deathless organs of perception' (I, 58, 2, 6) and as the blinding of the intellect (III, 20, 2, 1). It informs his understanding of perfection as the gathering of the dispersed and multiple thoughts of the soul by the 'wings' of the Spirit 'εἰς ἕνα λογισμὸν ἔνθεον' (III, 18, 2, 2;), and as an ascent from materiality to 'co-mingle with unoriginate intellect' (ἀνάρχῳ νοΐ) (I, 3, 6, 1)[11].

The delicate balance of Macarian anthropology, however, prevents him from lapsing into a rarified intellectualism. His insight into the place of the heart allows him to speak of the 'warming' of the intellect, through prayer the intellect is brought before the Lord in 'unutterable love' (*GL* 269, 3). Similarly:

[10] Note that the image of God in man is located in the soul (III, 26, 4, 4), the 'intellectual substance' (τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσίας) of man (II, 15, 22). Macarius goes on to identify the image with the free will (II, 15, 23) (the will being one of the four 'ruling faculties' of the soul see II, 1, 3) and with the virtues (III, 26, 7, 2). It should be remembered that for Macarius the soul is a 'subtle body', hence the image is 'placed in the body of the soul' (III, 18, 2, 1). The body, being an image of the soul may be considered as the image of the image of God, an icon of an icon (cf. III, 26, 4, 4).

[11] It will be noticed that, while this element is present in Collection II, it is clearer in material drawn from the other main collections. Considering that Collection II bears the most apparent indications of re-working (i.e. the closing doxologies and homily format), it may be that Collections I, III, and IV are fuller reflections of the broad scope of Macarian teaching.

> There are times when, simply after kneeling down, we find our heart filled with divine energy and our soul delights in the Lord as a bride with the bridegroom (...) A man may be occupied throughout the day, and devote himself for but a single hour, and still be carried away inwardly by it, entering into the infinite depths of the other world. He experiences then an ineffable and measureless delight; his intellect wholly suspended and ravished, is overwhelmed (...) In that hour his soul through prayer becomes one with his prayer and is carried away with it. (I, 4, 8)

Furthermore, the heart is not given over entirely to the emotions and affections, 'ἔχουσα τὸν νοῦν κυβερνήτην, τὴν συνείδησιν ἐλέγχουσαν' (II, 15, 33). The intellect is warmed by the heart, and the heart governed by the intellect. Such is, in a nutshell, the essence of Macarian anthropology.

This insight into the complementarity of heart and intellect in Macarius should warn us against presenting Diadochus' work as an eclectic combination of divergent spiritual traditions. In this light we might argue not only that the gap between Macarius and Evagrius must be narrowed, but also that the Diadochan synthesis is a continuation and refinement of that present in germ in Macarius.

Orthodoxy and the Coenobite

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We have not yet adequately answered, it seems to me, two fundamental questions about the history of early monasticism: what were the origins of organized Christian asceticism; and why did it develop along the lines it did? I shall take here the opportunity, among other things, to revisit some of my own attempts to answer those questions. I still believe that, if we are to be realistic, the second question must include inquiry as to why asceticism developed in a coenobitic way. It is important to recognise at once, however, the ease with which the two questions can become confused. There is no *a priori* reason to suggest non-coenobitic origins and then single-track development in a contrastingly coenobitic direction. I confess to having carelessly encouraged that belief myself; and, knowing as I do the direction in which this paper is about to proceed, I suspect that it may be useful to quote in my own defence what still seems to me my sufficiently measured qualifications: 'It is unrealistic to suggest ... that Antony represented an earlier eremitic tradition, doomed to fail, handing on the torch in the nick of time to younger coenobitic pioneers. Antony and Pachomius had many common roots'[1]. And when I wrote of 'a development ... away from the solitary towards the coenobitic life', I was referring to accumulating choices among what were nevertheless enduring altematives[2].

So there are certain misconceptions we can exclude promptly. First, while it may be true that there were eventually more coenobites than hermits, one cannot assume that particular groups or institutions developed from an eremitic to a coenobitic form. Second, we are not obliged to believe, of course, that coenobitism was, by contrast, the original pattern, from which hermits either deviated

[1] *Ascetics, Authority and the Church* (Oxford, 1978), p. 34; see also p. 22. Graham Gould writes of 'simplistic attempts to see in the monastic movement a rejection of human contacts ... perhaps superseded, at a later date, by a rueful admission that community was an unavoidable necessity after all', *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford, 1993), p. 184. My heading, 'From Hermit to Coenobite', did not help, p. 33, although I followed a distinguished lead: H. Bacht, 'Antonius und Pachomius. Von der Anachorese zum Zönobitentum', *Studia Anselmiana* XXXVIII (1956): 66-107. Yet I opposed 'simplistic attempts' in precisely the terms Gould proceeds to recommend; and I have repeated the judgement in several places.

[2] *Ascetics*, p. 3. My more recent summaries may be clearer: e.g. 'Christian Asceticism and the Early Monks', in *Early Christianity. Origins and Evolution*, ed. Ian Hazlett (London, 1991), pp. 112-22.

and declined or, in rare instances, advanced to greater perfection[3]. Both suggestions were made at the time, but only in texts with a clearly propagandist interest. Famous instances occur in the Pachomian material, especially where a relation to Antony was being discussed — Antony exemplifying an eremitic style, Pachomius the more desirable pioneer of community life, 'a model for all those who wish to assemble souls in God'[4]. Such anecdotes could have fed only on the notion that coenobitism had not been available in Antony's younger years, but that it was regarded by him later as the now preferable option[5]. The declaration is deceitful; and it should be emphasized that the eventual 'triumph' of coenobitism, about which I do not see, nevertheless, that we need harbour doubts, did not exclude or override the practice of asceticism in less structured forms.

However, even when we make such reservations, little is solved. If coenobitism did 'triumph', albeit in less rigid and less all-embracing forms than some texts might suggest, one still needs to ask why. There are two ways of approaching this issue. One may ask whether there was a shift of emphasis among ascetics themselves — an internal development, in other words, springing from their reflection on the nature of the ascetic life as such. Alternatively, one could investigate to what extent changes — that is to say, increasingly coenobitic developments — were imposed from outside. Obviously, the first approach becomes easily embroiled in the difficulties we have just mentioned: any declaration of principle in a text might have to be unmasked as a species of wisdom before the event. The second approach may gain more encouragement from the surprising speed, for example, with which the imperial government itself was ready to intrude into 'monastic' affairs. There is the famous *volte-face* of A.D. 390 and 392: at one moment monks were to be dismissed to *deserta loca et vastas solitudines*; at another they were to be restored to the *civitates* and *oppida* once again[6]. That particular change of heart probably reflected most of all anxiety about the fulfilment of municipal responsibilities. More telling was the demand, in A.D. 398, that bishops should accept responsibility for the behaviour of *monachi*[7]. The thrust of this decree — scarcely

[3] As Cassian insisted, *Con.* XVIII. 5f., adumbrated in *Inst.* praef. 8, I. 2, VII. 18, but modified in *Con.* XIX. 2f., as discussed in *Ascetics*, pp. 180f. For recent reflections of interest, see Sidney H. Griffith, 'Julian of Saba, "Father of the Monks" of Syria', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* II (1994), pp. 185-216.

[4] *Vita prima* 136, trans. Amand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* III (Kalamazoo, 1980), p. 395. The corresponding chapter in the Bohairic *Life* is 134; see also 126f., 133, and *Vita prima* 120 (more ambiguous than Gould suggests, *Desert Fathers*, p. 15 and n. 57).

[5] Sound deconstruction is presented by James E. Goehring, 'The Origins of Monasticism', in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Gohei Hata (Detroit, 1992), pp. 235-55.

[6] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. iii. 1 and 2, ed. Mommsen, p. 853. Other 'monastic' references are listed in Jones, *LRE* II (1973): 1389 n. 160.

[7] *Cod. Theod.* IX. xl. 16. Note the threatening tone: *ad episcoporum sane culpam ut cetera redundabit*, ed. Mommsen, p. 504.

trusting of the bishops themselves — makes us wonder also how enthusiastic they would have been to share in the government's concern (although by the time of the Council of Chalcedon they were more willing collaborators): were they supposed to be tolerating, encouraging, or controlling ascetic enterprises — for the three responses differ considerably one from another. Whatever the case, the 'outside world' was visibly taking a forceful interest.

A couple of recent publications can be used to illustrate the two approaches very usefully: Graham Gould's *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*[8], and Susanna Elm's *Virgins of God*[9]. Dr Gould's main point is that personal relations and structural experiments were governed by what ascetics themselves thought desirable — by an internal ideal, in other words; in this case, the 'common life' in some sense. The argument acquires all the more irony, entirely deliberate, from his concentrating on figures at first sight, or by common supposition, more individualistic: namely, the heroes of the *Apophthegmata patrum*, whom he passionately presents as champions of a corporate philosophy. The boldness of the exposition, which includes many shrewd assessments, does founder, I think, on specifically historical considerations; and I say this with some reserve, because Dr Gould provides, nevertheless, a very detailed account of *milieu* and compilation[10]. Historians will be less inclined, however, to take at face value, or as a single unit, the 'teaching', the 'outlook', the 'overall unity' of so conglomerate a text: for the collection is not only tendentious but tendentious in a variety of causes; such unity as it possesses is often a conceit, which very thinly disguises the patchy nature of its own development[11].

It would be dangerous, in other words, to base upon a reading of the *Apophthegmata* the existence of a stable and long-lasting belief among ascetics of northern Egypt in one distinguishable ideal, communal or otherwise. Dr Gould was prepared to take that risk precisely because he wanted to avoid the notion that the coenobitic life developed *out of* the eremitic: for here it was among supposed 'hermits' that community ideals flourished. I do not think, as I say,

[8] See n. 1.

[9] Susanna Elm, *'Virgins of God'. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994).

[10] The forthcoming edition by Chiara Faraggiana, adumbrated in her address to this seminar, will provide us with even more vivid and detailed information.

[11] For Gould, the *Apophthegmata* represent 'a tradition of monastic life . . . conscious of its own identity' rather than 'the idealizations or the assumptions of a later generation', *Desert Fathers*, pp. v, vi, 4, 13. The adoption of literary forms does not in itself represent a redefinition of social structures; but Gould has to face up to a fading of that tradition, a reinterpretation, p. 14 n. 54, p. 95, admitting conflict and variety, pp. 109f., 140. Eventually he qualifies his own assertions, acknowledging 'elements of contradiction which cannot in the end be reduced to harmony', p. 183. Yet his preference is clear: he finds a 'highly developed discussion' of 'personal relationships' a 'more interesting discovery than . . . the possibility that the views and practices of the community changed over time' or that 'the attitudes of individuals differed widely', p. 184. One regrets that he never fully explains why.

that anyone could reasonably argue to the contrary[12]. There is no doubt that many of the northern fathers and the later exiles from Egypt in Palestine did value social harmony and concern for others more than we have sometimes credited; and Dr Gould's book does much to reinforce that entirely justified impression. Yet the thrust of a desire for 'monastic community' could take a variety of forms. We should not underestimate change as such, even within the period covered by this very collection, nor suppose that 'community life' could not take more distinct and lasting forms elsewhere, which would, moreover, judge more critically the standards of the *Apophthegmata* themselves.

So even the positive and substantial components of Dr Gould's analysis suggest that, where we find an idealization of communal values, we can often detect an artificial suspension of historical development, which already takes for granted the superiority and dominance of one ascetic mode over others. To suppose that that idealization itself — which we could regard as an 'internal' factor — had carried the historical development to the point described in the text is to mistake propaganda for reality, or at least to hasten in the assumption that expectations had been fulfilled on their own terms.

Susanna Elm adopts much more the historian's stance; and her subtitle — 'the making of asceticism in late antiquity' — proclaims her intention to describe and explain development. She appeals to both 'mechanisms' and 'alliances' — in other words, to internal and external factors[13]. Development, for her, moves, generally speaking, from a domestic or household setting to institutions of a predominantly coenobitic character. More precisely, that development provided what she calls a 'benchmark' or 'blueprint' of ascetic practice, which 'served ... to facilitate the exclusion and marginalization of other forms of ascetic life'[14]. This exclusion became even more specific. Where theological argument was concerned, she says, 'monasticism became one of the principal tools that could be marshalled to legitimize one's own and dismantle one's opponent's doctrinal position'[15]: so it was in the cause of sound doctrine that 'movements and forms of ascetic practice that did not', as she puts it, 'fit the ideal ... were deemed heretical'[16]. The gathering emphasis

[12] Which means that some of Gould's own judgements remain open to debate. Anoub 1 and Poemen 168, for example, continue to present challenging problems. Gould's treatment of the first, *Desert Falthers*, p. 136, is close to my own, *Ascetics*, pp. 52f., but avoids the 'coenobitic' conclusion. Poemen's definition of making 'hidden progress in a cell (τὸ δὲ ἐν κρυπτῷ προκόπτειν)' ends with communual emphases — συνοδίαν καλὴν κτῆσαι (*PG* LXV. 361CD). Gould's finely expressed conclusion makes the necessary point: 'What these ... sayings are, in effect, doing is mapping out a path by which such apparently isolationist, anti-communal ideas as "exile" and "silence" may be transformed into essentially social, relational ones', *Desert Fathers*, p. 163; cp. my *Ascetics*, pp. 48f.

[13] *Virgins*, p. 369.

[14] *Virgins*, p. 161.

[15] *Virgins*, p. 2.

[16] *Virgins*, p. 371.

on coenobitic values is fitted into that scenario: 'One model which exemplifies the reconstruction of processes obscured after the fact by a skilfil construction and arrangement of events employing notions of orthodox and heretical, is the communal ascetic life ... in all its recognizable forms'[17].

This is only part of Dr Elm's story, in a book containing many other vivid and convincing hypotheses; but it alerts us to exciting possibilities, even before we assess the security of her descriptions of development — in particular, the continuities she relies on (from household to monastery) and her distinguishing categories of circumstance and behaviour (urban and rural, clerical and lay). What is left unresolved is, so to speak, the issue of initiative: was it the ascetics themselves who were deploying theology in the interests of ascetic style, or were ascetic styles being imposed upon them by the arbiters of theological propriety? Once again, are we dealing predominantly with an internal or an external factor?

Let us agree, for the moment, to explore the possibility that a growing preference for the coenobitic life was a strategy adopted by its own advocates, in order to protect themselves against accusations of heresy in a fourth-century climate of notorious antagonisms[18]. One does not have to restrict oneself here to the formal controversies of the age — those surrounding Arius, Origen, or Pelagius. Accusations at once broader and less easily defined were seen as the greater and more immediate threat — hatred of the body, a natural sense of moral self-sufficiency, a belief in gradual but uninterrupted divinisation, reliance on example and imitation at the expense of a sacramental economy: all potentially 'dangerous' propositions. There was additional anxiety over the appropriate possession, increment and distribution of material wealth. Misgivings in all such matters were endemic over a long period in late antiquity. Debate about the teachings of Origen, Mani, Arius, Priscillian, or Pelagius served only to focus both understanding and resentment in specific circumstances.

Think of heresy in the fourth century, and think of Epiphanius: sure enough, there is more than a little in his writings that nourish our inquiry[19]. He was clearly anxious about supposedly heretical developments that involved ascetics: characteristically, he thought, asceticism, wrongly indulged, would foster disrespect for the clergy, a mixing of the sexes, and a rootless régime. The tradition went back in his eyes to Marcion, is usefully summed up in his treatment of the 'Encratites', and was closely connected

17 *Virgins*, p. 184.

18 Virginia Burrus talks about the 'social space' provided by coenobitic monasticism, within which ascetics were able to keep their critics at bay, *The Making of a Heretic* (Berkeley, California, 1995), p. 152. Gould provides useful instances of anxiety — in Amoun of Nitria 2 (*Desert Fathers*, pp. 80f.) and Theodore of Pherme 4 (p. 93), with other examples on p. 117 and n. 49.

19 For a full analysis, see Aline Pourkier, *L'Hérésiologie chez Epiphane de Salamine* (Paris, 1992).

with his mistrust of gnosticism and dualism[20]. It was looseness of structure above all that invited his dismay. The freelance Paphnutius, for all his sanctity, was inevitably exposed to risk; and his innocence beguiled him into supporting Arius and the Meletians[21]. By contrast, Epiphanius found it hard to fault the suspect Audius and his companions, living as they did 'in monasteries (ἐν μοναστηρίοις)', whether 'in deserts (ἐν ἐρημίαις)' or 'in suburbs, and wherever they have their residences, or "folds" (τὰς ἑαυτῶν μονὰς ἤτοι μάνδρας ἔχουσιν)'[22]. Aërius, on the other hand, the former associate of Eustathius of Sebaste, rejected his mentor's urban and pastoral concerns, wandered off into the countryside with women, and thus proved himself no longer a real monk[23].

The crucial passage, as has long been recognised, concerns the Messalians[24]. Even though in their case men and women associated together and did not live in monasteries, they were sufficiently an ascetic group to make them, like Audius, hard to attack[25]. They compelled Epiphanius to outline in a more precise and detailed way what he would accept, by contrast, as 'the full measure of the Christian way of life (τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείας)' — namely, renunciation of the world, sale of possessions in favour of the poor, not eating at the 'wrong times', and above all hard work, all undertaken, to use his own phrase 'just as . . . in every monastery (καθῶς καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ μοναστηρίῳ'[26]. The climax of the passage is splendid, and worth quoting in full.

[20] See especially, therefore, *Panarion* XLVII, in *Epiphanius*, III (*Panarion* LXV-LXXX), 1st edn. Karl Holl; 2nd edn. Jürgen Dummer (GCS XXXVII; Berlin, 1985). Eng. trans.: *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, trans. Frank Williams. 2 vols (Nag Hammadi Studies, XXXV and XXXVI; Leiden, 1987).

[21] *Pan.* LXVIII. v. 2 — vi. 4. Arius himself, according to Epiphanius, dressed up as a monk — ἡμιφόριον γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀεὶ καὶ κολοβίωνα ἐνδιδυσκόμενος, ed. Holl/Dummer, p. 154 — and patronized seven hundred virgins, LXIX. iii. 1f. *Ep. Ammon* 2 sees a theologically wayward monk sent for his own good to a Pachomian community (albeit in a Pachomian text!): see Goehring, 'Origins', p. 241. But compare the cautious skill of Pachomians generally, Bohairic *Life* 129: here Antony is made to praise, once more, the calculations of coenobites.

[22] *Pan.* LXX. i. 1, ed. Holl/Dummer, p. 232f., trans. Williams, II: 402-3.

[23] *Pan.* LXXV. i. 1f., iii. 1f.: καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀποτακτικὸν ἐσχήκασιν οὗτοι τρόπον, οὐκ ἤσκηται παρ' αὐτοῖς, ed. Holl/Dummer, p. 335. He was opposed not only to a separate priesthood but to all legalism.

[24] See Jean Gribomont, 'Le Monachisme au IV[e] siècle en Asie Mineure: De Gangres au Messalianisme', in *Studia patristica* II, edited by B. Aland and F.L. Cross, pp. 400-415. Reprinted in his *Saint Basile. Évangile et église. Mélanges*, I (Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1984): 26-41.

[25] *Pan.* LXXX. iii. 4 and 7. I detected later a parallel anxiety and disappointment in Epiphanius's treatment of Origen, as examined by Rebecca Lyman in her contribution, 'The Making of a Heretic. The Life of Origen in Epiphanius'. Origen was seen by Epiphanius as an ascetic and, in Professor Lyman's words, 'a symbol of unstable orthodoxy', illustrating 'the more frightening internal failure' (*SP* 31. pp. 445-51).

[26] *Pan.* LXXX. iv. 1f., ed. Holl/Dummer, p. 488f. I am not sure that τὸ μέτρον here means 'moderation'; otherwise trans. Williams, II: 631-2.

So also the servants of God who are truly founded on the solid rock of truth and build their house secure, perform their light tasks, each in his own trade, with their own hands. And they recite nearly all of the sacred scripture and keep frequent vigils without tiring or grudging, one in prayer, another in psalmody. They continually hold the assemblies (τὰς συνελεύσεις) that have been set by lawful custom, and spend all their days in the offering of blameless prayers to God, with great humility and woeful lamentation, (at) the hours which come without intermission at their fixed intervals. (And) besides their spiritual work they spend their days in manual labor, so that they will not become needy and fall into human hypocrisies (καὶ εἰς ὑποκρίσεις ἀνθρωπίνας ἐμπέσωσι), no longer able to speak the truth to the impious (οὐκέτι τῷ ἀσεβοῦντι δυνάμενοι τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν)[27].

The virtual equation of Christianity with monasticism is striking enough (though not peculiar to Epiphanius) — particularly the emphasis on working for oneself and for others, on the ordered cycle of prayer, and on a firm attachment to Scripture; but the wish to safeguard an articulate faith signalled a crucial alliance between pastoral responsibility and ascetic order, and affected much of monasticism in the centuries to follow. These comments were made, after all, by a bishop. The bishop's voice would come to dominate ascetic debate much more than has been commonly recognised, at least (in the East) during and after the Monophysite controversy and (in the West) from the mid-fifth century onwards, when bishops and monks were working together to seize upon new opportunities within the emerging barbarian polities. Faced with such eagerness to harness their virtue to the pastoral cause, or to control their behaviour by episcopal supervision, some ascetics, it could be argued, may have drawn themselves together in self-protection, using as a defence the very cohesion that invited interference. Even as early as the late A.D. 320s, Pachomius's ability to melt into the crowd of his own monks, in the face of Athanasius's enthusiastic and proprietorial admiration, is the epitome of such a ploy[28].

That is not quite, however, the hypothesis we started out with. I would be swift to admit, moreover, that theological preoccupations in ascetic texts may reflect later circumstances; may not explain directly, in other words, the situations they appear to describe[29]. We should be particularly cautious about the Pachomian material, because, although no one would now suggest that upper

[27] *Pan.* LXXX. iv. 6, ed. Holl/Dummer, p. 489, trans. Williams, II: 632-3.

[28] *Vita prima* 29f. See the contribution by Professor Barnard, 'Athanasius and the Pachomians', *SP* 32, pp. 3-11. More generally, Pachomius worried that a desire for clerical office within his communities might prompt there the bitter divisions he could see elsewhere in the Church, Bohairic *Life* 25 = *Vita prima* 27 (but see *Ascetics*, pp. 58f.). It was conflict as such, more than this or that error, that caused him concern: see Gould, *Desert Fathers*, p. 118 and n. 50.

[29] 'It may well be that the early Pachomians defined their Christianity in terms of their ascetic practice and not in terms of the books they read', Goehring, 'Origins', p. 247: so 'the literary accounts of Pachomian history are no longer assumed to be an accurate reflection of early Pachomian theological concern', ibid.

Egypt was the *fons et origo* of all coenobitism, we may with justice continue to regard Pachomius as a prime advocate of its encouragement. Caution need not force us, in other words, to set aside completely the biographical material, in which a well armed historian can readily distinguish different levels of reference and *milieu*. Professor Goehring has been particularly stringent in his suspicions, which may leave some of my own judgements out on a limb: 'the picture of Pachomius's originality', he says, 'is ... literary rather than historical'[30]. His compensating attachment to the *Letter of Ammon* was revealed at a time when my own portrait of Pachomius was complete; and there is much in his treatment of the text that any future revision on my own part would have to respect[31]. It is a work I rather loftily ignored (inspired, of course, by Chitty), and it does seem to me to suffer from some of the disadvantages Professor Goehring attributes to the *vitae*, as also from its distance from the Theban *milieu*. In this last respect, the later career of Shenoute serves to warn us how supposed admirers could parody almost to destruction the principles of Pachomius himself.

If we do ignore the biographical material, the common agreement would be that other anecdotes are scattered and indecisive, and that fiscal and archaeological evidence is too late to be helpful in assessing the experience of Pachomius himself[32]. Professor Barnes, who has done more than many to advance our understanding of the *Life of Antony* in recent years, is judicious in his exploration of Pachomian and Manichaean connections *vis-à-vis* the Syriac version of the text; but, in that particular respect, one is tantalized as much as informed: there simply is not enough information to sustain a rounded impression of the communities. His study illustrates, of course, that theological preoccupation was not the prerogative of coenobites. Thus Syriac readers were treated to an 'angel of light' and the tabernacle of the new

[30] 'Origins', p. 245. Elm makes a similar point, but refers more to originality in cast of mind, *Virgins*, p. 304. I am still prepared to put some faith in my *Pachomius* (Berkeley, California, 1985).

[31] James E. Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism* (Berlin, 1985). I regret, however, my failure to take counsel from his article 'Pachomius' Vision of Heresy: the Development of a Pachomian Tradition', *Muséon* XCV (1982), pp. 241-62.

[32] For both possibilities and limitations, see E.A. Judge, 'The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk" (P. Coll. Youtie 77) and the Origins of Monasticism', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* XX (1977), pp. 72-89; and Alanna Emmett, 'Female Ascetics in the Greek Papyri', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* XXXII (1982), pp. 507-15. Texts connected with Nag Hammadi and with the Manichees in Egypt are obscure and unreliable as sources of information about the Pachomian world, although the work of Ludwig Koenen remains crucially informative: A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, 'Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* V (1970), pp. 97-216 (and see also XI (1973): 240f.); and L. Koenen, 'Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten', in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier*, ed. Günter Grimm, Heinz Heinen and Erich Winter (Aegyptiaca Treverensia, Bd II; Mainz: von Zabern, 1983), pp. 93-108.

world, while Greeks could feed on the more palatable tale of a mystic initiate in a desert city[33].

So we need to explore in a slightly different way, and still with due reserve, the possible connections between ascetic developments and theoretical anxiety. I want to concentrate here on Pachomius and Antony, partly in the interests of brevity, but partly because, as will emerge, they have something special to tell us. This is not to deny that specifically theological anxieties are present in the texts. Pachomius, in a famous passage, is made to express horror of Origen; and he was 'tried' for deviance of some sort or other at a synod in Latopolis[34]. Antony, at least in the *Life*, frets now and again at Arians[35]. The question is, how much may we usefully and justifiably relate these 'early' examples — albeit filtered through texts of the later fourth century or beyond — with the several major ascetic figures in the decades that followed, who are presented to us (not necessarily with accuracy) in the context of theological controversy? Basil faces Arians and Eustathius; Priscillian awakens the fear of the gnostic and the Manichee; Martin of Tours combats pseudo-prophets and rustic pagans; Jerome attempts to deny Origen; and Cassian and Augustine spar over Pelagius.

We notice once again the recurrence of the major controversies of the day. Such a precise focus may well have been intended by the authors of the texts concerned — which suggests in itself that much 'ascetic' literature should be regarded as part of a theological corpus, and not as some bran-tub of evidence for social history[36]. Yet beneath the surface there is often something more inchoate and more fundamental, especially in the earliest examples. This is the voice we need to hear: for it is a mistake to suppose that familiar theological formulae and slogans exhausted the anxieties that gave them such lasting vigour. (That would apply no less, of course, to impassioned declarations about acceptable modes of ascetic order.) What, therefore, drove ascetics of the fourth century and beyond to such a polemical pitch?

A great deal has been and could be made out of a concern for obedience. Heresy, after all, was an exercise in self-will, a setting up of one's judgement against the

[33] T.D. Barnes, 'Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the *Life of Antony*', *Journal of Theological Studies* XXXVII (1986), pp. 353-68. For an account of the modern dispute over Athanasian authorship of the *Life* (not necessarily a settled issue), see *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink (Sources chrétiennes, no. 400; Paris, 1994).

[34] Origen: *Vita prima* 31. Latopolis: *Vita prima* 112. Although traces of the latter anecdote can be found in other texts, neither is fully reproduced elsewhere, which hints at a degree of subsequent partisan deliberation. For that tendency more generally, see Goehring, 'Pachomius' Vision'.

[35] See esp. *V. Ant.* 69f. In the Greek text, the preoccupation reflects problems of the late A.D. 350s, not of the years to which the passage ostensibly refers: Barnes, 'Angel of Light', p. 364.

[36] See Neil McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 60-68; Gillian Cloke, *'This Female Man of God'. Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, A.D.* 350-450 (London and New York, 1995), p. 61. Kim Power made a similar point in her unpublished contribution, 'A Garden Enclosed', to be presented shortly in extended form in her doctoral thesis.

opinion and authority of the leaders of the Church. Ascetic values such as humility, docility, and respect were hardly compatible with such dangerous confidence. One needs to be careful, however, not to read back the tidiness of a regular régime like that of Benedict into the more fluid world of the fourth century.

There remains comparable value in focussing on the associated issue of authority. Major studies have recently made it increasingly clear how wide a context we need now to work in, extending well beyond ascetic limits[37]. What we discover most in this period are the opportunities there were to pick among *rival* authorities. It was in this respect that ascetics may have been most in contention with clergy; and if so, it was a struggle they lost. Nevertheless, communities (female as well as male) were able to retain, even after the Council of Chalcedon, a good deal of internal freedom; and to that extent obedient submission to the authority of a rule, or to a superior and associated elders, represented acceptance of a certain *patrocinium*, characteristic of the age: the ascetic in his monastery was akin to the *colonus* on his estate, protected (at a price) from higher beings of doubtful benevolence.

Indeed, it is the wider context of individual/group relationships in the late empire that offers us most aid in understanding what may have been afoot. The idiosyncratic judgement of the heretic, so often linked with secrecy and hypocrisy, was seen in classic terms as a cause of isolation and disharmony[38]. Antony, in the *Life*, questions heretics closely, precisely because it is not immediately apparent what they think. The fear is, of course, that, for that very reason, they could so easily penetrate the orthodox group[39]. Pachomius, criticizing Origen, says that he had 'mingled things he thought plausible with the true words of divine scripture, to the ruination of the ignorant' (this in a passage that advocates respect for bishops)[40]. Epiphanius assails Mani in similar terms: he 'fraudulently combined his own falsehoods with the truth wherever he found the form of a word, or a name, which could show a resemblance to this doctrine. In this way he finally provided confirmation for the sham of his sect'[41].

[37] Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, 1992); Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, California, 1991); Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, California, 1988); Richard Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, California, 1995); and Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1987).

[38] In respect of what immediately follows, I was much stimulated by Jean Pierre Vernant, 'The Individual within the City-State', in *Mortals and Immortals*, ed. Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, 1991), pp. 318-33.

[39] *V. Ant.* 68. Compare the Pachomian anecdote above, in which Antony praises a similar circumspection in others, n. 21.

[40] *Vita prima* 31, trans Veilleux, I: 318 — reading τῶν ἀγνοούντων: see his note, 411. Jerome levelled similar accusations against Rufinus.

[41] *Pan.* LXVI. v. 8, trans. Williams, II: 225.

This preoccupation with disruption and false appearance places ascetic and theological polemic squarely in a political context, in the sense that both the fears and the solutions had already been expressed and deployed in public, secular contexts[42]. We have only to recall the relentless use of civic, familial, and educative vocabulary in ascetic texts to realise fully the connections that were being made — enforcing the ideals and sanctions of the πόλις, the *domus*, and the *schola*. Those were the very arenas in which a great proportion of late Roman men and women were formed, governed, and incited to action. They represented corporate models that could be wielded against any dangerous deviant, and theatres within which sounder citizens achieved their self-definition and their sense of purpose; all of which allows us more readily to appreciate the broad framework within which ascetic advocates of community life were making their special points.

Matters extended further still: for the structural ideals of late Roman society were enforced in the interests of responsibility and freedom — encouraging the one and defining the other. Ascetic writers consistently presented obedience and authority as the guarantees of true liberty. What that meant in practice was the enjoyment of a theatre of assurance, in which the group protected and authenticated individual talent and aspiration[43]. The value of such a system becomes even clearer when we observe the corresponding fears that were thus assuaged — fear of the intrusive alien, of exposure to destructive forces; fear of possession, or of insignificance. Antony, in the *Life*, discourses at length on demons, and above all on their powerlessness: I shall say more about this in a moment. The author of the *Vita prima* reflected on a special gift of Pachomius. 'Before God gives power to the saints', he wrote, harking back to circumstances now thankfully outlived, 'fearful things are fearful and impossible things are impossible'[44]; but now, after the granting of God's power, with Pachomius in full charismatic flight, three disciples (in a separate text) could represent the newer dispensation, praising him accordingly:

> We used to think that all the holy ones were made such by God from their mothers' wombs, holy and unchanging, but in no way their own masters (αὐτεξουσίους); and that sinners were incapable of living a pious life, also created thus. Now, in this our father, we see clearly the goodness of God: although his parents were pagan, he became a devotee of the divine, outstanding in his observance of all God's commandments. So we can all follow him, just as he followed the saints ... and we shall live with this man, for he leads us rightly (ὀρθῶς) towards God[45].

[42] This seems to me in part, at least, the thrust of Burrus' *The Making of a Heretic*. I explore these issues in some detail in my *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, California, 1994), especially in chapters 4, 5, and 8.

[43] A point made by Gould with consistent skill.

[44] *Vita prima* 21, trans. Veilleux, I: 311. This sentence is a reflection of the author of the *Life*; and the passage as a whole is not reproduced in the corresponding chapter of the Bohairic *Life* (98): cp. n. 34 above.

[45] *Apophthegmata patrum*, Psenthaïsius, *PG* LXV. 436D-437A, my trans. In the end, it was

So yet a third writer was assured that Pachomius had become 'the refuge for everyone in danger from the one who has done evil from the beginning'[46] Only when we focus thus on the almost cosmic thrust of Pachomius's healing power (for it was in such terms that it was described[47]) are we able to combine intelligibly his charismatic impact on individual ascetics and his growing attachment to community order: the second nourished what the first conceived.

So the ascetic understanding of community was fostered not simply by an appreciation of obedience or authority for their own sakes but more broadly by a sense that a group, once ordered according to ascetic principles, would deflate self-aggrandizement, expose idiosyncrasy, enforce an honest disclosure of heart and mind, and above all provide protection against evil and arbitrary power. This localised endeavour only mirrored in its special terms the ambitions behind all community-building at that time. The question now is whether calculatedly theological declarations in ascetic texts can be linked consistently to such corporate aspirations, and especially to an espousal of the coenobitic model.

At this point, the later figures we alluded to demand a second glance. Basil, certainly orthodox and certainly ascetic, was chiefly concerned to bring asceticism into the urban arena and to make its vigour contribute to the material needs of the less fortunate. Rejecting his earlier relations with Eustathius of Sebaste, he thus distanced himself from a style of ascetic endeavour more reminiscent of Marcion or Montanus. Yet there are no assured signs that he was interested in coenobitism as such: indeed, as I suggest elsewhere, he was slow to embrace any specific ascetic institution, focussing his attention more on cult and proclamation and on the authenticating impact of ecclesiastical tradition[48].

Priscillian is much easier to link with Epiphanius's anxieties about gnostics, Manichees, and women. For that very reason, we may be dealing with a man less isolated from major Mediterranean developments than Basil in Cappadocia. The pilgrim world, the circles represented by Paulinus of Nola and the secular colleagues of the future emperor Theodosius, the busy traffic between Spain and Gaul, in which ascetic and ecclesiological dispute would contribute to deeper alliances and competitions: all would reward a fuller but above all a more co-ordinated study. Priscillian claimed, after all, to be a bishop; and his particular brand of ascetic enthusiasm seems tellingly conjoined with this wide territorial range and a sophisticated understanding of varying religious traditions.

what Pachomius did that counted, rather than what he said: δρῶντες δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπῶντος τὴν πρᾶξιν λόγον οὖσαν, ἐθαυμάζομεν, 436D. Compare the confidence of Cassian, in the preface to *Con*. I-X: *ea, quae supra facultatem hominis videbantur, non solum possibilia, verum etiam suavissima deprehendet*, ed. Pichery, I: 76.

[46] Bohairic *Life* 127, trans. Veilleux, I: 184—words placed here in the mouth of Antony.

[47] *Vita prima* 120, 130.

[48] See especially my *Basil*, chapter 6. Elm, *Virgins*, pp. 93, 195, is helpful on Eustathius.

Martin of Tours was part of the same world. I am much more struck now than I was twenty years ago by how little a sense one has of a specifically monastic programme in his life. The description of Marmoutier in Sulpicius's biography is very sketchy, in any case; but he seems to have been interested most in the pastoral advantages of the enterprise: the monks study and write, and become bishops! One presumes they were to have been inspired to combat, like Martin himself, the residual paganism of northern Gaul[49]. There is something to be learned also by reflecting on the differences in ascetic *milieu* between the *Life* and Sulpicius's *Dialogues*: the persons and concerns of the latter invade the former surprisingly little; and the influence of the *Life of Antony* has much more to do with the shaping of the text itself (of the *Life* of Martin, that is) than with allusion to ascetic practices and organization.

Jerome always seems to be a peculiar case, although I think one might gain a better understanding of the man, if one attended more resolutely to the qualities he had in common with others. He depended enormously on friends and patrons, who sustained his vanity and assured his survival; and to that extent he never ceased to be part of a larger story. We think of him here, of course, because he was both an ascetic and a polemicist; and in the latter guise it is with Jovinian and Rufinus that we will link him most. They were the ones, in other words, who in this case provided the larger story — which, stuck in Bethlehem, Jerome rather needed. It was his opponents who were at the centre of events; and the issues between them were not just about virginity or accuracy in translation, but about the very nature of the Church and about the propriety of speculation at the heart of its biblical culture. What may seem to us in Jerome more exceptional is precisely the nature of his asceticism: it is as if he had invented for himself a singular role within that tradition, not least by his ability, or his ambition, to link polarities of emphasis. He had experienced a 'desert' life, and maintained in later years many of its expected postures; but he valued also the intimate and understated delicacies of the pious household. He was a monk, of some sort, but also a priest; rigorous, therefore, but not indifferent to party and preferment. He himself ploughed what was often an isolated furrow; but he was clearly interested in community life, not least in the experiments of the Pachomians, whose 'rules' he translated (and we note, of course, the parallel in Rufinus's work on Basil). He was above all a scholar, but also a spiritual guide. The challenge is, of course, to decide whether there were not many others like him. Why should this breadth of endeavour and attitude surprise us, at a time when few were able to adopt exclusively, or even find available, one or other of these poles? The scholar and the guide is a good example, since most of the erudite, at the rhetorical

[49] Martin maintained his own earlier asceticism, *V. Mart.* X. 1f., and made regular retreats to Marmoutier, 3f. There the monks lived in cabins or caves, 5, engaged in literary pursuits, 6, and (sometimes) became bishops, 8f.

level of the educational system, would have seen themselves as moral arbiters no less than intellectual.

Augustine and Cassian, in this context, we can take together: for they were both preoccupied in their later years with problems related to the teaching of Pelagius — in this sense, that their attention was deflected away from the man himself towards other protagonists, and towards the implications of his teaching rather than any documents in which it was expressed. They were also — Augustine as much as Cassian — intent upon adapting eastern ascetic traditions to western audiences. Augustine was most like Basil, in that he seized constantly the opportunity to connect the monastic endeavour with the history and structure of the Church. Cassian, appealing in his own way to the same biblical texts and arguments, saw the monastery as representing the essence of the Church's life[50]. For both of them, therefore, the specific issues of freedom and virtue, of humility and obedience, were not limited to the confines of a merely ascetic debate — which draws Cassian's theology more overtly towards the world that Augustine typified, the world of episcopal interest and responsibility; and also towards the world of Jerome, as I have pointed out before, and as Professor Frank illustrated anew last night; the world of careerism and erudition, fostering works of polish and profundity in the service of episcopal patrons[51].

Now we notice at once something rather odd about this catalogue of ascetic worthies, familiar though they are. I am surely not peculiar in having thought of most of them as influential theorists, who played a major role in the development of ascetic institutions. Yet, if we take in each case their career as a whole, they were none of them firmly settled in monastic communities of any sort. There is no Benedict here (although one may have doubts about Benedict's enclosure, after reading the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great). It might be possible to argue that most of them gained early experience as ascetics, and then happened to embark on public careers; and that their ascetic writings accidentally took their surviving form in those later years. Yet we face a situation that can be illustrated in several rather different cases — in Melania the Younger, for example, in Jerusalem, or Sabas at his *lavra*, or Radegund at Poitiers — where the inspiring, the normative figures stood outside or above the groups they governed or brought to birth. With the possible exception of Cassian — 'possible' only, because his own status as an abbot and even as a monk is by no means clear — the men on our list did not obviously build about themselves a coenobitic wall, to protect them in the controversies of their day. Yet the issues they debated did have ascetic relevance — the nature of the Incarnation and the associated notions of salvation, the relation between

[50] See *Ascetics*, pp. 202f., a section that treats the issue at length, and esp. p. 211 n. 62.

[51] *Ascetics*, pp. 172, 175, 223. See Professor Frank's contribution, 'John Cassian on John Cassian' (*SP* 33, pp. 418-433).

body and spirit, and between God's grace and human effort. So, while personally distanced from coenobitic formalities, they preserved an ascetic temper, which they carried into a debate now focussed on ecclesiology[52]. In so far, therefore, as they continued to maintain an 'asceticizing' interpretation, they were able to include as a public issue the proper relation between ascetic and society: what roles might ascetics play in the Church, and what right had they to set standards or direct events?

On the one hand, therefore, we are invited to assess the making of ascetic communities in relation to community-building generally. On the other hand, we observe how articulate ascetics, far from running for coenobitic cover in the face of controversy, carried their ascetic anxieties and convictions into the ecclesiastical cock-pit. How, then, might we place our Egyptian heroes, Pachomius and Antony, in relation to those developments? Did they really mark the beginning of a corporate experiment inspired by theological caution? Do they stand as convincing predecessors of men like Basil and Augustine, or even of Jerome and Cassian? Or were they simply less precise in their theoretical preoccupations? While operating in what was institutionally a more fluid environment, did they, nevertheless, set precedents for the behaviour of those that came after them?

In a slightly different sense, I think they did. Let us look first at Pachomius at the synod of Latopolis in A.D. 345. I have described elsewhere in some detail a complex and dramatic scene; and I would repeat here that one external factor of some importance was the perceived danger of unrest and therefore of civil intervention, very probably in a violent form; a danger that affected everyone present, accusers and accused[53]. One other feature strikes me rather forcibly: in spite of opportunities available in the terminology of scene-setting, so to speak, and in the *dramatis personae*, there is no attempt in the text to pit cleric against monk or town against village. Pachomius had both allies and enemies in every camp. The point at issue, rather, was Pachomius's insight, his διορατικόν, his ability to size people up and to cater for their spiritual needs.

Why should this have caused anxiety? The social variety of the occasion makes it clear that this gift was not being seen merely as a challenge to clerical authority or to some orthodox canon. 'We know', his questioners say, 'that you saw the demons, making war against them to ward them off souls'. Faced with that interpretation of his activities — voiced not by rough peasants but by persons of some authority — Pachomius was eager to present a much more 'natural' explanation of his skill as a spiritual guide: given by God, no doubt; but based on experience, shrewdness, and long acquaintance with a wide range of disciples.

So we have a debate, not between orthodoxy and a suspect and perhaps self-disguising heretic[54], but between what is presented, on the one hand, as a

[52] See *Ascetics*, p. 227.

[53] *Vita prima* 112. See my *Pachomius*, pp. 171-173, but also 160.

[54] Here, too, '(Pachomius's) emphasis was on an orthodox praxis and not on an orthodox theology', Goehring, 'Pachomius' Vision', p. 261.

widespread and unreflective supposition that spiritual guidance among ascetics involved almost miraculous and visionary behaviour and, on the other, the assurance that mutual formation and trust was based most of all on a general and readily developed understanding of human nature and on a prolonged exposure to and familiarity with each individual concerned. Much of the rest of the biographical material associated with Pachomius confirms that image of spiritual guidance; and, in one of the 'contrast passages' involving him and Antony, the latter laments his not possessing '(those skills) necessary for dealing correctly with each one'[55]. Here, then, was the potentially 'coenobitic' element — the long-term growth in mutual familiarity, which was far more the key to guaranteed, authentic progress than spectacular feats of instant understanding or demonic manipulation. Yet the mutuality was achieved at a one-to-one level, so that within the group that both responded to and protected the charism of discernment, intense personal relationships were allowed, indeed required, to flourish. (I might insert here my belief that such a conjunction persisted right through to the sixth century[56].)

To what extent does the portrait of Antony differ? In the *Life*, demons famously predominate; but they do not drive from the page the author's other interests: the goodness of nature, the potential security of the self, and the gift of discernment. Indeed, Antony's ascetic craft consists in carrying himself and his disciples away from a world of psychic disturbance and the violent animosity of demonic visitation towards the possession of a confident and enduring insight, the joy and tranquillity of angelic vision[57]. The demons themselves are frequently associated with Hellenic (i.e. 'pagan') religion: here, in the passage I have just alluded to; but also at other points in Antony's long address, and in the closing summary of the work[58]. The antidote to their attentions is, strikingly enough, not only social but communal. 'It is good for us', says Antony, 'to encourage each other in the faith and to invigorate (each another) in our conversation (παρακαλεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἀλείφειν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις)'. (The exhortation comes immediately after his famous assertion that the Scriptures are sufficient πρός διδασκαλίαν[59].) Later he says, 'on the basis of our testings by them (i.e. the demons), we ought to set each other on

[55] Bohairic *Life*, 127, trans. Veilleux, I: 184.

[56] A central theme in my forthcoming chapter (26), 'Monasticism', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XIV (new edition), ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby. See also the striking counsel of Cassian, *Inst.* IV. 40: *exempla tibi sunt imitationis ac vitae perfectae in congregatione commoranti a paucis, immo ab uno vel duobus, non a pluribus expetenda*, ed. Guy, p. 180f.

[57] *V. Ant.* 35f.

[58] *V. Ant.* 22.2, 33.1, 37.3, and see 94.2, as well as 70.2f.

[59] *V. Ant.* 16.1-2, ed. Bartelink, p. 178. Eng. trans.: *Athanasius, the Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. Robert C. Gregg (London, 1980); here p. 43. Gregg omits to translate the phrase καὶ ἀλείφειν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

the right path, away from them (ὀφείλομεν ἀλλήλους ἀπ' αὐτῶν διορθοῦσθαι)'[60].

Such collaborative exhortations occur elsewhere in the text; but they are echoed in a particularly interesting way in the account given of the persecution under Maximin Daia (the moment of Pachomius's first encounter with Christianity). 'When the judge', as the text puts it, 'saw the fearlessness of Antony and of those with him (τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ)', he decided to ban monks from the vicinity of trials and executions (the text uses the word μοναχοί); and Antony, correspondingly, is presented as feeling a characteristic sympathy with those imprisoned for their faith, 'like one who had been bound along with them (ὥς συνδεδεμένος αὐτοῖς)'. Moreover, Antony's survival is seen also in corporate terms, achieved by God 'to benefit us and others, so that he might be a teacher to many in the discipline that he had learned from the Scriptures (ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει, ἣν ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν αὐτὸς μεμάθηκε, τολλοῖς διδάσκαλος γένηται)'; and that corporate role is seen precisely as flowing from Antony's zeal for the faith[61].

Once again, therefore, there is no sharp contrast between an exterior threat or challenge and a rigidly constructed coenobitic defence. That much, in any case, we might expect in association with the 'heremitical' Antony. Yet the challenge is there, pagan in this case, and throws up allusions to right belief, as well as to demonic malice; and the response is not only surprisingly corporate but also surprisingly not dissimilar to what we have read in the Pachomian narratives[62]. There is a similar distinction made between the spectacular and the humdrum; and, although the terms of the distinction are not the same in each case, it is within the context of a recommended ordinariness and prolongation of effort, bringing to bear the experience and the teaching of the master, that the virtues of ascetic grouping are observed.

Can we draw useful conclusions from these few examples? I do not have a formal and firmly established thesis in mind here, because it seems to me necessary to decide, first, whether we are asking the right question. The chief point I think we can make is that the texts we have looked at (and this may well apply to many others of the ascetic *genre*) are often focussed on theological issues. That quality may be overlaid by a dedication to portrait and process, to biography and history — not that we should be surprised, in the context of late antique literature generally, to find essays of that type adopting

[60] *V. Ant.* 22.4, ed. Bartelink, p. 196, trans. Gregg, p. 48, reading ὑπ' αὐτῶν, as in *PL* XXVI. 876C. See *Ascetics*, p. 229. Basil of Caesarea was inspired wholly by the same conviction.

[61] *V. Ant.* 46. 7, ed. Bartelink, pp. 260/262, trans. Gregg, p. 66.

[62] The dramatic structure of Antony's confrontations with pagans may provide a paradigm for assessing other such dialogues: see *V. Ant.* 72-80 (and note the characteristic interweaving of discourse and event). Pachomius faced a similar challenge, Bohairic *Life* 55 = *Vita prima* 82; and the well-known encounter in the *Apophthegmata patrum*, Olympius 1, is rounded off with mutual reassurances such as Antony here recommends.

a theoretical stance. But biographical interest and a suggestion of development reflected only a desire to associate theological issues with individuals intent upon arguing about the best way to organize the ascetic life.

We should note carefully what is and what is not implied by that association. Neither Antony and Pachomius, nor the other authors we have alluded to, take up distinct positions on the issue of whether one should adopt either a solitary or a coenobitic way of life. We shall be inclined to suppose, of course, in the light of many reflections, that that was due simply to the fact that no clear distinctions, institutionally on the ground, had yet been made; a factor affecting not just Antony and Pachomius but also those who came after them: even Cassian lived in a world where the dice were still rolling. The texts are simply a series of comments: it is in our eyes that they appear to punctuate an axis of time revealing also, over a century or so, a basic shift towards the common life. However, their relation to the axis is, in any case, idiosyncratic: for the subjects of the accounts (who are not always the authors) are often, as I have said, distanced oddly from the supposed development of ascetic institutions, which they do not necessarily either advocate, represent, or hasten, and in which, certainly, they do not immerse themselves in the cause of self-protection. Nevertheless, they do allow us to believe that ascetics, in their particular way, were consistently involved in public debate; a debate that affected them deeply as ascetics and yet ranged well beyond their immediate circumstance and ideology, both in theoretical content and in social implication.

In that sense, the stories about Antony and Pachomius are part of a larger picture. They responded to the perceptions of a wider public: not merely in that they attacked Origen or the Arians, but because they emphasized an essential feature of ascetic society — its dependence on mutual aid and prolonged association. That self-understanding would encourage, both as a positive principle and as a defensive mechanism, the growth of communities. Subsequent engagement in controversy, as in the case of Jerome or Augustine, neither reflected in itself a further stage in an unbroken tradition of community development, nor raised the same issue of charismatic guidance. Yet the mechanism of inquiry and defence may have been not dissimilar, in that attachment to principles of communal asceticism was consciously combined with 'right thinking' on such matters as erudition, the body, and the will.

In the century between Pachomius and Cassian, therefore, neither an 'internal' desire for integrity and security nor an 'external' desire on the part of others to influence or control the ascetic life were sufficient to exhaust the attention of ascetics themselves or to limit the mutual access, within the broad context of ecclesial debate, that remained open to both cleric and monk, theologian and devotee. The resulting picture is one both of cautious anxiety and of varied intermingling; but the teeming interplay of enthusiasms and fears was precisely what would gradually encourage choice, and thereby limit options, increasingly in favour of discipline and mutual support.

The Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ in the *Liber Graduum*: Between Exegetical Theory and Soteriology

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Introduction

In the present paper[1] I deal with the doctrine of the imitation of Christ in the *Liber Graduum*, a collection of 30 spiritual homilies in Syriac dating from the 4th century. The 'imitation of Christ' is in fact the main christological theme in the *Liber Graduum*. It allows us to grasp the originality of the christological vision of the author. Emphasis is to be given to the particular way in which the author tried to penetrate the mystery of Christ[2]. As a consequence, it is possible to reexamine the soteriology of the *Liber Graduum* from this perspective.

I intend to concentrate on three points:

a. the exegetical theory of the *Liber Graduum*, since this is strictly linked to the christology;
b. the most important ideas in summary form about the doctrine of the 'imitation of Christ';
c. a suggested new perspective for the interpretation of the soteriology of the *Liber Graduum*.

1. Exegetical theory

The revelation in Christ takes place through words and deeds, precepts and examples. In order to be correctly understood, precepts and examples need to be carefully examined.

The precepts given by Christ[3] are often self-contradictory, as generally speaking are all biblical commandments. To solve the problem, one has to

[1] The present communication is a summary of the chap. 2 of my '*thesis ad licentiam in theologia et scientiis patristicis*' submitted in June, 1993, to the *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*, with the title 'Cristo esempio di umiltà da imitare. Sulla cristologia del Liber Graduum'.

[2] Cfr the Introduction in M. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum* (Patrologia Syriaca, 3; Paris, 1926) and I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia syriaca* (Rome, 1965), pp. 90-91, for a dogmatic approach. But see L. Wickham, 'Teachings about God and Christ in the Liber Graduum', in Festschrift L. Abramowski, *Logos* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirchen, 67; Berlin/New York, 1993), pp. 486-498, who suggests the need for a different approach.

[3] *LG* 11,2 col. 276,6-7. All references to the *Liber Graduum* are taken from Kmosko's edition of 1926.

realise that God is like a talented teacher who gives his commandments as the opportunity presents itself and according to the ability of men and women to take advantage of them[4]. Hence, human beings are to be grouped into two main categories; namely, the righteous and the perfect, although there are many more intermediate and inferior levels. Keeping in mind the differences among the disciples, it is possible to organize the precepts into a hierarchical system, which allows the contradictions to be overcome[5]. The author, even if not explicitly, refers to the same hermeneutical principle to clarify the meaning for us of the events of Christ's life. This is in accordance with his personal concerns: while explaining the Bible he does not show any interest in questions that could be raised by the obscurity of the sacred text nor in its dogmatic aspects[6]. Both must have been sufficiently evident to him[7]. What he wants to know from the Scriptures is how men and women have to walk on this earth in order to reach the heavenly kingdom. Since God himself has been visibly walking among us[8], precepts and examples are the two ways of manifestation of the same divine will.

However, just as the precepts seem to be sometimes contradictory, so too the examples give rise to ambiguities. Not every action of Christ is to be imitated by the faithful. The acts which agree with the precepts of perfection are to be imitated mainly by the perfect. Those which seem to be contrary to them, are in fact addressed to those who have not yet reached at perfection, or even to those who do not believe in Christ, so that they may understand the real identity and the authority of Jesus.

This exegetical principle underlies the various developments on the theme of the imitation of Christ.

2. **Christ as an example of humility to be imitated**

The 17th homily, the only one entirely dealing with Christ, presents the many sufferings of the Lord, in which the faithful Christian is to take part if he is to be saved. The deeds of Christ are divided into miracles or signs (in Syriac ܐܬܘܬܐ) and sufferings (in Syriac ܚܫܐ).

By ܐܬܘܬܐ, the author means not only wondrous and mighty acts, but also simple words or deeds in so far as these hint at the divine nature of Christ.

[4] *LG* 11,3 col. 276,23-25.

[5] Cfr *LG* 11,1-3.

[6] Exceptions are *LG* 28,1-4 and 30,23-24.

[7] 'Il nostro autore è interessato non tanto al racconto biblico in se stesso, quanto al suo significato per il sistema teologico ascetico', A. Kowalski, *Perfezione e giustizia di Adamo nel Liber Graduum* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 232; Rome, 1989), p. 193. For the use of the Scriptures in the Liber Graduum see *idem*, pp. 192-200.

[8] *LG* 20,10 col. 553,8-9.

Miracles and signs are not performed in order to be imitated, but to make non-believers understand the real identity of the suffering Christ.

Among the sufferings of Christ, the author mentions the following[9]: Christ presenting the other cheek, washing the feet of his disciples, healing the ear of the servant of the high-priest, praying for his persecutors, freely surrendering himself to his killers to benefit them in spite of their intentions. It is exactly this attitude of humility and of goodness towards everybody, even his enemies, that the author suggests should be imitated. The examples of Stephen and the Apostles show that it is possible for human beings to follow Christ in this path[10]. Moreover, those who imitate the sufferings of Christ will enjoy an especially intimate relationship with him. According to the *Liber Graduum* in fact, Christ suffers in two different ways: on the one hand, openly or visibly; on the other hand, secretly or in a hidden way[11]. The open or visible sufferings of Christ are those he endured in himself on this earth. The secret sufferings of Christ are those experienced in his disciples, in those who follow his example of humility[12].

In order to grasp the 'forma mentis' of the author, it is very important to note his discussion of the betrayal of Christ. During the Last Supper, Jesus seems to reveal the identity of his traitor, a fact that does not suit the ideal of self-denial and complete submission praised throughout the *Liber Graduum.* The author argues that Jesus did not want to shame Judas, but rather to strengthen the weak faith of the disciples, who might have doubted his omniscience[13].

The same pedagogical exception to the law of perfect humility is to be referred to in order to overcome other seeming contradictions within the Bible. Such is the case in regard to Christ's harsh acts. In the 19th homily, the author puts the Lord's commandments into a hierarchical order, giving a list of commandments of perfections and contrasting them with lower ones. He writes, 'This is the perfect way, "may no evil word come out of your mouth" (Eph 4:29)', a precept which seems to contradict the Lord's own actions when he addressed the Pharisees, '"Breed of vipers, how can you do what is honest, you who are wicked and sons of the devil?" (cfr Mt 12:34)'[14]. There are two reasons for such an apparent violation of the perfect law. Firstly, God cannot be judged by men and is free to act in whatever way he pleases[15]; he has set the way of humility to save the world, but he could have made a different

[9] *LG* 17,2-6.
[10] *LG* 17,8.
[11] For the antithesis hidden-manifest in the *Liber Graduum*, **see Kowalski, *op. cit.*, 204-205.** Cfr also *LG* 12 and *LG* 28,8 col. 797.
[12] Biblical starting-points are Rm 8:17 and Lk 10:16.
[13] *LG* 17,3 cols. 420,8-421,24.
[14] *LG* 19,22 col. 488,10-16.
[15] *LG* 19,22 col. 488,18-21.

choice. The Lord could have demanded that we be humble, even without giving the example[16]. Secondly, Christ's harshness is meant to make people understand his real identity, so that they might not despise him or commit sins without fear[17]. The author ironically invites those who want to imitate the judging Lord to imitate first his activity as Creator of the world. 'He who imitates God in his harsh acts falls outside the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ'[18].

The *Liber Graduum* proposes his goodness towards everybody, good and wicked, friend or enemy. Two areas are particularly significant, Christ's prayer and his attitude of humility.

Prayer is necessary to reach the highest levels of perfection. Christ has given us the example through his prayer at Gethsemane. Although he was not in need, he prayed and was consoled by an angel in order to show that we need to pray and to receive help from on high, i.e. from Christ or from the Holy Spirit[19].

Humility is the essence of all virtue and perfection and is the way to heaven[20], and Christ is its paradigm[21]. In his reading of Phil 2:6[22], the author makes clear how wrong it is to try to conquer God with violence, since humility is the only key to the godhead[23]. Humility is in fact more than a human virtue: it is a feature of the divine nature. The prophets of old[24] and the virgin Mary[25] were chosen because of their humility, which made them more similar to God.

In their relation with those members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy whose spiritual life is less advanced, the perfect should take as their example Christ who bowed his head before John the Baptist[26].

There is something almost tragic in this divine humility, namely the possibility of being rejected by men[27]. Pharaoh, for instance, became repentant when God used force against him, only to change his mind as soon as God showed his forbearance[28].

[16] *LG* 19,22 cols. 489,13-492,7.
[17] *LG* 19,22 cols. 488,21-489,6.
[18] *LG* 22,14 col. 669,17-19.
[19] *LG* 20,8-12, particularly 20,10 cols. 552,24-556,13.
[20] *LG* 15,9 col. 384,21.
[21] *LG* 21,4 col. 583,17-19.
[22] *LG* 21,11 col. 617,8-10. On this matter cfr A. Louf, 'Une ancienne exégèse de Phil. 2,6 dans le Ketaba de Masqata (Livre des degrés)', in *Studiorum paulinorum congressus internationalis Catholicus 1961* (Analecta Biblica 17-18; Rome, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 523-533, particularly, pp. 528-531.
[23] *LG* 21,17 col. 625,15-20.
[24] *LG* 21,12-14.
[25] *LG* 21,16 cols. 624,22-625,4.
[26] *LG* 22,12.
[27] *LG* 23,10.
[28] *LG* 23,9 cols. 707-708.

In conclusion, Christ's humble acts have a double effect: they reveal something of the real nature of God and also of the original nature of human beings as similar to God[29], and they consequently show us the way to Paradise. The harsh acts of Christ are to be explained almost as if Christ was acting contrary to his own humble nature in order to limit the number of people who, because they are misled by his humility, despise him and thus place themselves completely outside salvation.

3. Soteriology

The importance of the topic of Christ as an example to be followed in the *Liber Graduum* led the editor of the text, in his long theological introduction, to misunderstand the real nature of the salvation brought about by Christ and to reduce it to a mere teaching role[30]. This judgment on the soteriology of the *Liber Graduum* was subsequently canonised in the *Patrologia Syriaca* of Ortiz de Urbina[31], even though it did not completely satisfy other scholars[32].

The relation between human freedom and divine grace is a very complex theological issue. When one element is stressed, the other seems to fade away, and it is quite logical that a book written to exhort christians to a life of rigorous asceticism appears wanting on the side of the doctrine of God's grace. Moreover, the author never develops his own views on the problem; however, each time that he refers to the salvific action of Christ apart from his teachings, he quotes Eph 2:14-16 ('...having abolished in his flesh the enmity...')[33] and Col 1:20 ('...having made peace through the blood of his cross...')[34]. In his attempt to systematise the doctrinal content of the *Liber Graduum*, Kmosko minimised the role of these Pauline citations, saying that they are practically out of place and in contradiction with its ascetical hierarchy of values[35].

This position does not do justice to the author of the *Liber Graduum*. First of all, the two quotations occur too often and always when the author wants to speak about what is unique in Christ's activity, for them not to be a faithful expression of his beliefs. Generally speaking, the author is very selective in his

[29] *LG* 23,1 col. 693,1-5.

[30] Cfr Kmosko, *op. cit.*, pp. LXVI-LXIX.

[31] Cfr *ibid.* 91.

[32] Cfr R. Terzoli, *Il tema della beatitudine nei Padri siri. Presente e futuro della salvezza* (Brescia, 1972), p. 126, and Kowalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114, n. 241, p. 212 and 140.

[33] *LG* 2,6 col. 37,18-21; 9,2 col. 205,10-12; 9,5 col. 216,11-12; 9,6 col. 217,12-13; 9,7 cols. 220,26-221,3; 9,12 col. 229,10-12; 15,7 col. 352,20-22; 15,12 col. 365,8-9; 20,16 col. 573,15-17; 21,3 col. 592,14-16; 21,7 col. 601,12-14; 25,2 col. 736,9-10; 25,5 col. 742,16-17; 26,4 col. 764,6-9.

[34] *LG* 2,6 col. 37,20-21; 9,6 col. 216,16-17; 9,15 col. 236,5-6; 22,7 cols. 648,26-649,1; 22,9 col. 656,17.

[35] Cfr Kmosko, *loc. cit.*

use of the Bible. Were it true, as Kmosko claims, that the Pauline doctrine was not in agreement with his real thought, one would have to ask why the author did in fact quote Paul so very frequently[36]? Secondly, the author is perfectly aware that, as was the case with the prophets, even the perfect could not be saved without the Cross of Christ[37]. The fact that he is satisfied by the formulations of Paul as stated in these texts, and that he does not need to elaborate them, is but a sign of his interests, which were ascetical rather than dogmatic.

Furthermore, far from contradicting the other theological ideas of the author, these two Pauline citations fit in with what has been said about the doctrine of the imitation of Christ: on the one hand, because they refer to the humble nature of Christ in its clearest manifestation, the death on the Cross; on the other hand, because this seemingly excessive humility is the cause of the so-called harsh acts of Christ.

4. Conclusions

Through this brief analysis of the doctrine of the imitation of Christ in the *Liber Graduum* and its implications, it has been possible to acquire new insights into the author's ideas about God and his humble and loving nature, about Christ, as Saviour of humankind and revealer of God's deep identity, and about human beings, called to become similar to God by imitating Christ's humble behaviour as shown in the Gospel. Even if these spiritual and theological concepts were well known to the early christian tradition[38], the global view of christian life witnesses to a very original thinker, whose theological method and results are well worth studying and would certainly benefit from a new general presentation, especially in the light of recent research.

[36] Cfr Kowalski, *loc. cit.*

[37] Cfr *LG* 15,12 col. 364,19-21 and *LG* 9,19-21.

[38] For the relations between the *Liber Graduum* and other early christian literature see: Y. Mirkis, *Le Liber Graduum (Livre des Montées)*. Vol. 2. Introd., Comm., Bibl. et Index Analit. Thèse. (Université des sciences humaines, Faculté de théologie catholique, Strasbourg, 1979), and C. Stewart, *'Working the Earth of the Heart'. The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford, 1991).

‘Steersman of the mind’: The Virgin Mary as Ideal Nun (an interpretation of Luke 1:29 by Rufus of Shotep)

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Towards the end of the sixth century, Rufus, the bishop of Hypsele (Shotep), a nome capital (metropolis)[1] in Upper Egypt near Lycopolis, delivered a homily on the Annunciation scene, part of a series of homilies on the Gospel of Luke[2], in which he drew a contrast between Mary and Eve and then went on to portray Mary as an ideal for nuns to imitate with regard to the development of the interior life. The homily is remarkable for the close acquaintance that it reveals with the exegetical tradition, with the terminology of the ascetical-monastic tradition and for the way in which Rufus has blended and developed these together in an original way.

The portion of the homily with which we are here concerned is developed as a comment on the verse: ‘when he went into her, he said to her, “Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord be with you”’ (Luke 1:28). Rufus gives the phrase ‘he went into her’ an allegorical inerpretation[3], using it to move to the level of the interior life which is the real theme of his homily. ‘What is this “going into her? Where is Mary?”’, he asks. The text, he says, ‘is informing us of the hidden (life) of the virgin and of her interior way of life[4] and of her

[1] Ptolemy, *Geography*, Bk. 4, ch. 5, lists Hypsele as metropolis of the Hypselite nome.

[2] For the text and translation, see J. Mark Sheridan, *The Homilies of Rufus of Shotep on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (Dissertation. The Catholic University of America; Washington, DC, 1990). The work is presently available from University Microfilms but is in the process of being republished with additions and revisions by C.I.M. in Rome.

[3] Here Rufus is following in the tradition of Philo, Origen, and others, according to whom all of Scripture, indeed every word, has a spiritual sense. See, for example, Origen, *De principiis*, 4,1,7 and, for additional references: Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti, *Origène: Traité des Principes. Tome IV (Livres III et IV)* (SC 268-269; Paris, 1980) SC 269: 165, n. 45.

[4] ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲡϩⲱⲡ ⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲡϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ (see Sheridan, *op. cit.*, 174). The term πολιτεία had long since acquired a technical meaning in monastic circles for the interior life. See Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, Prol. 2; 7,13; 14,7; 24,6; 28.5; 46,7. In his *Lettre aux vierges*, Athanasius attributes to his predecessor Alexander the affirmation that Mary’s way of life (ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲓⲁ) is the model and image of the heavenly way of life (ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲉⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ). See L.-Th. Lefort, ‘Lettre aux vierges’, *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* (CSCO 150, 151; Scriptores coptici 19, 20; Louvain, 1955); CSCO 150: 95 (text); CSCO 151: 76 (trans.). For a recent discussion of the authenticity of the ascetic works of Athanasius, see David Brakke, ‘The Authenticity of the Ascetic Athanasiana’ *Orientalia* 63 (1994), pp. 17-56.

quiet tranquillity' (ⲉⲥⲩⲭⲓⲁ). This latter term had already enjoyed extensive use and development in monastic circles[5].

Rufus then goes on to describe Mary's reaction to the angel's greeting. She was disturbed and 'became alert at a speech which was soft as if full of human affection and she was wondering what business has a male speaking with a woman'[6]. Mary's first thought is to wonder whether or not she is being 'deceived by the deception with which the mother of my race was deceived in the beginning', and so she is disturbed and does not answer. Rufus exclaims: 'Would indeed that the first woman also had been afraid so as not to have acted thoughtlessly and to have spoken in haste'. Mary, in contrast, 'did not indulge in speech in haste without reflection'. She continues to reflect on the angel's greeting and on the fact that 'the one who had spoken before with Eve had spoken with the appearance of a friend of mankind'. Rufus stresses that the virgin is 'learned in Scripture, knowing the law and the prophets'. Because of this she must measure what she has heard against the the words of Scripture:

The word that she heard she received like choice and precious gold. She took it into the secure place of judgement of her thought. She refined it well in the fire (cf. Sir 2:5?) of her reason. She cast it in the discernment of her thought. She examined what sort of greeting this was. She set her mind to it. Just as a good steersman takes firm hold of his tiller lest its handle be unmanageable and his boat be shipwrecked, so the virgin took hold of her reason and her thought with attention lest she answer impetuously and take the whole cargo to the bottom[7].

This is clearly intended to be a description of the ideal reaction of every nun to the greeting of a male[8]. But it is also a classic description of the ideal monas-

[5] According to Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 30,2, the demons fear the quiet (τὸ ἥσυχον) of the ascetics. The Sahidic version translates this as ⲡⲉⲥϭⲣⲉϩⲧ (G. Garitte, *S. Antonii Vitae versio Sahidica* (CSCO 117 (Textus); CSCO 118 (Versio); Paris-Louvain: CSCO, 1949) CSCO 117: 37). Athanasius also describes Mary as ⲉⲥⲥϭⲣⲁϩⲧ. See Lefort, '*Lettres aux vierges*', CSCO 150: 78 (text); CSCO 151: 60 (trans.). The idea is also found in another very early monastic author, Paul of Tamma, who tells his readers that the demons have no mercy towards a man who sits alone in peace (ϩⲛⲟⲩⲥϭⲣⲉϩⲧ) (*De Cella* 61). He also urges his disciples not to multiply their thoughts so that they may remain quiet (ⲉⲕⲥϭⲣⲁϩⲧ) and unconfused (*De Paupertate* 4). See T. Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma: opere* (Introduzione, Testo, Traduzione e Concordanze a cura di Tito Orlandi; Roma, 1988). Rufus is in fact using both the Coptic and Greek terms together here: ⲙⲛⲡⲉⲥϭⲣⲉϩⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲩⲭⲓⲁ. For additional references and literature, see also P. Miquel, O.S.B., *Lexique du desert: Étude de quelques mots-clés du vocabulaire monastique grec ancien* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1986), pp. 145-180; P. Adnès, 'Hésychasme', *DSp* 7 (Paris, 1969), cols. 381-399.

[6] See Krzysztof Modras, *Omelia copta attribuita a Demetrio di Antiochia sul Natale e Maria Vergine* (Roma, 1994), pp. 55-56 (text nos. 196-207) for a quite different presentation of the Annunciation where Gabriel is cautioned not to appear in his glory for fear of terrifying the Virgin who is portrayed as young and inexperienced. In this homily Gabriel stays outside and speaks to her.

[7] For the Coptic text, see Sheridan, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

[8] This becomes more explicit later in the same homily when Rufus urges his listeners to beware of the greetings of males. See Sheridan, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190, 311-312.

tic attitude in general, stressing as it does the importance of the role of Scripture and the necessity of keeping a close watch over one's thoughts. In what follows I propose to analyze briefly the contrast with Eve and the portrait of Mary/the nun as a good steersman against the background of the earlier tradition.

In drawing a contrast between Eve and Mary, Rufus is following in a long tradition, first developed by Justin Martyr. Justin contrasts the virgin Eve, who receives the word of the serpent and begets disobedience and death, with the virgin Mary, who hears the good news from the angel Gabriel and conceives faith and joy[9]. Similarly, Irenaeus contrasts the seduction of the virgin Eve by an angel and her disobedience with the obedience of the virgin Mary when confronted with the announcement of the good news by the angel[10].

Origen, surprisingly, does not develop the idea in his homilies on Genesis and makes no reference to Eve in his homilies on Luke[11]. Ambrose does not refer to Eve either but does comment on the reticence of Mary and admonishes virgins to do the same[12]. Cyril of Jerusalem, on the other hand, does continue the explicit contrast between the virgin Eve being deceived by the serpent and the virgin Mary receiving the good news from the angel[13]. There was thus a rich tradition of comparing and contrasting Eve and Mary upon which Rufus could draw. Most of the earlier comparisons of Eve and Mary dwell on the contrast of disobedience/obedience or death/life or the way to sin as opposed to the entrance to justification, etc.[14]. Rufus instead, under the influence of the needs of his audience, develops the contrast on the psychological level (or

[9] *Dial. Trypho* 100,5.

[10] *Adv. Haer.* V,19,1: 'et seductione illa soluta qua seducta est male illa quae jam viro evangelizata est bene ab angelo jam sub viro Virgo Maria — quemadmodum enim illa per angelicum sermonem seducta est ut effugeret Deum praevaricata verbum ejus, ita et haec per angelicum sermonem evangelizata est ut portaret Deum obaudiens ejus verbo; et sicut illa seducta est ut non obaudiret Deo, sic et haec suasa est obaudire Deo, uti virginis Evae virgo Maria fieret advocata; et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, solutum est per virginem, aequa lance disposita virginali inobaudientia per virginalem obaudientiam...'. See also *Adv. Haer.* III,22,4.

[11] The contrast is missing altogether in the surviving works of Origen. See Alois Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria: Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche* (Second edition; Paradosis 5; Fribourg, 1955), p. 121. The contrast is found in a sermon on the Nativity ascribed to Origen's pupil, Gregory the Wonderworker: 'Quoniam vero prior virgo a Satana cecidit seducta, Mariae virgini nuntium dedit Gabriel, ut virgo virgini, partus partui similis fiat. Blanditiis decepta protulit Eva sermones lethiferos, Mariaque nuntium accipiens verbum incarnatum et vivificum edidit. Ob Evae sermones Adamus de paradiso eiectus est. Verbum autem de virgine crucem revelavit, qua latro paradisum Adami ingressus est'. The text is found in J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra* 4 (Venice, 1883), pp. 394-395.

[12] *comm. in Lc.* 2,8.

[13] *Cat.* 12,15: διὰ παρθένου τῆς Εὔας ἦλθεν ὁ θάνατος, ἔδει διὰ παρθένου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ παρθένου, φανῆναι τὴν ζωήν, ἵνα, ὥσπερ ἐκείνην ὄφις ἠπάτησεν, οὕτω καὶ ταύτην Γαβριὴλ εὐαγγελίσηται (PG 33, 741B).

[14] For additional references, see Georges Gharib et al., *Testi Mariani del Primo Millenio. I. Padri e altri autori greci. II. Padri e altri autori bizantini* (Roma: Città Nuova, 1988) s.v. Eve. The typology or contrast is found in Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Nilus of Ancyra and John Chrysostom among others.

level of mental asceticism) and emphasizes the prudence of Mary in contrast to the imprudence of Eve.

He was not the first, however, to portray Mary as a model for nuns to imitate. Athanasius, citing the example of his predecessor Alexander, had already proposed Mary as a model for virgins to follow[15]. He pictures her as having a balanced temperament, and living a retired life in peace. Among the aspects of her life that Athanasius offers for imitation are that instead of looking out the window, she was occupied with reading the Scriptures. She prays to God, seeks to avoid letting bad thoughts enter her heart, controls her anger, takes care not to speak badly of anyone nor to listen to such talk. She is not boastful but humble and each day she makes progress[16]. Athanasius does not, however, draw a contrast here between Mary and Eve.

The image of the steersman can also be found in Athanasius' works and indeed in the same 'Lettre aux vierges', but it is not associated with Mary[17]. This image is in fact a commonplace in antiquity and can be found applied to the guidance of the mind or soul by Philo and Origen, and in the philosophical literature as well[18]. One may note that this is a strongly masculine image being applied to a woman, thus suggesting that women are capable of the same degree of spiritual development as men[19].

Of particular importance in the passage quoted above, because of its history and significance in the monastic tradition, is the phrase that I have translated as 'with attention' (ϨΝΟΥΤΙϨΤΗϤ). This is the Coptic equivalent of the Greek term προσοχή, which could be described as the most fundamental attitude or exercise of monastic askesis. It can be translated as 'attention to oneself' or 'paying heed to oneself' and can be found numerous times in the Scriptures as a verbal admonition[20]. Philo of Alexandria had used it to describe the ascetic

[15] L.-Th. Lefort, 'Lettre aux vierges', *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* (CSCO 150, 151; Scriptores coptici 19, 20; Louvain: Durbecq, 1955) CSCO 150: 91 (text); CSCO 151: 72 (trans.).

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 78 (text); p. 60 (trans.).

[17] L.-Th. Lefort, 'Sur la charité et la tempérance', *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* (CSCO 150, 151; Scriptores coptici 19, 20; Louvain: Durbecq, 1955 (CSCO 150: p. 97 (trans.); 'Lettre aux vierges' 90 (text) 71 (trans). In this latter citation Athanasius uses the identical phrase used by Rufus for taking hold of the tiller 'firmly' (ϨΝΟΥⲰΡⲬ), which is the equivalent of the Greek ἀκρίβεια.

[18] See for example Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6.19 where he quotes Plato, *Phaedr.* 247C using this image; Philo, *sacr.*. 45; Paul of Tamma, *Opus sine tiutilo* 100 (see note 5 above); Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* 11-13. The image may be found also in Epictetus, Plutarch, Pseudo-Macarius and many others.

[19] Compare Gregory of Nyssa's portrait of his sister Macrina (*Vita sanctae Macrinae*) in which she is portrayed as rising above her nature as woman to become the spiritual master and teacher of men. For a discussion of this theme, see Gregorio di Nissa, *La Vita di Macrina* (ed. E. Giannarelli; Cinisello Balsamo, 1988), pp. 30-41.

[20] E.g., Deut 4:23; 8.1; Prov 2:1; 4;1, 20. See R. Vernay, 'Attention' *DSp* 1 (Paris, 1937), cols. 1058-1077.

activity of the patriarch Jacob[21]. Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen had used it as well in reference to the development of the spiritual life[22]. It involves a continuous concentration on the present moment, which must be lived as if it were both the first and the last. Thus it is closely related to the thought of death. In chap. 19 Athanasius has Antony quote Paul, 'I die daily' (1 Cor 15:31), adding 'Indeed, if we too, live as if we were to die each new day, we shall not sin'. It means to live constantly in the presence of God and conscious of the presence of God. This fundamental attitude of vigilance was also the basic spiritual attitude that characterized the Stoic philosophers. One could cite numerous quotations from philosophers such as Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Porphyry both with regard to the need to keep in mind the thought of death (as moral incentive) and to live in the presence of God[23].

When Antony takes up the monastic life, Athanasius uses this terminology to describe what he did: 'he himself devoted all his time to ascetic living, examining himself (προσέχων ἑαυτῷ) and subjecting himself to a firm discipline, near his own house. For there were not yet so many monasteries in Egypt, and no monk even knew of the faraway desert. Whoever wished to take heed to himself (ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν) engaged in spiritual exercises by himself not far from his own village'[24]. For Rufus it is this quality that Eve lacked, for she 'acted thoughtlessly', 'spoke in haste', and 'without reflection'. It is this quality, however, that distinguishes the good steersman of the soul.

Thus Rufus has skillfully combined a key monastic notion with a classic image for the governance of the soul and inserted it within the primordial temptation scene in the context of a homily on the Annunciation. The Virgin thus becomes a model for the development of the interior life for all virgins or nuns as regards the study of Scripture, the practice of ἡσυχία and of προσοχή. This passage is of interest also for the picture that it provides of monastic culture at the end of the sixth century in Egypt. It would seem that the traditional monastic spiritual teaching was alive and well[25].

[21] For Philo it is a spiritual exercise, a part of askesis: *Quis heres*. 253: πάντα γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐδώδιμα καθέστηκεν, ἡ ζήτησις, ἡ σκέψις, ἡ ἀνάγνωσις, ἡ ἀκρόασις, ἡ προσοχή, ἡ ἐγκράτεια, ἡ ἐξαδιαφόρησις τῶν ἀδιαφόρων.

[22] See Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.69, where he draws a comparison between the spiritual life and that of a tightrope walker. Both require προσαχή (attention) and ἄσκησις (exercise).

[23] For a discussion of the similarities between the philosophical and monastic literature on these points and numerous references to the philosophical literature, see Pierre Hadot, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique* (2 ed.; Etudes Augustiniennes, Paris, 1987), pp. 59-74.

[24] *Vita Antonii* 3,1-2. The Sahidic translation of προσέχων ἑαυτῷ is ⲉϥϯϩⲧⲏϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ while ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν is rendered as ϫⲓϩⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ. See note 5 above for the edition of the Sahidic translation.

[25] The fact that the Virgin Mary is portrayed as learned in Scripture and as reading the Scriptures suggests that this was a common practice for nuns in Egypt.

VI. LITURGICA

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The Beginnings of Latin Liturgy

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I. Introduction. A Jewish — Hellenistic background

The history of Christian worship begins in Palestine. To get an insight into the emergence of Latin liturgy in the West we must turn for a moment to the Palestinian beginnings. For the practice of prayer in the Jewish community in Palestine at the beginning of the Christian era lies at the root of the different forms of worship the Christian churches subsequently developed. The content and form of the earliest of these liturgies do have important characteristics of their own, but the Jewish background remains visible throughout. The Lord's Supper, presumably, was instituted within the framework of the Jewish Passover, at any rate of Jewish ritual psalmody. The eucharistic prayer, the nucleus of the Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper, is a prayer of laudatory thanksgiving in remembrance of the wonderful works of God, in the manner of the Jewish 'berakhah'[1]. The daily round of prayers, at the third, sixth and ninth hour, is an inheritance of Jewish practice. On the other hand, gatherings for prayer, when mentioned in the earliest Christian texts, must normally have included the celebration of the Eucharist. Paul's reprimand to the Corinthians that because of their behaviour there was, at their gatherings, no eating of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11,20) seems to imply that partaking of this Supper was an essential feature of these meetings.

As to the language of the oldest Christian prayers, what we call the euchological aspect, that language must have been Aramaic, with traces of Hebrew, or, for Greek speaking congregations, Greek of a Jewish-Hellenistic colouring, influenced by the translations of the Bible, especially the Septuagint.

Outside the Aramaic-Semitic world, embracing Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, it was this kind of Greek that was heard in the prayer-meetings

[1] For the 'berakhah' as prayer of remembrance, see K. Hruby, 'La notion de "berakhah" dans la tradition et son caractère anamnétique', *Prière juive et chrétienne* (Textes et études liturgiques 8; Leuven/Louvain, 1984), pp. 67-82. On the Jewish roots of the Christian liturgy, especially in the celebration of the Eucharist, see also G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (²Westminster, 1954), pp. 48-120. Much factual and bibliographical information is given by H.B. Meyer, 'Eucharistie: Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral', *Gottesdienst der Kirche: Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft* 4 (Regensburg, 1989), pp. 49-60. Readers with knowledge of Dutch may refer, for the Jewish background of Christian worship, to H. Wegman, *Riten en mythen: liturgie in de geschiedenis van het christendom* (Kampen, 1991), pp. 61. 68-77.

of the Christians. The liturgy of the new religious group, mention of which is made, at the beginning of the second century, by proconsul Pliny in his correspondence from Asia Minor with the Emperor Trajan, was without doubt a Greek liturgy. Half a century later Justin Martyr, the Christian apologist, describes the rites of Baptism and the Eucharist in his first *Apologia*. He was a Palestinian of pagan descent, but lived and worked in Asia Minor, where his conversion to Christianity probably took place, and subsequently moved on to Rome: the liturgy he was acquainted with must have been a Greek liturgy. Another fifty years later Hippolytus wrote liturgical texts for a Greek-speaking congregation in Rome, significant remnants of which have been preserved in the writing called *Traditio apostolica*[2]: viz. formulas for the administration of Baptism, the conferring of Holy Orders and the celebration of the Eucharist.

These formulas do not offer a fixed text: the actual wording was the work of Hippolytus. Generally speaking, content and outline were given, but the actual phrasing was left to the celebrant[3]. As to the eucharistic prayer, this meant the free expression of the essential themes: the thankful remembrance of God's great works and gifts, specifically the recollection of Christ's Last Supper through the rehearsal of the institution narrative, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit. Some elements, although not strictly essential, were also a regular part of the framework of the prayer. Hippolytus' text presents the preliminary dialogue, alternated by celebrant and faithful: Lift up your hearts — We lift them up unto the Lord; Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God — It is meet and right. There is also the *Amen*-formula, mentioned already by Justin Martyr, the response of the congregation as the conclusion to the eucharistic prayer. Both elements feature in every eucharistic prayer from the beginnings unto the present day.

II. The transition from Greek to Latin in liturgical practice

Once fully developed, the liturgy of the Latin West was to overshadow the Greek mother liturgy in multiplicity of forms and variety of content, but we know next to nothing about the initial phase with the change to, and the first

[2] Edited by B. Botte in *La Tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 39; Münster, 1963). The place of origin must be Rome, although there is some discussion as to a possible Egyptian origin or background: see C. Bouman, 'Traditio apostolica', *Liturgisch Woordenboek 2* (Roermond-Maaseik, 1965-1968), cols. 2692-2694 and S. van Dijk, 'Romeinse liturgie', *ibid.*, col. 2432.

[3] On the freedom the celebrant enjoyed in phrasing the text of the prayer, see, besides the general works, the monograph of A. Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula. The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 21; Washington, 1980). Some data and reflections also in R.P.C. Hanson, 'The Liberty of the Bishop to improvise Prayer in the Eucharist', *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961), pp. 173-176.

composition of texts in, the vernacular[4]. We have seen above that in Rome Hippolytus wrote a eucharistic prayer in Greek. Probably the Roman practice had some connection with the practice in other Churches of the West, in Europe and in North Africa. But the North African Church most likely preceded the Roman Church in the change to Latin celebrations[5]. However that may be, it is right to conjecture that the practice of psalmody has been conducive to this transition, in North Africa, at Rome and elsewhere: Latin translations of psalms and of collections of psalms circulated at an early date, possibly for use in liturgical services too. But unless nonbiblical, and in particular eucharistic, prayers are said in Latin, we cannot truly speak of a Latin liturgy.

Tertullian, the North African contemporary of Hippolytus, though bilingual, composed his treatises chiefly in Latin. More than once in these works he refers to liturgical matters, for instance in his commentary on the Lord's Prayer, *De oratione*[6]. But it is not clear whether the celebrations he has in view were performed in Greek or in Latin. We must assume that Latin was the language of personal prayer. Tertullian mentions the practice of *simul orare* and *Domino cantare* of married couples[7] and the use in various circumstances of formulas like *benedicat te Deus*[8]. This seems to point to the habit of individual Latin prayer, but does not allow of a similar conjecture with respect to the communal prayer of the liturgy.

Fifty years later Cyprian, the great Carthaginian bishop, wrote his letters and treatises. He repeatedly refers to liturgical practice, the performance of rites and the recitation of prayers. Some particulars suggest the use of Latin texts[9]. It must first be observed that, with regard to public prayer, Cyprian's

[4] The religious and cultural situation that marked the transition from Greek to Latin in the liturgical celebrations has been described by Christine Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin. Its Origins and Character* (Washington, 1957), pp. 30-59.

[5] See F. Cabrol, 'Liturgie anténicéenne de l'Afrique', *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* 1 (Paris, 1924), col. 613, and E. Dekkers, 'Afrikaanse liturgie', *Liturgisch Woordenboek* 1 (Roermond-Maaseik, 1958-1962), col. 65. On this problem and on related questions, see also Th. Klauser, 'Der Übergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache', *Miscellaenea Giovanni Mercati* (Studi e Testi 121-126; Roma, 1946): 1, pp. 467-482; G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne* I (Paris, 1948); Christine Mohrmann, 'Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome', *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949), pp. 67-106. 163-183 (repr. in Christine Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* 3 (Roma, 1965), pp. 67-126).

[6] The relevant study on this topic is E. Dekkers, *Tertullianus en de geschiedenis der liturgie* (Brussel-Amsterdam, 1947).

[7] Cp. *Ad uxorem* 2,8,7-8; see also 2,6,2.

[8] Cp. *De testimonio animae* 2,2.

[9] On the liturgical data in Cyprian, see V. Saxer, *Vie liturgique et quotidienne à Carthage vers le milieu du IIIe siècle. Le témoignage de saint Cyprien et de ses contemporains d'Afrique* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 29; Città del Vaticano, 1969). Useful for reference remains the study of E.W. Watson, 'The Style and Language of St. Cyprian', *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 4 (Oxford, 1896).

works present elements of a fixed vocabulary, the beginnings of a technical terminology. I refer to an expression Saxer mentions: the pair of words *sacrificium et prex*, with *sacrificium* indicating the sacrificial rite of the Eucharist and *prex* the text of the pertinent prayer[10]. As the plural *preces* is the normal form of the word, the singular *prex* catches the eye. In *prex*, to be found elsewhere in Cyprian and, shortly after him, in Commodian[11], we feel the nuance '*the* prayer', 'the pre-eminent and canonical prayer', *i.e.* the eucharistic prayer, the same as we have met in Hippolytus[12]. Still, the fact that a language has a special term for a specific prayer does not necessarily imply that, when this prayer is said, it is said in that language. The Latin faithful in the third and fourth centuries probably did not see anything inconsistent in using the solemn Latin word *prex* for a prayer that possibly was said in Greek. There is a parallel with the situation in the Roman Catholic Church until the Second Vatican Council: rites performed in Latin had their own names in the vernacular languages.

It would seem nevertheless that in Cyprian's time the North African Church had opted for Latin as the vehicle for the recitation of the eucharistic prayer. We may find an indication to that effect in Cyprian's exhortation to the faithful that, when celebrating the sacrifice with the bishop, they abstain from offering their supplications to God with obstreperous and undisciplined loquacity[13]: this seems to imply the use of the vernacular by those present. There is also the passage in *De dominica oratione* in which Cyprian cites one of the formulas of the preliminary dialogue of the eucharistic prayer: *Susum corda – Habemus ad Dominum*[14]. The quotation is in Latin, in the form soon to be found also in Commodian[15] and, henceforward, figuring in all Western

[10] *Epist.* 65,2,1: see Saxer, *Vie liturgique*, pp. 200.205: on 200-201 the passages where Cyprian uses *prex* for the eucharistic prayer: among them the famous text on a dissident minister who pronounces a eucharistic prayer that, because of an apparently unorthodox content and wording, falls short of the standards of canonicity: *constituere audet aliud altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, dominicae hostiae veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare* (*De unitate ecclesiae catholicae* 17).

[11] *Instructiones* 2,31(35),14-15: *sacerdos Domini cum susum corda praecedit / in prece fienda ut fiant silentia vestra.*

[12] The term *oratio* in its Christian meaning of prayer could also be used in this solemn sense: so in *De dominica oratione* 31: *sacerdos ante orationem praefatione praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: susum corda*: see also Saxer, *Vie liturgique*, pp. 204-205.

[13] Cp. *De dominica oratione* 4: *quando ... sacrificia divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus, verecundiae et disciplinae memores esse debemus, non passim ventilare preces nostras inconditis vocibus nec petitionem commendandam modeste Deo tumultuosa loquacitate iactare*, probably an allusion to the *oratio fidelium*, the petitionary prayer of the congregation that was part of the eucharistic service.

[14] *De dominica oratione* 31: *sacerdos ante orationem praefatione praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: susum corda, ut dum respondet plebs: habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.*

[15] *Instructiones* 2,31(35),14-15: *sacerdos Domini cum 'susum corda' praecedit / in prece fienda ut fiant silentia vestra.*

liturgies. We cannot exclude the possibility that it is an *ad hoc* translation of the Greek dialogue we know from Hippolytus, a translation posterity would have adopted or again thought up. But it is a much more plausible supposition that the Latin formula, obviously translated from the Greek, was already a fixed one in North Africa around the middle of the third century and that Cyprian and Commodian are the first witnesses to its use.

Cyprian has other formulas that appear in later prayers. In one of his letters he uses the expression *sanctificare olei creaturam*[16], a clear echo of which is found in the words of a later Roman *sacramentarium* for the blessing of baptismal water: *benedico te, creatura aquae*[17]: we must keep in mind that in liturgical idiom *sanctificare* and *benedicere* are synonyms. As a parallel to Cyprian's *creatura olei* we note *creatura crismatis*, to be found in the same *sacramentarium* for the special oil called chrism[18]; *creatura salis* is called, in a text of the same collection of prayers, the salt on which, preparatory to Baptism, a formula of exorcism is pronounced[19]. Do these *creatura*-combinations perhaps belong to a set of euchological terms and expressions, a Latin liturgical idiom, that began to take shape in the third century? In general, Cyprian's language with respect to liturgical matters and the way he formulates prayers of intercession, as at the end of *Epist.* 11[20], are evidence of a consummate polished style that could well be the style of Latin public prayer as practised by the Latin Church of Carthage presided over by her bishop[21].

For the situation in the century after Cyprian, from 250 to 350, unambiguous evidence is lacking, but we may surmise or infer the following.

Probably the practice differed from Church to Church and from day to day or from period to period, both in North Africa and at Rome. Rome and Carthage, in the third century, still had Greek-speaking communities and cir-

[16] *Epist.* 70,2,2.

[17] *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (ed. L.C. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 4, Roma, 1960), p. 73.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[20] *Epist.* 11,8: *Rogemus pacem maturius reddi, cito latebris nostris et periculis subveniri, inpleri quae famulis suis Dominus dignatur ostendere, redintegrationem ecclesiae suae, securitatem salutis nostrae, post pluvias serenitatem, post tenebras lucem, post procellas et turbines placidam lenitatem ...*; cf. also *De bono patientiae* 13: *ut ad spem veritatis et libertatis admissi ad veritatem et libertatem ipsam pervenire possimus* and *De dominica oratione* 12: *ut qui in baptismo sanctificati sumus in eo quod esse coepimus perseveremus*: more instances in Cabrol (footnote 5), cols. 611-616. In *Oremus*, repeated several times in *Epist.* 30,6,2, we perceive perhaps the preliminary *Oremus* that appears in the *Orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday: for these *Orationes*, see below.

[21] The same view is held by Bouley (footnote 3), p. 162. He mentions however in a footnote Klauser's doubts whether there is sufficient evidence to reach a definite conclusion: cp. Th. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (= *Kleine abendländische Liturgiegeschichte*; (Bonn, 1965), translated from the German by J. Halliburton, London, 1969), p. 21.

cles in which Greek was understood, a fact that may have favoured the preservation of Greek as language of the liturgy. On the other hand, outside of the principal Churches, especially in outlying communities, where Latin was the only language of faithful and ministers, the use of the vernacular must gradually have become a matter of course. But as late as the initial years of the fifth century Augustine mentions that, among the audience listening to his sermons, in Hippo and elsewhere in North Africa, some people understood Greek or were even Greek-speaking[22]. So, Latin and Greek may have been in simultaneous use, perhaps even alternating in one and the same service. It must be added that 'Greek or Latin' does not seem to have been a burning problem: there is scarcely a hint of a discussion on the matter. The Latin pilgrim Egeria describing the liturgy of Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century tells us that lessons of Scripture and sermons, read and spoken in Greek, were translated by interpreters into Aramaic for the natives, into Latin for a large number of foreigners. Eucharistic prayers are not mentioned in this context: recitation in Greek without translation appears to have been an undisputed practice[23]. However, in Ambrosiaster, Egeria's enigmatic Roman or at least Italian contemporary, we possibly perceive the echo of a discussion. Commenting on Paul's statements on speaking with tongues (1 Corinthians 14) he says that, when the prayer of benediction is said — doubtless the eucharistic prayer is meant —, an *imperitus* who listens but does not understand, is unaware of the end of the prayer which he is expected to confirm with his *Amen*[24].

It is reasonable to assume that in the Western half of the Empire the importance of Latin in public worship was steadily increasing. In this context a study must be mentioned which at the time of its publication, in the 1920s, was rightly felt to be of considerable interest. It defends an early origin of a well-known series of prayers of the Roman liturgy, the *Orationes sollemnes*, the majestic prayers of intercession in the Good Friday service[25]. On account of allusions to a situation of persecution and because of undeniable analogies in thought and expression with Greek prayers that certainly date back to the times of persecution, the author claims that this euchological material was created in

22 See B. Altaner, 'Augustinus und die griechische Sprache', *Kleine patristische Schriften*, ed. by G. Glockmann (Texte und Untersuchungen 83; Berlin, 1967), pp. 129-153, especially 134-135.

23 See *Itinerarium Egeriae* 47,3-5; the author adds that the translation takes place *propter populum ut semper discant*; when she mentions eucharistic services on several occasions, using expressions like *sacramenta agere*, *legitima agere*, *offerre*, *oblatio*, no such remark is added.

24 Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in Epist. I ad Corinthios*, 14,16.

25 A. Baumstark, 'Liturgischer Nachhall der Verfolgungszeit', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der Byzantinischen Literatur. Festgabe Albert Ehrhard zum 60. Geburtstag*, hsg. von A.M. Koeniger (Bonn-Leipzig, 1922, reprinted Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 53-72. See also D.M. Cappuyns, 'Les *Orationes sollemnes* du vendredi saint', *Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* 23 (1938), pp. 18-31: the author defends the Roman origin, at the last in the fourth century.

the Roman Church in the course of the third century. He proposes as its creator Cornelius, bishop of Rome and Latin correspondent of Cyprian, his Carthaginian colleague, the first pope to be honoured with a sepulchral inscription in Latin. The author's argumentation is worth noticing, but does not seem to be wholly conclusive. These prayers could have been composed equally at the time of Diocletian's persecution, at the beginning of the fourth century. On the other hand, that this Roman material is old cannot reasonably be questioned. It follows, then, that it was used in the Roman Church side by side with prayers in Greek. In fact, the use of Greek in the liturgy of Rome is documented as far as the second half of the fourth century. Marius Victorinus quotes the euchological formula: σῶσον περιούσιον λαόν, ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων from an *oratio oblationis*, a prayer that must be related to the Eucharist[26].

About the same time, however, we find locutions that certainly pertain to prayers similar to or connected with the later Roman Canon. Ambrosiaster alludes to the expression *summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech*, belonging to the *Supra quae*-formula of the Roman Canon[27]. Jerome, quoting from the Lord's Prayer as part of the sacrifice, uses the expression *audere loqui*, which reminds us of the *audemus dicere* that precedes the Lord's Prayer, recited after the Canon[28]. And, most specifically, Ambrose, around the year 390, quotes a Latin passage of a eucharistic prayer with the institution narrative that, presumably, had found its way from Rome to Milan and is clearly an early wording of the Roman Canon[29]. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that at the close of the fourth century the liturgy in Italy was a Latin one, although, in Rome, the memory of the Greek original will remain and is easily evoked in the next centuries, as for instance by the introduction of the *Kyrie eleison* and the bilingual recitation of the readings of Scripture in

[26] *Adv. Arium* 2,8: see Marius Victorinus, *Traités théologiques sur la Trinité*, 1. Text by P. Henry. 2. Introduction, French Translation and Notes by P. Hadot (Sources Chrétiennes 68-69; Paris, 1960): see 1, pp. 416-417 and 2, pp. 917-918. A native of Africa, Marius Victorinus was rhetor in Rome; *Adv. Arium* was written around the beginning of the year 360: see 1, p. 48. The passage of Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in ep. 1 ad Cor.* 14,14, sometimes quoted in this context (see Bardy — footnote 5 —, p. 163), about Latin people pleased with singing Greek texts they do not understand, in my view, does not necessarily relate to liturgical practice.

[27] Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* 109,21, identifies Melchisedech with the Holy Spirit and comments: *Spiritus sanctus ... sacerdos appellatus est excelsi dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione praesumunt.*

[28] *Dialogus adv. Pelagianos* 3,15: *Sic docuit apostolus suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui: Pater noster, qui es in coelis ...*

[29] *De sacramentis* 4,5,21-27: *Accipe quae sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem scriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur ... Ergo memores ... offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam ... et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias ... sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.*

solemn celebrations of the Roman Pontiff[30]. At this point, we must take notice of the important fact that, as appears from the foregoing, fixed formulas had already come into existence as parts of the eucharistic prayer[31]. Evidently, not much time elapsed between the transition from Greek to Latin and the appearance of prescribed or recommended euchological material.

We have conjectured above that in the Churches of North Africa this transition took place earlier than on the other side of the Mediterranean. Reliable information does not become available, however, before the end of the fourth century[32], when Augustine had become Bishop of Hippo as successor to the Greek speaking(!) Valerius. The sources are the decisions of the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397), with a large contribution on Augustine's side, and many passages in his works. I adopt here the conclusions of what is to my knowledge the latest study on Augustine in this respect[33]. Composition of prayers in Latin appears to be a matter of course. Improvisation by the celebrating bishop or priest is still in existence, but on the decline. Provided the content of the prayer agrees with standard conditions, freedom is not vetoed. Fixed formulas, however, are becoming more and more frequent. *Libelli* with texts of prayers ready for use in the services circulate, probably in large numbers. The ecclesiastical authorities, councils and bishops, see to it that these texts are theologically unimpeachable. Great store is also set by correctness of terminology and style.

Regrettably, no specimens of such *libelli* or of prayers included in them have been preserved. That the North African Church had a great wealth of euchological material, cannot be doubted, however. Of these riches we catch a small glimpse in a quotation by Augustine from a *laus cerei*, a praise of the Paschal Candle to be proclaimed in the Paschal Vigil. It had been written by Augustine himself in the form of a hexametrical poem and he quotes the following three lines in *De civitate dei*:

Haec tua sunt, bona sunt, quia tu bonus ista creasti.
Nil nostrum est in eis, nisi quod peccamus amantes
Ordine neglecto pro te, quod conditur a te[34].

[30] See J.A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe* 1 (⁴Wien, 1958), p. 97.

[31] See also Bouley (footnote 3), pp. 204-206.

[32] On the lack of evidence for the century after Cyprian, see Bouley, p. 162.

[33] M. Klöckener, 'Das eucharistische Hochgebet bei Augustinus. Zu Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung', *Signum Pietatis. Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by A. Zumkeller OSA (Würzburg, 1989), pp. 461-495; especially 493-495. Klöckener, in his ample bibliography, does not omit to mention the monograph, rich but outdated and in need of revision, of W. Roetzer, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als liturgie-geschichtliche Quelle. Eine liturgie-geschichtliche Studie* (München, 1930).

[34] *De civitate dei*, 15,22.

III. A variety of liturgies

Around the year 400 the liturgy in the Churches of the West has definitely taken a Latin form. By then, it has also become a custom to compose formulaic prayers, fixed texts, apt for repeated use, in the yearly cycle of commemorations, as well as on other occasions and in other Churches of the area. This was the start of an evolution that ended in the creation of different euchological families, the liturgies of the Western Church. This large-scale creative activity is of great interest from a theological and a literary point of view, but much of it escapes our notice.

We shall devote our attention to it, nevertheless, but we must first touch upon a particular feature that distinguishes all these liturgical forms from the practice of the Eastern Churches. In comparison with the formularies of the Antiochene, Alexandrian, Byzantine and other Eastern rites, the formularies of the Churches in the West are much more varied. With regard to the apogee of the eucharistic prayer, the institution narrative, there is no variation: its wording, for the most part a literal quotation from Holy Scripture, does not allow of any deviation. But except for this one element, the Western practice tends to vary the texts of the prayers according to the *Temporale*, the succession of the ecclesiastical feasts in the course of the year, Advent, Christmas, Lent, Eastern etc., and the *Sanctorale*, the calendar of yearly commemorations of martyrs and other saints of the Church. In the celebrations of the Eastern liturgies the eucharistic prayer had developed from improvisation into one fixed form: the conviction even arose in some Churches that this form went back to the practice of the Apostles. But in the West the variation of the originally improvised prayer ended in a number of texts — exemplified by the circulation of the *libelli* in the North African Churches — and in the continuing possibility of producing such texts: creativity remained alive. The same holds for other parts of the celebration, for instance the introductory prayer, the collect of the Roman Mass; the Eastern liturgies have a fixed text here too, but in all Western rites there is a great variety according to the suggestions of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*. This situation led to the creation, in the West, of a great wealth of formulaic prayers, the larger part of which, however, especially the African material, has been lost. Many thousands of prayers, nevertheless, have been preserved, survivors of previous liturgical practice in the areas of Roman dominion and Latin culture.

As a matter of fact, this diversified liturgical practice had its local or regional features. The liturgy of the Roman Church was more sober than the other liturgies of the European West, especially when compared with two rites of the so-called Gallican type, the Mozarabic or Visigothic rite in the Iberian Peninsula and the Gallican rite or rites proper in the Gallo-Frankish area. In comparison with these rites the Roman rite, accompanied, up to a point, by the Ambrosian rite in the ecclesiastical province of the Church of Milan, shows

less variety. At Rome and Milan the eucharistic prayer, the *Canon missae*, as against the other prayers of the service, is not variable, except for its introductory formula, the *praefatio*. In the Mozarabic and Gallican eucharistic prayers all formulas that together constitute these prayers, except the one that includes the institution narrative, vary with the season. The formularies are, to use the German term, 'Gesamtformulare': all parts, except the institution narrative, relate to the feast of the day. Such 'Gesamtformulare' were composed also for special events or necessities, a death, a coronation, an epidemic, danger of war, etc.: freedom of creation made creation last. And so, remarkable compositions saw the light, such as the Gallican formulary in the form of a hexametrical poem with borrowings from the sixth-century poets Arator and Venantius Fortunatus. The opening lines of the *contestatio* (the Gallican *contestatio* is the equivalent of the Roman *praefatio*) of this Mass, the first of the series of the so-called Masses of Mone ('die Mone-Messen') read[35]:

Dignum et iustum est nos gratias tibi dicere dignas,
Summe deus, semperque manens dominatur ubique, ...

After these preliminary observations we return to the period around the year 400, when Latin has become the sole language of liturgy in the West. Unfortunately, on pursuing our investigations we hit on many uncertainties. In point of fact, the euchological material at our disposal, copious as it is, offers few starting-points for further historical research. So we are hard put to solve the chronological and other problems involved.

The greatest obstacle is the complete anonymity of these texts. In the surviving *sacramentaria*, the large collections of liturgical prayers, composed for practical use and arranged in line with the requirements of *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, no names of authors appear. We know of writers of liturgical formulas by other sources, indeed. So we hear of the composition of prayers for public worship by Sidonius Apollinaris, the Gallic writer of the fifth century, by popes Gelasius at the end of the fifth and Gregory at the end of the sixth century, by Eugenius of Toledo during the seventh, and by other personalities. But we have no reliable information on their literary activity in this respect, and we cannot readily identify texts from their hands in the *sacramentaria*.

In the absence of external evidence we have to rely on the examination of the texts themselves, preserved in *sacramentaria* since the eighth century. But this gathering of internal evidence often proves a most difficult task. In some cases a literary relationship provides us with chronological information, as is the case with the first Mass of Mone, mentioned above, where dependence on

[35] The 'Mone-Messen' are a series of Gallican Masses, the text of which was, a century and a half ago, deciphered from a palimpsest in Karlsruhe Library and edited by the liturgical scholar Franz Joseph Mone. A modern edition is that by L.C. Mohlberg in *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series maior. Fontes 3; Roma, 1958); for the quoted lines, see p. 75.

the poetry of Arator and Venantius Fortunatus establishes a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text. Comparative hagiographical research may also be helpful. In many a prayer of the *Sanctorale* in the *sacramentaria*, details are hinted at that refer to the contents of some *acta martyrum* or to the *vita* of some saint. As it is possible, in several cases, to date, at least approximately, these hagiographical documents, a conclusion is sometimes legitimate with regard to the origin of certain euchological pieces.

Most of the time, however, information from the texts is hard to come by. In the prayers references to specific ecclesiastical or political situations or allusions to concrete events are not lacking, but they are always phrased so as to blur actuality: the Church prays for assistance in the fight against heresy — which heresy, we do not learn; she prays for help in a temporal necessity — what kind of necessity, remains obscure. Painstaking investigative work, therefore, is needed to detect a concrete situation behind the vagueness of the wording and to establish the occasion and date of composition of the prayer. Such work was done, with respect to the *Sacramentarium Veronense*, by A. Chavasse and G. Pomarès, Chavasse establishing with great probability, for various series of formulas, the authorship of pope Vigilius in the sixth century, Pomarès, establishing likewise, for another set of formulas, the authorship of pope Gelasius at the end of the fifth[36]. On the other hand, the application of linguistic and stylistic standards, often resorted to for want of something better ('the vocabulary of Gelasius', 'the style of Leo the Great', and such-like), has hardly ever yielded convincing results. Because subjectivity plays a large part in this field, speculations far outnumber ascertained conclusions. Linguistic and stylistic particulars may help to confirm what is probable on other grounds: conclusive force on their own they seldom have.

Given this situation we realise that, with respect to the greater part of the euchological material, chronological precision is impossible. It follows that what would be an important instrument for mastering the problems of origin and relationship of the prayers is not at our disponal. And so it proves difficult to solve the first and central problem. Has there been, somewhere between the third and fifth centuries, one clear-cut pattern of ritual and prayer, the common source of the different Western traditions? Or was the euchological creation an autonomous activity from the start, the different regions developing each on their own the ritual and linguistic forms of worship? Or should we conclude in favour of something in between, a number of more or less independent devel-

[36] A. Chavasse, 'Messes du pape Vigile (537-555) dans le sacramentaire léonien', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 64 (1950), pp. 161-213. 66 (1952), pp. 145-219: Masses composed during the siege of Rome by the Ostrogoths; G. Pomarès, *Gélase Ier. Lettres contre les Lupercales et dix-huit messes du sacramentaire léonien. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Sources Chrétiennes 65; Paris, 1959): Masses composed in the fight against the revival of pagan practices

opments on one common base? Before addressing ourselves to this question, let us look at the outcome of the evolution.

The Latin West has known the following liturgical rites[37]. First the Roman rite[38], observed in the city of Rome, and spreading throughout Middle- and Southern Italy and Dalmatia, some Churches presenting local features, as is the case in the rite of Benevento. Next the North African rite, which must have been of very great importance, but, as only a very small number of documents survive, information on it is very poor. The prevailing opinion is that it had close associations with the Roman rite[39], though there is evidence of Spanish (Mozarabic) influence also[40].

The counterpart of this Roman (or Roman-African) tradition is what is called by a not very apposite term the Gallican tradition, comprising generally the liturgies of the Western and North-Western areas of the (former) Empire. To it belongs the Ambrosian rite, practised at Milan and in its ecclesiastical dependencies. It presents some similarity with the Roman practice[41] — a consequential point we will have to come back to —, yet is commonly held to be of the Gallican type. To this type belong further the Mozarabic rite in the Iberian Peninsula and the rites, called Gallican in a strict sense, practised in Gaul and adjacent areas. The so-called Celtic liturgy has some features that hint at a relationship with these Gallican rites, but other elements show Roman and Oriental influences, and the admixture of indigenous Celtic, i.e. Irish and Scottish, peculiarities. With respect to the question of the beginnings of Latin liturgy the Celtic rite does not seem to provide much information: so we do not take it into account in our investigation.

[37] See the outlines in Jungmann (footnote 30) I, pp. 57-63, and Meyer (footnote 1), pp. 153-164.

[38] Dom Dix prefers the term 'Italian rite', the strictly Roman rite being 'only the most important local rite amid a number of other Italian local rites, varying in the phrasing of their prayers but all having much the same character': Dix (footnote 1), p. 563. He writes further, pp. 564-565, that, in the fifth century, the Italian provincial Churches adopted the outline of the Roman liturgy and the text, perhaps with local modifications, of the Roman eucharistic prayer. I own to having a feeling that these two statements are not wholly consistent.

[39] See Cabrol and Dekkers (footnote 5), cols. 613 and 65.69 respectively.

[40] B. Fischer and E. Lowe have pointed out that the remarkable tenth-century Latin document, discovered around the year 1950 in the library of the monastery of Saint Catherine's on the Sinai and containing probably liturgical material of an isolated Christian community in Arabian North Africa, mirrors the Spanish rather than the Roman tradition: cp. B. Fischer-A. Lowe, 'Zur Liturgie der lateinischen Handschriften vom Sinai' in B. Fischer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte* (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 12; Freiburg, 1986), pp. 106-155: see especially 141-147. It appears that, on this issue, much remains uncertain.

[41] A point of resemblance is the common use of what we know as the Roman Canon of the Mass, the text of which is already alluded to by Ambrose (see above). Dix (footnote 1), pp. 568-569, sees the Ambrosian rite as one of the local Italian rites, on a par with the rite of Benevento.

Confronted with this euchological variety, we have to answer the question whether it goes back to a common origin, or is the outcome of autonomous developments, or, perhaps, the result of a mixture of the two. In the case of a common origin a second question arises, viz. where this origin is to be located. Looking for an answer to these questions we are thwarted, however, by several handicaps. Apart from the anonymity of the material, we have to cope with the scarcity of our information on the North African liturgy, which was so important in the fourth and fifth centuries, with the difficulty of bridging the wide empty space between the beginnings of Latin liturgy and the first appearance, in the eight century, of preserved sets of formulas in the *sacramentaria*, and with the complicating factor of the borrowings, borrowings from the Greek, specifically the Alexandrian and the Antiochene, rites, and borrowings between the Latin rites themselves: the awareness of relationships may be of help in establishing dependencies, but equally leave us with additional problems.

In view of these difficulties no unequivocal answer to the question can be expected. We will try, however; and, at any rate, various aspects of the problems involved, as well as various views put forward by liturgical scholars, can be discussed, and the discussion may prompt further research in the field.

One approach answers our questions on the origin of the variety in a very definite way. It says that the different liturgical traditions do not spring from autonomous developments, but go back to a common source. This source must be a capital city in Italy in the fourth century: in point of fact, Milan, rather than Rome. About a century ago the great scholar Duchesne[42] saw in the fourth-century imperial residence Milan the centre from which Latin euchology spread throughout Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula: he also emphasized the Oriental origin of many elements of this Milanese, turned Gallican, liturgy. Klauser[43], enlarging Duchesne's thesis, included Rome in Milan's domain and held that the Milanese liturgy, with its Oriental imprint, was adopted by the Roman Church: thus, Milan became the 'liturgical capital' of the entire Latin West. According to Klauser, the definitive transition from Greek to Latin took place in Milan, and so Milan's political primacy could translate itself into a liturgical one as well. Consequently, it was Rome that adopted Milan's *Canon actionis*, not the other way round: the so-called 'Roman Canon', actually, is a 'Milanese Canon'.

Klauser's is an intriguing vision of historical events. But does it conform to the reality of the past? It seems to me that several important questions are glossed over by its attractive appearance. One of these questions concerns the

[42] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien. Étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (5Paris, 1909), pp. 90-95. A study, that, instead of clarifying, adds to the problems, is G. Morin, 'Depuis quand un canon fixe à Milan? Restes de ce qu'il a remplacé', *Revue Bénédictine* 55 (1939), pp. 101-108.

[43] See Klauser (footnote 5).

uncertainty with respect to the liturgy in North Africa, a subject Duchesne too mentioned in his study only in passing[44]. A relationship between the North African and the Roman liturgy is thought probable by most liturgists, as we have seen above. So, Klauser's position would imply a direct relationship, improbable in my opinion, between the African Church and Milan, a relationship that started as late as the middle or the second half of the fourth century. As a matter of fact, because we have no comprehensive knowledge of the contents of the North African liturgy, it is difficult to gauge its character and relationships. Possibly, as we have mentioned above, there were links with Spanish (Mozarabic) liturgical ritual and forms of expression. The complexity of the problems concerning the North African liturgy, therefore, is such as to exclude conclusions with regard to its origins and a possible relationship with Milanese practice.

Another point concerns the *Canon actionis*, according to Klauser a Milanese eucharistic prayer. In his vision the quotations, in Ambrose's *De sacramentis*, of a text related to the so-called 'Roman Canon', are not borrowings from a Roman text, but present authentic Milanese material. The form of the *Canon*, with the variable *praefatio* in both the Roman and Ambrosian rites, is also originally Milanese. But, one wonders, why then did this Milanese form not obtain also in the other regions of the West, Gaul and Spain? There, the *Canon* as a whole is variable, except the institution narrative. If we accept Duchesne's thesis of a Milanese origin for the Mozarabic and strictly Gallican rites, than it would seem that Milan itself changed to a less variable Canon, the one the Church of Rome was using: Milan dependent on Rome, not Rome on Milan. It would be the reverse of Klauser's position.

There are also chronological problems. I have already mentioned that it strains our historical imagination to have to assume that the North African liturgy only took form after 350, when Milan became the political centre of the Empire. We remember, in addition, the *Orationes sollemnes*. They are specifically Roman, and, dating back to the times of persecution, cannot have been borrowed from Milan in the second half of the fourth century.

Klauser's choice for Milan, therefore, is questionable. Moreover, his, and partly also Duchesne's, focusing on one place as the common source for liturgical development seems to skip the first and all-important question: was there a common origin of the later diversity? I think that to answer this question, we must take into account the linguistic situation. It is the difference of terminology with respect to the first prayer of the Canon that asks for our attention.

In a definite group of the Roman and in the Ambrosian *sacramentaria* the first, variable, prayer of the Canon is called *praefatio*[45]. In the Mozarabic tra-

[44] Duchesne (footnote 42), p. 95, footnote 2.

[45] *Praefatio* is the regular name for the first part of the eucharistic prayer in the Roman *sacramentaria* of the Gregorian type. It does not function as such in the *sacramentaria* of the Gelasian type, where no specific appellation for the first formula of the Canon appears. Yet, the corre-

dition the Canon is a succession of variable prayers, the first of which, corresponding with the Roman-Milanese *praefatio*, is called *illatio*[46]. In the Gallic area we find for this first prayer the terms *contestatio* (or *contestatio missae* and *contestata*) and *immolatio* (or *immolatio missae*)[47]. We conclude that in different parts of the Latin European West the introductory prayer of the Canon bore a different name: in Italy *praefatio*, in the Iberian Peninsula *illatio*, in Gaul *contestatio* or *immolatio*.

As to *praefatio*, the discussion on the early history of the term and its original meaning in a liturgical context has not yet been settled. But researchers agree that, in an early stage of its history, it was a designation of the Canon as a whole[48]. It is logical to assume that afterwards, as the eucharistic prayer broke up — by the introduction or greater emphasizing of the *Sanctus* —, the term came to apply specifically to the first part. A parallel evolution may well have taken place with regard to the Spanish *illatio*. The term is a synonym of *oblatio*[49], one of the oldest Latin words for the eucharistic service, the essence of which is the Canon. When the Canon separated into several smaller units, application of its name to the first of these is natural. There is, moreover, some authorial evidence for *illatio* in the sense of Canon. About the beginning of the seventh century Isidore of Seville, enumerating the prayers that constitute the entire eucharistic service, writes: *quinta deinde infertur illatio in sanctificatione oblationis, in qua etiam et ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque caelestium universitas provocatur, et Hosanna in excelsis cantatur*[50]. The term *illatio* is first seen as referring naturally to the Canon as a whole, the prayer of consecration of the Eucharist (*sanctificatio oblationis*), and next as

spondence between the Gregorian and the Ambrosian documents most probably points to an early use of the term.

[46] The term appears in all the formularies of eucharistic services registered in the great Mozarabic *sacramentaria*: *Liber Ordinum* (M. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica 5; Parisiis, 1904) and *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (M. Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica 6; Parisiis, 1912).

[47] See *Missale Francorum*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 2; Roma, 1957), pp. 25 (*contestata*), 28 (*contestatio*); *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (footnote 35), pp. 43 (*contestacio*), 46 (*immolacio*), 47 (*immolacio missae*); *contestatio* is the term of the Masses of Mone: see *ibid.* pp. 75. 78; *Missale Gothicum*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 5; Roma, 1961), pp. (*contestatio*), 10 (*contestatio missae*), 17 (*immolatio*) and 15 (*immolatio missae*).

[48] See on this important term the studies of J.A. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie* (Innsbruck, 1941), pp. 53-119; Christine Mohrmann, 'Sur l'histoire de *praefari – praefatio*', *Vigiliae Christianae* 7 (1953), pp. 1-15 (repr. *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* 3 (Roma, 1965), pp. 291-305); E. Dekkers, 'Προφητεία – praefatio', *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann*, éd., L.J. Engels - H.W.F.M. Hoppenbrouwers - A.J. Vermeulen (Utrecht - Anvers, 1963), pp. 190-195.

[49] Cp. the data in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 7,1,339,15ss. with attestations of *illatio* in early Christian texts in the sense of *oblatio, sacrificatio* and 7,1,1376,14ss. with attestations of *inferre* in pagan and Christian texts synonymous with *offerre*: *inferre dona* = *offerre dona*.

[50] *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1,15.

denoting in that context especially its introductory part, the preface, closed by the *Sanctus* with *Hosanna in excelsis*. As to the Gallic *immolatio* and *contestatio*, these terms, too, must initially have marked the Canon as a whole. *Immolatio* reminds us of *sacrificium*, the term we have found to be Cyprian's designation of the rite, the concomitant of which was the eucharistic prayer[51]. *Contestatio*[52], synonymous with the more frequently used *confessio* as a rendering of the biblical Greek term ἐξομολόγησις, denotes the Canon in its function of praise and glorification of God: it is the equivalent of *praedicatio*, that has also been used in the meaning of 'Canon'[53]. The ensuing reduction of *contestatio* to the first of the prayers was natural for this reason too that the element of praise is prevalent in this prayer above all.

Assuming, then, that the different names of the first prayer of the Canon were, in an earlier stage, the different names of the Canon itself, it would follow that, when the various rites with their euchological particulars came into existence, each started with its own name for the all-important central prayer, an important fact because of its symbolic value and the ensuing effectiveness. In the course of the development the basic distinction between the various rites took shape in the differences in structure, as with regard to the division of the Canon — a fundamental difference, as I see it — and in the differences in the language and style of the prayers. In spite of the many mutual borrowings — the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* and the Gallic *Missale Francorum*, for instance, contain many a Roman element —, the Gallican rites in Spain and Gaul present a linguistic and stylistic form that is fundamentally different from Roman custom. Characteristic features of these rites are protracted doctrinal exposition, long-winded rhetoric according to the rules of the encomiastic genre, and a preference for Asianic oratory in opposition to the simple and elegant Attic diction of most of the Roman prayers. The composition of a Mass in the form

[51] See statement referred to in footnote 10.

[52] In a sixth-century text of Gregory of Tours *contestatio* in the meaning of preface appears: *Cumque nos rite sacrosancta solemnia celebrantes, contestationem de sancti domini virtutibus narraremus, ... At ubi, expeditam contestationem, omnis populus 'sanctus' in laudem Domini proclamavit, ...* (*De virtutibus sancti Martini* 2,14): the bishop pronounces the preface glorifying the miracles of the saint; at the end the faithful respond with *Sanctus*.

[53] Firmilianus, in the correspondence of Cyprian *epist.* 75,10,5: *illa mulier ... etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet et sacrificium domino non sine sacramento solitae praedicationis offerret*; see also *Liber pontif.* 7,3: *Hic* (Alexander papa) *passionem domini miscuit in predicatione sacerdotum, quando misse celebrantur.* Ambrose seems to allude to that meaning when using *praedicare* in *De excessu fratris Satyri* 2,46: *mortem eius (Christi) orantes adnuntiamus, mortem eius offerentes praedicamus*; likewise Paulinus Nol., *Carm.* 27,53-56: *omni / pascha die ... ecclesia praedicat ... / ... contestans domini mortem cruce, de cruce vitam / cunctorum*; *contestans* here could well recall the technical use of *contestatio*. I mention the opinion of the liturgists that *praefatio*, referred to above, is, in its original liturgical use, probably, synonymous with *praedicatio* and *contestatio*.

of a poem (we remember the hexametrical Mass of Mone) is in the same vein: unthinkable in a Roman setting, it proves perfectly possible in Gallic practice.

In view of these divergences we are, in spite of our ignorance with regard to the African liturgy and to the relationship between the Roman and Ambrosian rites, allowed to suppose that the different euchological families were the outcome of fundamentally autonomous developments. There was no radiating from one central point, Rome or Milan, or whichever capital city. On the contrary, the rites built on a base that was coextensive with the whole of the Latin-speaking Christian community. It was a varied evolution from a common soil.

Several indications seem to point in that direction. We have seen that the introductory dialogue of the Canon (*Dominus vobiscum – Su[r]sum corda*, etc.), known to all rites, is quoted by Cyprian and Commodian in the third century. We recall, besides, that words and expressions used by Cyprian turn up later in a Roman *sacramentarium*. The early *Orationes sollemnes* contain turns of phrase evidencing a kind of idiom, instrumental in shaping liturgical writing everywhere in the Latin world. We recognize elements of that idiom in phrases and expressions of these *Orationes* like: *nobis tranquillam et quietam vitam degentibus*; *cuius aeterno iudicio universa fundantur*; *ut deus ... adaperiat ... ianuam ... misericordiae*[54]. Very familiar elements of this idiom constitute the opening line of the *contestatio* in the hexametrical Mass of Mone: *Dignum et iustum est nos gratias tibi dicere dignas*; and the same holds for the concluding lines: *Quaesumus ut iubeas nunc nos audire canentes / et tibi sint placitae laudes cum dicimus istas*, viz. *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*[55]. In like manner the opening and conclusion of a *contestatio* in the Gallican *Missale Gothicum*: *Dignum et iustum est, aequum et iustum est ...; laudes semper et gratias referamus cum angelis et archangelis, qui gloriam tuam non cessant clamare, dicentes*[56]. A perusal of the prayers in the *sacramentaria* of the different rites is an encounter with all kinds of familiar words, expressions, phrases, applied in varying combinations. The conclusion seems justified that, within the framework of the latinization of the liturgy in the third or fourth century, a collection of formulas and expressions built up, that was used in the different regions as a store and a set of models to elaborate upon in various ways.

That regional relationships should evolve, often with remarkable corresponding features, for instance between the Mozarabic and strictly Gallican rites, was only natural. A comparison with the development of the Romance languages seems appropriate here. In the evolution from the common Latin

[54] *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (footnote 17), pp. 65-66: see specimens of these expressions in several *sacramentaria* in G. Manz, *Ausdrucksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprache bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Beuron - Freiburg i. Br., 1941), p. 492 (*tranquillam et quietam vitam*, cf. 1 Tim. 2,2), p. 258 (*aeterno iudicio*), p. 219 (*ianuam misericordiae*).

[55] See text of the *contestatio* in *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (footnote 35), pp. 75-76.

[56] *Missale Gothicum* (footnote 47), p. 39.

origin regional interrelation between the developing languages played a part, creating similarities as between Portuguese and Spanish, and, on the whole, opposing the languages of the Western to those of the Eastern Romania. The autonomy in the development, therefore, was not absolute. Nor was it in the case of the Latin liturgies. Nevertheless, stemming from one common root they grew into different families which, though linked with one another on account of their origin and parallel development, presented each its own characteristics. To the question of the variety of Latin liturgy the answer seems to be that it did not evolve from one common centre, nor was the result of completely autonomous developments: it was the outcome of a varied growth from a common base.

L'onction pré-baptismale: sens et origine. Un exemple dans les *Actes de Thomas*

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La tradition syrienne continue d'interroger et de surprendre par nombre de ses traits propres. Parmi eux, il faut situer en bonne place l'onction précédant l'immersion baptismale, mentionnée dans plusieurs textes, essentiellement des 3ième et 4ième siècles. Depuis les premières remarques de Connolly en 1909[1], jusqu'aux plus récentes publications, la question de l'origine de cette onction pré-baptismale, ou plus exactement pré-immersionnelle tant cette onction est liée au bain qui la suit, continue d'alimenter un sérieux et difficile débat[2].

En 1947 déjà, T.W. Manson, collectant les sources disponibles, avançait une conclusion nuancée selon laquelle l'onction pré-baptismale remontait au moins au début du troisième siècle. Manson aurait bien aimé pouvoir montrer que cette onction trouvait son origine bien plus tôt dans l'histoire, peut-être même dès l'époque des premières générations chrétiennes; mais aucun texte, semblait-il ne lui permettait d'aller aussi loin[3].

Plus récemment, pourtant, en 1990, C. Munier proposa une hypothèse audacieuse quant à l'origine de cette onction[4]. Il notait le 'foisonnement primitif des rites de l'initiation chrétienne' et distinguait au moins deux sortes de baptême:

'Tandis que sur le pourtour méditerranéen, jusqu'aux confins de l'Occident, le bain baptismal, "pour la rémission des péchés", occupe le devant de la scène, dans les régions de langue et de culture araméenne, de la Palestine à la Célésyrie et à l'Arménie, l'accent est mis sur la réception de l'Esprit, rattachée à l'onction pré-baptismale'[5].

[1] Voir R.H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. XLII-XLIX.

[2] L'histoire de cette recherche a été bien traitée par P. Bradshaw, dans un livre récemment paru en traduction française: *La liturgie chrétienne en ses origines* ('Liturgie' n° 5; Paris, 1995), pp. 186-196. Ces dix pages constituent une remarquable synthèse.

[3] Cette tradition 'goes back to the third century at least, and probably earlier. In favour of the antiquity of the Syrian practice is the consideration that it has all the rest of the practice of Christendom against it, and that it is very unlikely that a difference of such magnitude would have been an innovation. It is more likely to be a survival'; cf. T.W. Manson, 'Entry into membership of the early church', dans *JTS* XLVIII, 1947, p. 26.

[4] C. Munier, 'Initiation chrétienne et rites d'onction (IIè-IIIè siècles)', dans *RevSR* 1990/2, pp. 115-125 et 'Rites d'onction, baptême chrétien et baptême de Jésus', dans *RevSR* 1990/3-4, pp. 217-234.

[5] C. Munier, 'Rites d'onction...', *loc. cit.*, p. 217.

Déjà dans l'Ecriture, notait le Professeur Munier, le don de l'Esprit précède l'eau du baptême[6]: n'est ce pas là la marque d'une onction pré-baptismale? Mais je voudrais poser ici d'abord la question du sens de cette onction, question qui me semble avoir été trop dissociée de celle de son origine. Cela me paraît d'autant plus important que, dans la tradition syrienne, tout le symbolisme du baptême est reporté sur cette onction. Je m'attacherai ici à l'un des plus anciens témoignages de cette onction pré-baptismale: les *Actes de Thomas*, sans doute composés au début du troisième siècle dans la région d'Edesse. Baby Varghèse, dans une belle étude sur les onctions dans la tradition syrienne affirme: 'le leitmotiv de l'onction dans les *ATh* correspond au sens de l'onction royale-sacerdotale'[7]. De fait, sur les cinq récits de baptême que nous lisons dans les *Actes de Thomas*, deux utilisent la formule: 'il (Thomas) prit de l'huile et la lui versa sur la tête'[8], formule qui rappelle les onctions vétéro-testamentaires des rois et des prêtres. Tentons de prendre la mesure de l'affirmation de Baby Varghèse en observant rapidement le premier récit d'initiation des *Actes de Thomas*.

Alors que Thomas vient de dilapider en aumônes l'argent que lui avait confié le Roi Goundaphor pour construire un palais, il est jeté en prison et condamné à mort. Mais le frère du roi vient à mourir et les anges lui montrent la demeure éternelle que Thomas a construite au ciel en distribuant largement l'argent aux pauvres. Revenu miraculeusement à la vie et émerveillé par son aventure, le frère du Roi raconte sa vision et persuade Goundaphor de demander avec lui la σφραγίς[9].

Tel est le contexte du premier récit d'initiation que l'on peut lire en *ATh* 24-27. Considérons un instant les formules employées par le Roi et son frère pour demander la σφραγίς:

'"Je te supplie, comme un homme qui a besoin du serviteur (διακόνου) de Dieu, de prier pour moi pour que tu demandes à celui dont tu es le serviteur (διάκονος) qu'il me pardonne et ne me tienne pas rigueur de ce que j'ai fait et de ce que j'avais en tête de faire, et pour que je sois digne (καὶ ἄξιόν με γενέσθαι) de devenir un habitant de cette demeure pour laquelle je n'ai nullement peiné, la grâce de Dieu travaillant à l'ouvrage avec toi, et pour que je devienne moi aussi un serviteur et un esclave de ce Dieu

[6] Voir Ac 9,17; 10,47-48. Munier cite de même 1 Jn 5,6-8 qui évoque, dans cet ordre, l'Esprit, l'eau et le sang.

[7] B. Varghese, *Les onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne* (CSCO 512, *subsidia* t. 82; Louvain, 1989), XXXIII-348 p. (la citation, p. 18-19).

[8] Voir *ATh* 120-121 et *ATh* 157. On trouve un vocabulaire similaire dans l'Ecriture: voir notamment Lév. 8,12.

[9] Par ce mot (σφραγίς), on admet que Goundaphor et son frère demandent le baptême, c'est à dire l'onction et l'immersion. Dans les deux versions principales de notre texte, l'ordre des deux rites est inversé: dans le syriaque, l'onction précède l'immersion et dans le grec, le bain vient avant l'onction; dans les deux cas, le rituel s'achève par la fraction du pain.

que tu prêches (καὶ ἵνα γένομαι ὑπηρέτης κἀγὼ καὶ δουλεύσω τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ ᾧ σὺ κηρύττεις)". Et son frère, se jetant aux pieds de l'apôtre, dit: "Je te demande et te supplie en présence de Dieu, que je sois jugé digne de son ministère et de son service, et que je reçoive comme portion de devenir digne de ce qui m'a été montré par ses anges (Δέομαι σου καὶ ἱκετεύω ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἵνα ἄξιος γένωμαι τῆς τούτου διακονίας καὶ ὑπημεσίας, καὶ κληρωθῶ ἄξιος γενέσθαι τῶν ὀφθέντων μοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ)"'[10].

Je voudrais insister sur le vocabulaire employé par le Roi et son frère: il s'agit d'être ministre et d'exercer un service. Le baptisé souhaite être jugé digne du ministère: il reçoit un κλῆρος, une portion. Dans sa réponse à cette demande, Thomas développe un instant l'image du troupeau et du Christ bon pasteur. Sifur et sa famille demanderont eux aussi le baptême en employant cette image:

'Nous te prions pour que nous recevions le sceau de tes mains et que nous soyons comptés parmi les brebis de ton troupeau'[11].

S'adressant à Dieu, Thomas reprend et synthétise la demande de Goundaphor et de son frère en disant: 'ils te prient en effet, ils te supplient, ils veulent devenir tes serviteurs et tes ministres'.

La théologie ici exprimée contraste avec celle que l'on trouve dans un autre document de la même période, témoin de l'usage occidental: j'ai nommé ici la '*Tradition Apostolique*'[12]. Ce document distingue en effet nettement, et pour la première fois de façon si explicite, deux groupes parmi les chrétiens: il y a ceux qui sont 'ordonnés' et qui sont 'clercs' en vue du 'service' (évêques, presbytres et diacres); il y a ceux qui sont simplement 'installés' et non ordonnés (la veuve, la vierge, le lecteur et le sous diacre): ceux qui sont installés n'offrent pas l'oblation et n'ont pas de service[13].

Il est frappant que tout le vocabulaire que nous avons relevé dans la bouche de Goundaphor et de son frère se retrouve, dans la '*Tradition Apostolique*', appliqué aux seuls clercs: l'évêque est 'devenu digne'; de même, le presbytre prie ainsi: 'rends nous dignes de te servir'[14]. Bien plus, c'est désormais l'évêque qui a pour charge de faire paître le troupeau:

'Accorde, Père qui connais les cœurs, à ton serviteur que tu as choisi pour l'épiscopat, qu'il fasse paître ton saint troupeau'[15].

[10] *AcTh* 24, traduction: J. Festugière, *Les actes apocryphes de Jean et Thomas* ('cahier d'orientalisme' VI; Paris, 1983), p. 56. La version syriaque est ici la même.
[11] Voir *ATh* 156.
[12] Nous n'entrons pas ici dans le débat de l'authenticité 'hypolitienne' de ce document; les guillemets voudraient rappeler la prudence qu'il faut observer quant à l'attribution de ce texte et au titre à lui donner.
[13] Je résume ici *TA* 10,2.
[14] *TA* 4, 1.
[15] *TA* 3, 3.

La '*Tradition Apostolique*' connaît, elle aussi, une onction pré-baptismale, mais celle-ci n'a qu'un sens d'exorcisme puisqu'elle s'accompagne de la formule: 'que tout esprit mauvais s'éloigne de toi'[16]. L'acte majeur du baptême, même si le rituel est complexe, semble bien, dans la '*Tradition Apostolique*', le rite d'eau.

Ainsi, je pense qu'il faut prendre très au sérieux le rapport entre l'onction pré-baptismale et l'onction royale et sacerdotale: l'initiation chrétienne, en *ATh* 24-27, introduit dans la communauté des élus, dans le troupeau mené par le Christ, unique Pasteur. L'onction d'huile rappelle la diginité royale et sacerdotale du chrétien, ministre de l'Eglise parce qu'élu et saint, participant au ministère du Christ, oint en signe de son sacerdoce et de sa royauté.

ATh 24-27 seraient ainsi les témoins d'un temps où tous font tout: cela pose avec d'autant plus d'acuité la question de l'origine de l'onction pré-baptismale. Il faut avancer ici avec prudence et rappeler avec Y. Tissot que les *Actes de Thomas* sont 'un recueil composite' remanié, interpolé 'dont finalement plus personne n'est vraiment l'auteur'[17]. Il faut donc se garder d'inscrire ce texte dans des catégories trop fixes. Pourtant, je pense qu'*ATh* 24-27 nous invitent à chercher dans des milieux qui rejettèrent l'organisation ecclésiastique et la sacerdotalisation des ministères du début du 3ième siècle. Les travaux de K. Koschorcke nous suggèrent la piste valentinienne[18].

Comme un fait exprès, Irénée, décrivant les rites de rédemption des Marcosiens, évoque ceux qui 'mélangent de l'huile et de l'eau'[19]: est-ce là la trace d'une première onction pré-baptismale, qui serait née dans les milieux valentiniens? Dès lors, la grande Eglise a pu lutter contre une telle onction en donnant un simple sens d'exorcisme au rite d'huile, comme on l'a vu dans la '*Tradition Apostolique*'. Quoiqu'il en soit, il s'agit à mon sens du premier témoignage ferme de l'usage de l'huile lors des rites de l'initiation.

En guise de conclusion je serai plus audacieux encore en pensant que l'on trouve un écho de cette controverse à propos de l'onction pré-baptismale et de la sacerdotalisation des ministères dans la tardive compilation des *Constitutions Apostoliques* où l'on peut lire une interpolation révélatrice par rapport à la *Didascalie*. Alors que la *Didascalie*[20] mentionnait simplement l'onction

[16] *TA* 21.

[17] Voir Y. Tissot, 'Les Actes de Thomas: exemple de recueil composite', dans *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres* (christianisme et monde païen) (Genève, 1981), pp. 223-232.

[18] Voir K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi-Traktate 'Apokalypse des Petrus' (NHC VII, 3) und 'Testimonium Veritatis' (NHC IX, 3)* (NHS 12; Leiden, 1978).

[19] *Adv. Haer.*, I,21,4.

[20] *Didasc.* 16,12,2.

pré-baptismale en la référant à l'onction des rois et des prêtres en Israël, au troisième livre des *Constitutions Apostoliques* on peut lire:

'Mais l'évêque ne lui oindra que la tête lors de l'imposition des mains, comme on faisait autrefois pour les rois et les prêtres (ici, les *Constitutions Apostoliques* suivent la *Didascalie*, mais elles s'en écartent maintenant en étant obligé de préciser): non pas que maintenant les baptisés soient ordonnés prêtres, mais parce que, à la suite du Christ ils sont des chrétiens, un sacerdoce royal et une nation sainte'[21].

[21] *CA*, III, 16,3-4.

The Fourth Century Jerusalem Catechesis and the Development of the Creed

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The fourth century was a time of extensive and significant development in both theology and church life. One measure of theological development is the variety of creeds written between the councils at Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), which were attempts to express the substance of the Church's faith. As for the daily life of the Church, the period following the Peace of Constantine (313) saw a massive increase of members, the construction of places of worship, and the growth of the liturgical life that took place in them. In particular, the catechetical program for initiating new members received energetic attention in this period. These two areas of development, creed and catechesis, are interrelated. From early on the initiation rite of baptism required candidates to recite some form of a creed, personal declarations of the substance of their faith (often, as in modern rites, in response to interrogation); initially these creeds were only short professions of faith in the Trinity. The catechetical programs that prepared candidates for baptism often structured their list of topics to be taught according to what the candidates would be required to declare, and as the content of basic Church doctrine grew, so did the catechetical syllabus. It was practical for both the catechesis and the baptismal rite to maintain a concise formulaic summary of the doctrines: it provided a consistent and systematic structure for the instructor and an easily memorized and ritually elegant profession for the newly baptized. These professions of faith, or creeds, developed with some variety on a local and regional level. Some were more popular and influential than others and became the basic elements of universally accepted creeds such as the Apostles' Creed or the Creed of Constantinople.[1]

This interplay between catechesis and creed was widespread yet diverse according to locale in the early Church; hence, it is always worth exploring how the two were related in any one time or place. In this paper I would like to focus attention on what was happening in fourth century Jerusalem. I will first review briefly the expansion in size of the program for baptismal catechesis in the Jerusalem tradition through the fourth century. Then I will con-

[1] For a thorough study of the relationship between creeds and baptism see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd rev. ed. (London, 1972), Chapter II.

sider the content of the program and, by means of a comparative table of relevant texts, I will consider how the Jerusalem catechesis and its creed were related.

The Expansion of the Jerusalem Catechetical Program

A number of recent studies have shown that prior to the fourth century in a number of local traditions, baptismal instruction took place over a three-week period leading up to Easter, which was becoming the universally accepted time for baptisms. This instruction was the core component of the season of Lent in its earliest form.[2] Lages argues that in the Jerusalem tradition, between the end of the third century and the end of the fourth, Lent grew from three to eight weeks. Its first expansion seems to have been in response to the rapid influx of new members following the Peace of Constantine. The large number of new converts was placing unforeseen demands upon the Church's catechetical programs. The Council of Nicaea in 325 noted the beleaguered state of the catechumenate and its second canon mandated an improvement. By the year 330, as indicated by Athanasius in his *Festal Letters*, Lent had expanded to forty days and had taken on the symbolism of Jesus' wilderness experience.[3] Holy Week was added sometime after the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre Church by Constantine (335), and an additional week before Holy Week was instituted sometime before Egeria's visit (381-3), giving a total of eight weeks.[4] As we will see below, an expansion of the catechetical program accompanied this growth of the lenten season.

When Cyril of Jerusalem, who was bishop from 350-387, delivered his *Catecheses* in 351, a forty-day Lent had been firmly established in Jerusalem and was the designated time for baptismal preparation; Holy Week, however, was

[2] See A. Chavasse, 'La préparation de la Pâque, à Rome, avant le V[e] siècle. Jeûne et organization liturgique', in *Memorial J. Chaine* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon, 5; Lyon, 1950), pp. 61-80; *idem*. 'La structure du Carême et les lectures des messes quadragesimales dans la liturgie Romain', *La Maison Dieu*, 31 (1952), pp. 76-120. M. Lages, 'Étapes de l'evolution de carême à Jérusalem avant le V[e] siècle. Essai d'analyse structurale', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 6 (1969), pp. 67-102; M. Johnson, 'From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent', *Studia Liturgica*, 20 (1990), pp. 185-200; T. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York, 1983), pp. 168-74.

[3] The first letter, for the year 329, mentions a ten-day fast, but thereafter it is forty. The fifth canon of Nicaea makes what looks like a passing reference to Lent, thus suggesting it was an established season by 325. But the phrase, πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς could mean 'before the fortieth of the Pasch', a day which in time came to be the feast of the Ascension. See T. Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, p. 63, n. 125; S. Salaville, 'La Tessarakosté au V[e] canon de Nicée', *Échos d'Orient*, 13 (1910), pp. 65-72; and *idem*., 'La Tessarakosté, Ascension et Pentecôte au IV[e] siècle', *Échos d'Orient*, 28 (1929), pp. 257-271.

[4] See Lages, 'Étapes de l'evolution', p. 102.

most probably not yet formally established.[5] In the introductory sermon, the *Procatechesis*, Cyril tells his listeners: 'Your appointed time is long, you have forty days of repentance, and a great opportunity to be stripped and washed and clothed...' (*Procat.* 4). This liturgical season had became an ideal opportunity not only for preparing candidates for baptism, but also for the spiritual education and renewal of all the faithful. We know from the *Catecheses* (*Cat.* 4.3; 15.18) and from Egeria, a pilgrim who visited Palestine from 381-383 (*IE* 46.1), that the already baptized were often present at the annual catechesis.[6]

By the end of his episcopate Cyril had initiated some significant liturgical advances including an elaborate program of services which gave a formal structure to Holy Week. Once this was established, there was no longer any room in the busy Holy Week schedule for the concluding catechetical sermons; this is at least one reason for the addition of an eighth week to Lent. One could assume that Cyril would be as attentive to the maintenance and development of the catechetical program as he was to the liturgy, especially since theological debate continued to be very active in the thirty-seven years of his tenure as bishop. During his three periods in exile, he would have been exposed to the practices of other churches and the views of fellow clergy, an experience which would provide him with incentive and material for enriching the rites of the church in Jerusalem.

The Content of the Catechesis and the Creed

We can now address the content of this evolving program and consider how it was related to the formation of the Jerusalem creed. In another study Lages addresses the content of the program for baptismal preparation by examining three early sources: the *Armenian Ritual*, the *Armenian Lectionary*, and Cyril's *Catecheses*; the first two of these have only survived in Armenian versions.[7] The *Armenian Ritual* is a collection of liturgical rites compiled in the 9th or 10th century, but representing some practices from as early as the third or fourth century.[8] It contains a *Canon of Baptism*, i.e., official instructions for

[5] In a yet unpublished study 'The Date of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses*', I re-date the sermons from 350 to 351 and argue that a formal Holy Week was instituted later in Cyril's career.

[6] For Cyril's *Catecheses* see *S. Cyrilli — Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. by W.C. Reischl and J. Rupp (2 vols, Munich / Hildesheim, 1848,60 / 1967); for the *Mystagogic Catechesis* see *Cyrille de Jérusalem: Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed by A. Piédagnel, tr by P. Paris (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 126 bis; Paris, 1988); for Egeria see *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed by E. Franceschini and R. Weber (CCSL, 175; Turnhout, 1965).

[7] Mario Lages, 'The Hierosolymitain Origin of the Catechetical Rites in the Armenian Liturgy', *Didaskalia*, 1 (1971), pp. 233-50.

[8] For the Armenian Ritual see, *Rituale Armenorum. Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism*

preparing candidates for baptism, which represents a very early practice. The *Armenian Lectionary* is a schedule of readings from scripture for the services in Jerusalem. The earliest manuscripts of this lectionary reflect fourth and fifth century practices, and the part that concerns us is the list of nineteen readings assigned to the catechetical sermons.[9] It is unclear whether this list of readings for the catechesis was established as a complete set, or whether it grew in size over a period of time. There are two external witnesses that claim it was Cyril who composed it in coordination with the catechetical syllabus, which was itself defined by the articles of the local church's creed. From the 8th century John Awjnecʿi, in his *Synodal Oration*, says that, 'according to each article of faith, he assembled and ordained readings from the divine writ resembling each (article)...'.[10] In another work, a 15th century Armenian life of Cyril, he is again credited with establishing both the list of readings and the catechesis for Lent.[11] Both Lages and Bihain are willing to give some weight to these passages, allowing Cyril credit for making necessary adaptations in the program, but they both think that the readings and syllabus existed in some form before 351. The third text, the *Catecheses*, which shows what the catechetical syllabus was in the mid-fourth century, are the baptismal sermons preached by Cyril in 351.

Lages shows by a comparative analysis that these three sources, the *Canon of Baptism*, the readings for the catecheses from the *Armenian Lectionary*, and the *Catecheses*, all belong to and exhibit an expanding and developing Jerusalem tradition. The *Canon of Baptism* represents the earlier Jerusalem practice of a three-week program of baptismal preparation which pre-dates Cyril. The other two texts reflect later stages when the program had grown in length and content. There are a number of points, though, that Lages overlooks in his comparative analysis, and he underestimates what can be known of the development of the catechetical syllabus, especially if one also considers the creed of Jerusalem, which the candidates professed at baptism. As we will see, this creed also shows evidence of the development of the fourth century catechetical program.

and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest MSS., tr by F.C. Conybeare and A.J. Maclean (Oxford, 1905). The *Canon of Baptism* is on p. 89; the translation used is by Lages from 'The Hierosolymitain Origin', p. 233.

[9] For the lectionary see, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, ed and tr. by A. Renoux (Patrologia Orientalis, 35.1, 36.2; Paris, 1969, 1971), pp. 1-215 (vol. 35.1); 143-388 (vol. 36.2). The readings for the catechetical sermons are listed at entry no. 17.

[10] *Matenagrut'iwnk'*, 2nd edition (Venice, 1953), pp. 17-19 (p. 18); translation by M. Lages, 'The Hierosolymitain Origin', p. 236. A. Renoux (PO, 36.2, p. 233n) cites this source as Jean d'Ojun in *Domini Johannis Ozniensis philosophi Armeniorum Catholici opera*, Armenian text with Latin translation by R. Aucher (Mkrtic Augerean) (Venice, 1834), pp. 26-27. He adds another: *Paris Arm. MS 114*, 13th c., fol. 83. This work is on the feasts of the Church, their origins, and different rites. The manuscript is described in F. Macler, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arméniens et Georgiens* (Paris, 1908), p. 56.

[11] The text is in Armenian codex 224, folios 267-269, in the Mechitarist Library in Vienna; it is edited with a Latin translation by E. Bihain in 'Une Vie Arménienne de Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem', pp. 319-348; see section III.1-2.

Table I*

ıf Baptism - Armenian Ritual
ne makes a Christian, first of all, it is not right to let him into the Church. 2But he shall have hands laid on him three weeks before the baptism, 3during which he may n the Wardapet [instructor] both the faith and the baptism of the Church. 4First of all the Godhead of the Holy Trinity, 5and the creation and the coming to be of (all) ;, 6and next the election of just men. 7After that, the birth of Christ and in order all the economy, 8and the great mystery of the cross and the burial, 9and the on and the ascension unto the Father, 10and the second coming, 11and the resurrection of the flesh, and the rewarding of each according to his works.

Introduction

ıchetical Syllabus from the n Ritual's *Canon of*	Armenian Lectionary Readings	The Catechetical Syllabus from Cyril's *Catecheses*	The Jerusalem Creed culled from Cyril's *Catecheses*
·enitential liturgical rites (with ıs?)	1-2: Is. 1.16-20; Ez. 18.20-23: Invitation to purification and penance	*Cat.* 1-2: general theme of penance	
rning about Baptism	3: Rom. 6.3-14: Baptism	*Cat.* 3: Baptism	(IX. and in one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins ?)
l/ moral teaching?)	4: Col. 2.8-3.4: Life according to true faith in Christ, not according to false teaching	*Cat.* 4: Summary Points of Doctrine / Virtue founded on Christ and true doctrine	
rning about Faith (separate	***5: Heb. 11.1-31: Faith***	*Cat.* 5: Faith	

Catechesis on the Creed

ıodhead of the Holy Trinity / ·eation and coming to be of :ures	6: Is. 45.17-26: Meditation on the works of God and on God himself	***Cat.* 6: One God (original creation topic moved to *Cat.* 9)**	I. We believe in one God,
el)	***7: Eph. 3.14-4.13: Miscellaneous trinitarian themes, especially on the Father***	*Cat.* 7: The Father	the Father
election of just men	8: Jer. 32.19b-44: Greatness of God is manifest in his election of just men	**Cat. 8: The Almighty (lection includes v. 18 on the might of God; the election of just men is a minor theme)**	Almighty,
ɜation)	***9: Job 38.2-40.5: Creative wisdom***	*Cat.* 9: Maker of Heaven and Earth...	*Maker of Heaven and Earth, of all things visible and invisible (9.4).*

type indicates those portions in the lists which exhibit development or change in the tradition (see p. 301 f.).

'lel)	***10: I Cor. 8.5-9.23: Unique Lordship of Jesus Christ***	*Cat.* 10: One Lord Jesus Christ	II. And in one Lord, Jesus Christ (7.4),
'el)	***11: Heb. 1.1-2.1: Jesus Christ, the only Son of God***	*Cat.* 11: The Only-Begotten Son of God	the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten true God of the Father before all worlds, by whom all things were made (11.21),
birth of Christ and in order all ımy	12: Is. 7.10-8.10: "..a virgin shall conceive..."	*Cat.* 12: Was incarnate and made man	III. [Who for us and for our salvation, came down from heaven and] was of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit made Man (4.9; 12.3; 12.13).
the great mystery of the l burial	13: Is. 53.1-54.5: The man of sorrows...	*Cat.* 13: Was crucified and buried	IV. Who was crucified and buried, [and descended into Hell] (see 4.10-11; 13.38-39; 14.3, 11, 17, 18)
the resurrection and ı to the Father	14: I Cor. 15.1-28: Resurrection, (Seating at God's right hand)	*Cat.* 14: Rose from the dead, ascended, seated at God's right hand	V. Who rose on the third day, VI. and ascended into Heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father (14.24),
l the second Coming	15: Dan 7.2-27: Vision of the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man	**Cat. 15: He shall come in glory... (lection begins with v. 9)**	VII. and is to come in glory to judge the living and the dead; of whose kingdom there will be no end (15.2)
el)	***16: I Cor 12.1-7: Charisms and the Spirit***	*Cat.* 16: Holy Spirit (A)	VIII. and in one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who spoke through the prophets (17.3).
el)	***17: I Cor 12.7-27: Charisms and the Spirit / Mystical Body of Christ***	*Cat.* 17: Holy Spirit (B)	
ptism - covered above in	(3: Rom. 6.3-4: Baptism - covered above in Part I)	(*Cat.* 3: Baptism - covered above in Part I)	IX. and in one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,
And the resurrection of all l the rewarding of each to his works	18: Ez. 37.1-24: Vision of the resurrection	*Cat.* 18a: Resurrection of the Flesh (chs 1-21; rewarding of each acc. to works, ch. 4)	X. and in one Holy Catholic Church,
el)	***19: I Tim. 3.14-16: The Mystery of the Church***	*Cat.* 18b: a) One Holy Catholic Church (chs 22-27)	XI. and in the resurrection of the flesh,
el)	(no parallel)	b) Life Everlasting (chs 28-31)	XII. and in eternal life (18.22).

Table I (see page 298-299) compares four items: the early Jerusalem catechetical syllabus (represented by the *Canon of Baptism*), the lectionary readings designated for the catechetical sermons, a later stage of the catechetical syllabus represented by Cyril's *Catecheses*, and the article of the Jerusalem creed.[12] An adequate analysis of the full implications of this comparative chart demands more time and space than is here available. I am only interested in noting what it shows concerning the changing shape of the catechetical syllabus and how it is related to the creed.

One item needs prior clarification. The lectionary has nineteen readings, yet Cyril preached *eighteen* sermons in this set from 351. Inasmuch as Cyril covers both topics (Resurrection of the Flesh and the Church) in the one sermon, yet cites both readings, and since he stated in a number of places that he as short of time,[13] it seems that at least for this one year, Cyril compressed the two last sermons into one; under normal circumstances there would have been nineteen sermons. The chart attempts to depict the more usual program and has thus split *Cat.* 18 into two parts, each part corresponding to a separate reading from the lectionary.

From the first three columns one can discern a two-part catechetical program. Part I deals in general with Penance, Baptism, and life in Christ. It is followed by Part II which comprises formal catechesis on the Creed. The statement from the *Canon of Baptism* concerning learning about *faith* and *baptism* (v. 3) could reflect a division of parts at this early stage, i.e., a treatment of baptism distinct from a treatment of the faith. In the syllabus from the *Catecheses*, sermons 1-4 could constitute a distinct set of instructions on baptism: the topic of baptism (directly dealt with in the third sermon) is the central theme, the first two sermons on purification and penance are introductory, and the fourth concerns a complementary theme of the virtuous life which follows upon being baptized in Christ.

But what about *Cat.* 5? In the Armenian *Canon of Baptism* it is not clear that 'learning the faith' corresponds to a separate treatment of the subject of Faith; it more probably refers to all of Part II, the catechesis on the Creed (vv. 4-11), rather than a distinct topic. Though we cannot be certain, the word for 'faith' here may be a technical term corresponding to the Greek term πίστις, the word used by Cyril for the Creed.[14] The topic of *Cat.* 5, though, is not the *content* of the Faith, but the *virtue* of Faith in general. At the end of this ser-

[12] The reconstruction of the creed of Jerusalem is problematic since the titles of sermons 6-18, which comprise the articles of the creed, are a later addition and the text of the creed is nowhere cited in its entirety (probably due to the *disciplina arcani* (the practice of keeping the most sacred elements of the faith secret), cf. *Cat.* 5.12, 18.21); hence, one must cull the creed from the text of the sermons. The text of the creed in Table I follows the guidelines of A.A. Stephenson, 'The Text of the Jerusalem Creed', *Studia Patristica*, 3 (1961), pp. 303-313 (p. 303).

[13] *Cat.* 16-32; *Cat.* 17.20, 30, 34; *Cat.* 18.16, 22.

[14] See, for example, *Cat.* 4.2, 17; 5.12 (six times); 17.34.

mon (section 12) Cyril makes a reference to some sort of rite for formally handing on the creed to the candidates; this sermon on the virtue of faith seems to lead up to and prepare the candidates for this rite. It is probable, then, that this separate fifth sermon with its reading and rite was an addition to the earlier catechetical syllabus reflected in the *Canon of Baptism*.

When we look at Part II, the catechesis on the Creed, we see that the topics of the syllabus in the Armenian canon are fewer and that they follow a salvation-history order. In contrast, Cyril and the lectionary readings follow the more familiar trinitarian order of the creed, focusing more on theological ideas than events. The obvious items missing from the syllabus of the *Canon of Baptism* are distinct articles on the individual persons of the trinity and the Church. Though the topic, 'the Godhead of the Trinity' (v. 4 of the *Canon of Baptism*), implicitly includes the Father, Son, and Spirit, the lack of the separate mention of the Father and Holy Spirit, while including material on the Son (vv. 7-10 of the *Canon of Baptism*), shows that the logic of its order is not the usual trinitarian format of the creeds. The absence of any mention of the Church need not be too surprising since, although this topic is included in some baptismal creeds, it does not seem to appear as an article in any of the creeds published by the major synods prior to the council of Constantinople.[15]

When the syllabus from the *Canon of Baptism* is compared with the lectionary readings, we can spot some particular signs of growth. While each topic in the *Canon* has a corresponding reading in the lectionary, seven readings in the lectionary (nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17 and 19) have no distinct corresponding topics in the *Canon*. When we compare the readings with the next two columns, though, we see that each of these readings corresponds to one of Cyril's topics as well as an article (or sub-point of an article) of the creed.

In the expanded program represented by the lectionary readings and the syllabus from the *Catecheses*, each person of the Trinity is the focus of separate topics. Reading no. 7 corresponds to a sermon on the Father. Readings no. 10 and no. 11 have been assigned to sermons on Christ, perhaps reflecting an increased interest in the person of the Son in the aftermath of Nicaea. Readings nos. 16 and 17 with their corresponding sermons provide an extensive treatment of the person of the Holy Spirit. While reading no. 6 originally fits well with the combined topic of Godhead / Creation, by Cyril's time, the theme of creation has given way to a treatment of the one God. The syllabus deals with Creation separately in *Cat.* 9 with a new reading (no. 9) from Job. Finally, there is the addition of reading no. 19 with its sermon on the Church.

There are also signs of minor modifications to the readings that seem to be the work of Cyril himself. Reading 8 fits very well with v. 6 of the Armenian canon (the election of just men), but as it stands, verses 19b-44 have little to do with Cyril's theme, the might of God. Cyril's reading, however, begins

[15] See J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, pp. 263-295.

with vv. 18b-19a: 'The great God and the mighty Lord, great in counsel, and mighty in works, the Lord omnipotent, of great name...'. This adaptation provides an ideal scriptural reference for the new topic, 'God the Almighty'. Another minor adjustment occurs in *Cat.* 15. The lectionary reading is Dan. 7.2-27, but Cyril has shortened it to begin with v. 9, excising introductory material and beginning immediately with the vision of the Ancient of Days. That Cyril adapted the readings to suit his sermons, probably the first of his career, suggests that the lectionary list of readings did not originate with him; rather, some form of the list must have been in place when he became bishop.

Lastly, when we compare the final articles of the creed that the candidates recited with the two topics of *Cat.* 18 and the lectionary readings, there are some discrepancies that suggest changes that may have been in progress. The final four articles of the creed are Baptism, the Church, the Resurrection, and Eternal Life. The readings, however, and the topics of the *Catecheses agree* with one another in placing Baptism in the third sermon and in reversing the order of the Resurrection and the Church. Further, Cyril has *added* a section on the Eternal Life (*Cat.* 18.28-31), which has no corresponding reading. There does not seem to be anything in the syllabus or readings, nor any pedagogical advantage to the instructor, that would suggest a need to add a topic or change the order of articles. It appears as if some external influence, such as another creed, was dictating these changes, while the syllabus of the catechesis and the readings were not being kept completely up to date. If we were to add the Creed adopted at Constantinople to our table, we would see yet another switch between the articles on the Church and Baptism;[16] it would look as follows:

TABLE II

Lectionary Readings	Syllabus from *Catecheses*	Jerusalem Creed	Creed of Constantinople
(v. 3b Baptism)	(*Cat.* 3-Baptism)	----------	---------
Second Coming	Second Coming	Second Coming	Second Coming
Holy Spirit	Holy Spirit	Holy Spirit	Holy Spirit
Resurrection	Resurrection	Baptism	Church
Church	Church	Church	Baptism
------	Eternal Life	Resurrection	Resurrection
------	-------	Eternal Life	Eternal Life

It could be that Cyril knew other creeds from other churches and was trying to bring the Jerusalem Church's creed in line with what he thought was becom-

[16] For the text of the Constantinople Creed, see N. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London, 1990), p. 24.

ing the more widely accepted form. That the catechetical syllabus with its scheduled readings seems to lag behind the creed Cyril is having his candidates memorize is probably simply due to the conservative nature of liturgical rubric.[17] Adding a topic or making a minor alteration in one's sermons was apparently not very disruptive, but bringing the syllabus and readings fully into line with the preferred order of the creed would involve rearranging the lectionary; apparently such a change was not deemed absolutely necessary nor worth the trouble.

All of these points suggest (as implied by the arrangement of the chart in Table I) a progression of development whose earliest stage is reflected in the *Canon of Baptism*, followed by the lectionary, then Cyril's syllabus with its readings showing some minor adjustments of the lectionary readings, and finally the recited Creed.

What conclusions and speculations might be drawn from this brief study? First, it seems to confirm that, at least in the Jerusalem tradition, this church's local creed was (by and large) shaped in the context of its baptismal catechetical program. We see here an example of the principle of *lex orandi lex credendi*: the law of prayer, i.e., the liturgy of the sacraments of initiation which includes catechesis, shapes doctrine by generating credal professions of faith, and the law of faith in turn influences the program for initiation. Second, it seems to show that the readings and catechetical syllabus were originally structured for a catechesis based on salvation history; later they were both adapted to accommodate a more systematic catechesis on the trinitarian style of creed.

Precisely why these changes happened the way they did still needs to be explored. Influence from an external creed could perhaps reflect a concern to preserve orthodoxy by using the creeds of ecumenical councils to define the catechetical syllabus. This may explain why the creed Cyril taught did not strictly match his syllabus — he may have been trying to conform to a more authoritative standard. Further, one might wonder whether a narrative method of catechesis that is structured on the unfolding of salvation history is the more natural approach, one more conducive to the needs of new converts, and whether modern catechesis ought to be so structured.

[17] The literary witnesses of the *Catecheses* and the sources for the lectionary show a virtually unchanged list of readings for nearly a century (see *Armenian Lectionary* no. 17, Patrologia Orientalis, 36.2, pp. 233-37).

The Intercessions in the East Syrian Anaphoras of Theodore and Nestorius

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The present study is one of several devoted to an investigation of the origins and sources of these relatively neglected anaphoral texts. In his study of the intercessions in the anaphoras of *Basil* and *James*, Fenwick draws attention to the fluidity of the text and content of this part of the anaphora, and to the 'complex process of mutual borrowing and amending of texts between the different liturgies over a perhaps considerable period of time' which this seems to have encouraged (p. 193)[1]. He also points out that Engberding's detailed studies have demonstrated that investigation into the precise verbal form of the petitions has produced inconclusive results, and stresses the importance of examining the sequence of the intercessions in tracing the relationships between different anaphoras (pp. 196 f.).

The present study makes no attempt to undertake a thorough examination of the possible relationships between the intercessions in these two East Syrian anaphoras and those in other anaphoras. This would be a highly complex study. I have already myself in two previous studies (1992 and 1995) made some examination of the question of the possible use of *Addai and Mari* as a source in the composition of the intercessions in *Theodore*. The primary purpose of the present study is to explore the question of a possible literary relationship between the intercessions in these two East Syrian anaphoras, and only occasional reference will be made to possible parallels in other anaphoras. I wish to urge, however, that broad parallels in the selection and sequence of topics for intercession are insufficient to establish a direct literary relationship between two anaphoras. What is needed to prove such a relationship is either close and sustained agreement in the sequence of intercessions, or close verbal agreement in their actual wording, or preferably both.

Since the text of the two East Syrian anaphoras is not readily accessible, particularly in English translation, I offer here my own translation of the intercessions in each of them. The more obvious biblical phrases are italicized, while one petition which occurs verbatim in both anaphoras is printed in bold type.

[1] For full references, see pp. 310-311.

THE INTERCESSIONS IN THE ANAPHORA OF THEODORE

And now also, O Lord, behold this offering is offered before thy great and awesome name for all the holy catholic Church, that thy tranquillity and thy peace may dwell in it all the days of the world. Yea, our Lord and our God, make thy tranquillity and thy peace dwell in it all the days of the world, and let persecutions, tumults, strife, schisms, and divisions be far from it, and let us all cleave to one another in one accord, in a pure heart and in perfect love.

And for all our fathers the bishops, periodeutae, priests, and deacons, who are in this ministry of the truth, that they may *stand and minister before thee* in purity, worthily and holily, and may be pleasing to thy will, that they may be accounted worthy to receive from thee good and exalted positions at the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And for all the children of the holy catholic Church, here and in every place, that they may grow in the worship of thy majesty, in faith in the truth, and in good and excellent works, for the salvation of their lives.

And for thy sinful and offending servant, that by thy grace, O my Lord, thou wilt pardon my sins and remove my offences, which, wittingly or unwittingly, I have sinned and offended before thee.

And for all those on whose behalf this offering is offered, that they may obtain mercy and grace before thee and may live.

And for the fruits of the earth and for temperate climate, *that the crown of the year may be blessed by thy goodness.*

And for the whole race of humankind, those who are in sin or error, that by thy grace, O my Lord, thou wilt account them worthy of the knowledge of the truth and of the worship of thy majesty, *that they may know thee, that thou alone art the true God*, the Father, the good, *who willest that all humankind should live and be turned to the knoweldge of the truth*, and know that thou art the Lord from everlasting and from of old, the divine uncreated essence, creator of everything, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For the sake of us humans and for our salvation, he, the Son of God, God the word, clothed himself in a complete human being, our Lord Jesus Christ, and was made perfect and was vindicated by the power of God and by the Holy Spirit, and is *the mediator of God and humankind*, and *the giver of eternal life to all those who are brought near to God* the Father *through him*, to whom be all praise and blessing for ever and ever. Amen.

Yea, our Lord and our God, receive from us by thy grace this sacrifice of thanksgiving, that is *the reasonable fruit of our lips*, that it may be a good memorial before thee for the righteous ones of old, the holy prophets, the blessed apostles, the martyrs and confessors, the bishops, teachers, priests, and deacons, and all the children of the holy catholic Church, who in faith in the truth departed from this world, that by thy grace, O my Lord, thou wilt pardon them all sins and offences, which they have sinned and offended before thee in this world in a mortal body and changeable soul, for there is no human being who has not sinned and is not in need of the mercy and pity that is from thee.

(Syriac text: Vadakkel, pp. 67-72; Kelaita, pp. 71-74).

THE INTERCESSIONS IN THE ANAPHORA OF NESTORIUS

And we offer to thee this living, holy, acceptable, glorious, awesome, sublime, and spotless sacrifice for all creatures.

And for the holy apostolic catholic Church that is from end to end of the earth, that thou wouldest keep it without violent disturbance or harm from all occasions of stumbling. Yea, our Lord and our God, keep it without violent disturbance or harm from all occasions of stumbling, *with no blemish or spot or wrinkle or anything like these*. For thou hast said through thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ that *the bars of hell will never prevail against it*.

And for all our fathers the bishops in every place, *who proclaim the right word* of faith *of the truth*. And for all the priests who minister before thee in faith, righteousness, and true holiness. And for all the deacons *who hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience*. And for all the sober and holy estate of thy people, here and in every place.

And for all those who, wittingly or unwittingly, have sinned and offended before thee.

And for thy frail servant, whom thou hast accounted worthy by thy grace to offer this offering before thee.

And for all those who by virtue care for thy holy Church with works of righteousness. And for all those who pour out their alms on the poor.

And for all faithful kings, and for the establishment of their reign. And for all heads and rulers of this world. And we make petition and supplication to thee, O my Lord, that thou wouldest establish thy fear among them, and plant thy truth in them, and subdue all barbarous nations by them. And we ask of thy Godhead, O my Lord, that thou wilt make wars to cease from the ends of the earth, and *scatter the nations that delight in war, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all sobriety and fear of God.*

And for the fruits of the earth and for temperate climate, *that the crown of the year may be blessed by thy goodness.*

And for this place and for its inhabitants and all around it, and for all places and their inhabitants, that thou wilt have mercy, bless, keep, and defend them by thy grace.

And for all who travel on the seas and on distant roads.

And for all those who are in affliction, adversity, persecution, tribulation, or tumult for the sake of thy holy name.

And for all those who are afflicted or harassed in bonds or imprisonment, and for all those who are cast out to distant islands, to continual torments, or to hard servitude, and for all our faithful brothers who are in captivity.

And we ask of thee, O my Lord, that thou wouldest help also all those who are tried and troubled by illness or severe pain.

And we supplicate thy mercy again, O my Lord, for all our enemies and those who hate us, and for all those who devise evils against us, not for judgement or for vengeance, Lord God Almighty, but for mercy, salvation and the forgiveness of sins. *Because thou willest that all humankind should live and be turned to the knowledge of the truth*. For thou hast commanded us by thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ to pray for our enemies and those who hate us, and for all who govern us with unjust violence.

(And whatever transgressions and sins, then, O my Lord, we have committed as mortal humans, absolve, forgive, put away, and pardon, thou who art good and governest all in thy mercy, so that in our harmony with each other we may offer to thee praise, honour, thanksgiving, and adoration now, and at all times, and for ever and ever. Amen).

O Lord God Almighty, we ask of thee, and kneel and worship before thee. Turn back the erring, enlighten the ignorant, support the weak, raise up the fallen, strengthen those who stand, and in thy mercy supply to every human being those things which are opportune and useful.

And we ask of thee, O my Lord, and supplicate before thee, that thou wouldest remember over this offering the fathers, the partriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and confessors, the bishops, teachers, priests, and deacons, and all the sons of our ministry, who have gone forth from this world, and all our brotherhood in Christ, and all those who in faith in the truth have departed from this world, those whose names thou knowest, absolving and forgiving them, whatever sins and offences they have committed before thee, as human beings prone to evil and liable to passions.

And by the prayer and request of all those who have been pleasing before thee, turn towards us and be merciful to us and to all thy servants and handmaids who stand before thy holy altar, and *account us all worthy to partake of the portion and inheritance that has come to thy saints in light.*

And grant us, O my Lord, that in sincerity of love, and in purity of pure thoughts, we may live before thee in this place of our sojourning, possessing a steadfast knowledge of the truth of the faith that is in thee, and having communion in thy awful, holy, and divine mysteries.

And when we stand before the awful tribunal of thy majesty, *let us not be ashamed* or guilty, but, as in this world thou hast accounted us worthy of the ministry of thy awful, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries, so also in the world to come account us worthy to partake *with openness of face* in all those good things that neither pass away nor are dissolved.

And when thou makest an end to these things which we possess here as in a mirror and in a parable, may we there possess openly the Holy of holies that is in heaven.

We, therefore, O my Lord, thy unworthy, frail, and miserable servants, who were far off from thee, but whom thou didst account worthy for the multitude of thy mercy to *stand and minister before thee* this awful and glorious service, with one accord supplicate thy adorable Godhead, which renews all creatures.

(Syriac text: Kelaita, pp. 91-99)

(It may be noted that Vadakkel's argument (p. 227) that the fourth and fifth *g'hanata* prayers of *Nestorius* were originally a single continuous intercessory *g'hanta* is accepted as a working hypothesis).

First we must examine the sequence of the intercessions in the two anaphoras. Both link them to the oblation, although verbal identity between them in making this link is limited to the use of the verb ܩܪܒ and the preposition ܡܛܠ. A similar link may be found in *Twelve Apostles*, *Syriac James*, and

Chrysostom. Of the two East Syrian anaphoras *Nestorius* is alone in mentioning 'all creatures' (cf. the 'all humankind' in *Twelve Apostles*) as a preliminary comprehensive intercessory topic. Both East Syrian anaphoras proceed to intercede first for the Church, then for the various orders of ministry, and then for all the members of the Church. At this point *Nestorius* inserts a prayer for sinners. Both anaphoras then include a prayer for the celebrant himself. At this point *Theodore* prays for those for whom this particular Eucharist is specifically offered, while *Nestorius* prays for those who serve the Church, those who give to the poor, all rulers, and the peace of the world. The two anaphoras then agree verbatim in the prayer for the fruits of the earth and for temperate climate. *Theodore* concludes its prayer for the living with a prayer for all humankind to attain to true and orthodox faith. *Nestorius* at this point prays for this land and all lands, for seafarers and other travellers, for the persecuted, the aflicted, and the banished, for faithful brethren in capitivity, for the sick, for enemies and the ill-disposed, and for the needy. Both anaphoras pray for the departed, without distinguishing 'saints' from ordinary Christians, without naming any individuals, and agreeing only in the lists of categories. *Theodore* at this point begins the introduction to the Epiclesis, while *Nestorius* first returns to the present eucharistic assembly before in its turn proceeding to the Epiclesis.

What can we learn from this structural analysis? The anaphoras agree in linking the intercessions to the oblation, and in placing at or near their beginning prayers for the Church, the ministry, the faithful, and the celebrant himself. They also agree in placing the commemoration of the departed at or near the end of the intercessions, and in placing the intercessions as a whole before the Epiclesis. The middle part of the intercessions, however, is quite different in the two anaphoras, with the sole exception of the identical prayer for the fruits of the earth and for temperate climate. This means that about one third of the intercessions in *Theodore* and more than five eighths of those in *Nestorius* are peculiar to the respective anaphoras. It is interesting too to note that *Nestorius* ranges much more widely in the scope of its intercessions than *Theodore*, which, apart from the prayer for the fruits of the earth and for temperate climate and that for all humankind, seems exclusively concerned with the Church.

A brief comparison may be made with the structure of the intercessions in the Sahidic version of *Egyptian Basil* as listed by Fenwick (p. 198). The broad division into intercessions for the living followed by those for the departed is followed in the two East Syrian anaphoras, but only *Nestorius* returns to the worshippers themselves in a concluding petition. The first four categories (the Church and its ministers), the seventh (all faithful people), and the ninth (weather and fruits) are found in both the East Syrian anaphoras, while the tenth (the offerers and their intentions) is found in *Theodore* only. Of the six sections devoted to the departed only the categories of clergy and laity are to

be found in the East Syrian anaphoras, though the phrase 'who have been pleasing before thee' occurs also in *Nestorius*. It may be added that the placing of prayers for the Church and the various orders of the ministry at the beginning of the intercessons is common to many anaphoras (e.g. *James*, *Apostolic Constitutions*, *Twelve Apostles*).

The closest parallel in general scope and content to the intercessions of *Nestorius* is not surprisingly to be found in Narsai's *Homily XVII* (Connolly, pp. 18-20), but it must be noted that the order of the particular intercessions is by no means identical. Narsai does not even keep separate the intercessions for the living and departed. On the other hand there is a close correspondence in the order of the petitions from the prayer for world peace to that for enemies. Spink's remarks (1984, p. 356 = 1993, pp. 71-2) on the probable relation between the Homily and the anaphoras with which Narsai was familiar need to be borne in mind. Reference may also be made to the brief analyses of the intercessions in *Nestorius* by Bayard Jones and Spinks ('Anaphora of Nestorius').

Turning from the sequence of the intercessions to their actual content and wording, we find that most of the verbal agreements between *Theodore* and *Nestorius* are of virtually no significance, being merely stock phrases and terms that might naturally be expected to occur in any intercession: 'the holy catholic Church', 'our fathers the bishops', 'here and in every place', 'wittingly or unwittingly', categories of the departed — prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, teachers, priests, and deacons, and the phrase 'who in faith in the truth departed from this world'. One particular category of such stock phrases is that of biblical citations, which I have examined elsewhere (1996). Within the intercessions it is worth noting the use of two such citations in different contexts in the two anaphoras. The phrase '*stand and minister before thee*' (Deuteronomy 10:8) is used in *Theodore* in the prayer for the clergy near the beginning of the intercession, while in *Nestorius* it is used in the closing petition. The statement that God wills '*that all humankind should live and be turned to the knowledge of the truth*' (1 Timothy 2:4) is used in *Theodore* as part of the prayer for all humankind to attain true faith, while in *Nestorius* it occurs in the prayer for enemies and ill-wishers. This use of the same biblical stock material in different contexts hardly suggests a direct literary relationship between the intercessions in the two anaphoras.

It may be of further interest to note an interesting collocation of themes developed in different ways but at the same point in the two anaphoras. After the prayer for all the members of the Church, *Theodore* prays specifically for the celebrant, and in particular for the forgiveness of his sins, witting and unwitting. *Nestorius* at this point prays first for all sinners, witting and unwitting, and then, in a separate petition, for the celebrant. The differences here are sharper than the similarities, but the collocation of ideas and their relative place within the sequence of the intercessions may perhaps suggest ultimate depen-

dence on a common source. An examination of the intercessions in the anaphoras of *Apostolic Constitutions*, *James* (Greek and Syriac), *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Twelve Apostles* has revealed no close parallels. No other anaphora links the intercession for the celebrant with a general intercession for sinners as does *Nestorius*, while verbal agreement is limited to stock phrases like 'witting or unwitting' and being 'accounted worthy' to exercise the priestly office.

There is in fact only one significant verbal agrement between the intercessions in these two anphoras. This is in the prayer for the fruits of the earth and for temperate climate, which is verbaly identical in the two anaphoras:

ܘܥܠ ܦܐܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܘ̈ܙܓܘܗܝ ܕܐܐܪ
ܕܬܒܪܟ ܟܠܝܠܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܒܒܣܝܡܘܬܟ.

The last four words of this petition are derived from Psalm 65:12. The expression 'fruits of the earth' is a commonplace (e.g. Genesis 4:3, Malachi 3:11, James 5:7), while the 'good mixture of the air' (to translate literally) is found also in *Egyptian Basil*, *Apostolic Constitutions*, and *Greek James* (similar, though not verbally identical, phrases are found in *Syriac James* and *Twelve Apostles*). No exact parallel, however, has been found to this combination of phrases in this order, and it seems probable that this unique agreement between the two anaphoras is to be explained as a borrowing by one from the other.

Apart from this one petition, the agreements in both order and wording are of only a general kind, and the results of our analysis suggest that there is no further evidence for either of the anaphoral intercessions having been used as a direct source in the composition of the other. The position of the intercessions before the Epiclesis is characteristic of the East Syrian rite, but is of no significance as direct evidence of literary dependence.

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Naming the feast: The *agape* and the diversity of early Christian meals

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The elusive *agape*, apparently a form of ritual meal in some early Christian communities, has been the object of many confident statements on the part of modern scholars, but is unfortunately mentioned only rarely and with little detail in ancient sources. These two things are perhaps not altogether unrelated; since the early *agape* remains difficult to describe or define, it can be made to fit a reconstructive picture created to serve scholarly interests largely focussed on the eucharist.

Most theories of early Christian meals still work in terms of two models or types, whether the traditional *agape*/eucharist distinction or developments of the Roman/Egyptian dichotomy of Hans Lietzmann; in either case rather little concern is shown for understanding how the term was used in relation to ritual meals, but the evidence is sorted into two heaps according to the criteria of the model employed[1].

In the worst cases, the *agape* has come to be defined negatively: as a category into which meals which do not fit a preconceived picture of 'eucharist' can be placed. So, to take one case, the meal of Didache 9-10 is often consigned to the *agape*-pile because the cup and bread are dealt with in the wrong order, or because the meal prayers do not mention the Last Supper or body and blood of Jesus, or simply because the participants seem to have eaten rather more than an elegant liturgical sufficiency[2].

A second set of approaches to *agape*-scholarship is that which defines the meal more positively, either in terms of certain essential ritual acts (as in the cases of Gregory Dix and of Lietzmann, who agreed in linking it with the form of the

[1] Another distinction, that drawn by Jean-Paul Audet between 'major' and 'minor' eucharists with reference to the *Didache* is a mixed blessing. The hierarchical implications are unhelpful, but the willingness to use terminology with some concern for the use apparent in the text is refreshing. Of the discussion regarding the *Didache* eucharist, Audet says 'Pas un de ces termes (table prayers, breaking of bread, *agape*, eucharist) n'avait un sens défini, je ne dis pas seulement en regard des usages ou des institutions de l'époque, mais d'abord en regard du genre littéraire du texte même qu'on avait sous les yeux'. *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris, 1958), pp. 376; see further 415-24.

[2] Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1945), pp. 90-93. For a summary of more recent positions see further K. Niederwimmer's commentary: *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 173-80.

problematic Jewish *haburah* meal) or of charitable intentions (as in the case of Adalbert Hamman); but either of these quests for an 'essential' *agape* is difficult to square with the actual evidence, which is resistant to both sets of generalizations[3]. Some texts which talk of the *agape* do suggest a distinctive set of procedures, others do not; some seem to link it with charitable actions, others are silent.

The evidence has been rather poorly served by the grand theory of liturgical theology. Perhaps what is called for is something more descriptive, such as the process Lévi-Strauss called *bricolage* or Clifford Geertz's use of the term 'thick description'; a method, in any case, which might encourage renewed attention to detail without necessarily disclaiming all interests or presuppositions.

Consequently I offer two points of method for consideration. First I would suggest that we start reconstruction of the *agape* not with an ideal type but with names, i.e., that we consider first and foremost those meals which are actually called '*agape*'. This move to a sort of naivety of names would make a significant difference to the picture. It would remove, from initial consideration at least, the Didache meal which speaks only of *eucharistia*; and similarly the meal that has for some purposes become the archetypal *agape*, the 'Lord's Supper' of the *Apostolic Tradition.* In the latter case the subtitle 'Of a Private Agape' supplied by Gregory Dix for the relevant chapter in his English translation is the only reference to *agape* one will ever find in the work; but sometimes where the authority or authorship of Hippolytus is in doubt, the authority of Dix steps into the breach[4].

Second, just as recent research makes a case for greater diversity of practice in eucharistic meals in the early centuries, so too it may be more fruitful to approach the early evidence for the *agape* having in mind the possibility of a diversity of terminology; that it may have meant different things in different times and places, just as terms such as 'Lord's Supper' certainly seem to have done[5]. It may not be possible to engage in a presuppositionless reconstruction

[3] Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1955), pp. 197-210. Hamman's specific interest in charitable meals leads him to privilege instances where the idea of *agape* seems to be worked out in more than ritual terms. Thus the earliest examples, from Jude and Ignatius, are dealt with summarily and not used in the main argument of his work: *Vie liturgique et vie sociale* (Paris, 1968), pp. 153-6.

[4] Gregory Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hippolytus* (Rev. ed.; London, 1968), pp. 45-6. Bernard Botte has the much more prudent, and more accurate, 'de cena communi' ('du repas commun' in French translation): *La tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte: essai de reconstruction* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 39; Münster, 1963), pp. 66-7. In fact there is no title for this section in the Verona Palimpsest, but the text of 26 seems to call the whole proceeding the '*cena dominica*'.

[5] Paul Bradshaw's work urges caution in presuming uniformity in early liturgy generally: see *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (London, 1992). Further reconstructive approaches to the question will need to give consideration not only to prayer texts and questions of order (on one issue of which see now Andrew McGowan, 'First Regarding the Cup: Papias and the Diversity of Early Eucharistic Practice', *JThSt* n.s. 46 (1995) 551-7), but to uses of food, and issues of participation and location.

of *agape* meals, but one which acknowledges diversity would at least be a useful corrective.

What would this leave us with for evidence of *agape* meals in the first three centuries? The references in Jude and perhaps 2 Peter; those in Ignatius of Antioch; the *Epistula Apostolorum*; Tertullian and the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*; Clement of Alexandria and perhaps Origen; the Sibylline books; possible some of the apocryphal Acts, and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. None of these provide the sort of dichotomy of two meals, a substantial one called *agape* and a purely symbolic one called eucharist, for which traditional reconstructions might hope. Of all these, only Tertullian's account in the *Apology* amounts to an actual description of a meal called *agape*. But it is Clement who may offer a way forward, albeit negatively. For the remainder of this paper I offer a reading of Clement's discussion of *agape* meals on the basis of the methodological points already proposed, as an example and key case for a different approach that would have to be developed further elsewhere.

It is clear that Clement is critical of the conduct of certain meals bearing the name *agape*.

Some, speaking with unbridled tongue, dare to apply the name *agape* to pitiful suppers redolent of savor and sauces. Dishonoring the good and saving work of the Word, (the) consecrated love (*agape*), with pots and pouring of sauce; and by drink and delicacies and smoke desecrating that word, they are deceived in their idea, having expected that the promise of God might be bought with suppers. (*Paed.* 2.1.4.3-4)[6].

It seems generally to be held that Clement is criticizing a dissolute *agape* in favor of a modest one. This is unlikely for a number of reasons.

First, he never says what a 'good *agape*' would be, but three times condemns the bad *agape* in the same terms. Some have at least found this one-sided approach embarrassing; the editor of the Ante-Nicene Library feels compelled to annotate the passage from the *Paedagogus*: 'But surely he is here rebuking, with St. Jude (v.12), abuses of the Christian agapæ by heretics and others'[7]. The difficulty is that this sort of thing is all Clement has to say, and that he says it rather often. In fact the only *agape*-participants Clement ever identifies are Carpocratians, to whom he attributes a meal so-named in Book 3 of the *Stromateis*[8].

[6] I have used some of the phraseology of Coxe's translation, *ANF* 2.238.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] 'These then are the doctrines of the excellent Carpocratians. These, so they say, and certain other enthusiasts for the same wickednesses, gather together for feasts (I would not call their meeting an Agape), men and women together. After they have sated their appetites ("on repletion Cypris, the goddess of love, enters", as it is said), then they overturn the lamps and so extinguish the light that the shame of their adulterous "righteousness" is hidden, and they have intercourse where they will and with whom they will. After they have practised community of use in this love-feast, they demand by daylight of whatever women they wish that they will be obedient to the law of Carpocrates — it would not be right to say the law of God' (*Strom.* 3.2.10; trans.

Second, Clement never allows the name *agape* for a meal, whether sacral or otherwise. He even uses Jesus as authority on appropriate and inappropriate names for such feasts: 'Gatherings for the sake of mirth, and such entertainments as are called by ourselves, we rightly name suppers (δειπνάριά), dinners (ἄριστα), and banquets (δοξὰς). But such entertainments the Lord has not called *agapai*'. (*Paed.* 2.1.4.3) The *agape* meal he discusses at *Strom.* 7.16.98 is also 'misnamed'[9].

Third, Clement's positive understanding of the word *agape* is always as virtue, not meal. 'But *agape* is in truth celestial food, the banquet of reason ... For the supper is made for *agape*, but the supper is not (an) *agape* (ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγάπη τὸ δεῖπνον); only a proof of mutual and reciprocal kindly feeling' (*Paed.* 2.1.5.3-6.1). A little later he retiterates the point: '*Agape* is not a supper ('Αγάπη μὲν οὖν δεἰπνον οὐκ ἔστιν)'. (*Paed.* 2.1.7.1)

Granted that here as elsewhere Clement is difficult to pin down, moving between concrete and allusive speech, nevertheless it seems likely that there was no *agape* meal in the Alexandrian community known to Clement. Origen's silence on the question, broken only by an ambiguous reference which may be a quote from Celsus, may also be significant[10]. Whether it was imported by a group such as the Carpocratians, or whether in keeping with Walter Bauer's picture we imagine Clement's orthodox position as the more recent one in Alexandria, we are faced not with a two-fold meal picture of eucharist and *agape* but a conflict between two systems, complete with rival names and ethics[11].

All this means, among other things, that we should probably stop speaking of 'the *agape*' as though there were an ancient consensus about it that we

H. Chadwick in J.E.L. Oulton and H. Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity* (LCC 2; London, 1954), p. 45).

[9] 'And their vanity impels them to endure everything, and stir every stone, as the phrase is, even going to the length of impiety through disbelieving the Scriptures, rather than surrender their heresy and the much-talked-of precedence in their assemblies, for the sake of which they so eagerly affect the first couch in the drinking-bout of their misnamed Agape' (*Strom.* 7.16.98; trans. J.B. Mayor, in *Alexandrian Christianity* 157).

[10] Origen is almost (and perhaps entirely) silent on the *agape*. His one reference that seems likely to be about a meal rather than the virtue is near the beginning of the *Contra Celsum* where he explains the first point raised by his absent opponent: 'And his wish is to bring into disrepute what are termed the "love-feasts" of the Christians (τὴν καλουμένην ἀγάπην) ...' (1.1.6). This seems to suggest lack of knowledge of such a meal, although it could be Celsus' phrase. Nor is it clear that Origen understands the reference as to a meal, whether or not Celsus did. See Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1965) 7 and n. 1. In either case this makes Origen no witness of an Alexandrian *agape*.

[11] The implications of a Carpocratian origin for, or Carpocratian links to, the origins of a meal called *agape* are rather hard to develop. The nature and origins of the group are obscure, ancient and modern commentators alike being confused about the relationship between Carpocrates and Harpocrates and on the possible links between the group and Egyptian or Ionian religion. See Chadwick's discussion in *Alexandrian Christianity* 24-9.

could use in the clear absence of any modern one. The way forward for a reconstruction of meals called *agape* is probably to consider this as a term associated, in the first few centuries, only with certain areas, communities or 'trajectories' in early Christianity, rather than as a universally known and well-defined set of actions.

I have only been able to outline a *via negativa* for the *agape*, but it does not take too much imagination to see that the way forward for understanding meals called *agape* probably leads to Asia and Syria from where most of the earliest positive references may well come; and that for those who did use it in the second century at least the term was probably an alternative or synonym for 'eucharist' rather than an essentially separate tradition[12].

But in any case, rather than passing the evidence for Christian ritual meals in the first centuries through a sieve looking for two types, whether *agape* and eucharist or Roman and Egyptian, we would do better to expect a diversity of practices and terminologies, all of which share some relation to one another, and for that matter to other sacred or solemn meals in Late Antiquity. Clearly names are not everything; Clement who disapproves of the term *agape* for meals, and Tertullian who accepts it, agree in depicting the proper conduct and purpose of a communal meal gathering not in terms of particular ritual actions so much as the maintenance of recognizeable standards of behavior. In second and third century Christianity we are dealing with many variations on a theme of communal meals, and *agape* is one of these; rather less than a universal type, but rather more than a receptacle for scholarly scraps.

[12] None of the examples listed above which use the term *agape* give clear evidence of two types of meal coexisting in the same place or community. Tertullian seems to use the term as an alternative to 'Lord's Supper', but it is difficult to say how the meal described in the *Apology* relates to the eucharist. The first place two distinct meals seem to be presented side by side is the *Apostolic Tradition*; and while at that point at least some possibility of a dual meal tradition must be taken seriously, the 'second' meal is of course not called '*agape*'.

The Patristic Diet of Cranmer's Generation

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In often-quoted words from the Preface to the First (1549) Book of Common Prayer, Thomas Cranmer, speaking of the reading of Scripture in the daily office, complained that 'the nombre and hardnes of the rules called the pie, and the manifolde chaunginges of the seruice, was the cause, that to turne the boke onlye, was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times, there was more busincs to fynd out what should be read, then to read it when it was founde out'. Such complexity was to be resolved by his almost inflexible calendar month-based lectionary which provides for the reading through of most of the books of the Bible virtually without interruption — at the expense of what he termed 'uncertein stories, Legendes, Respondes, Verses, vaine repeticions, Commemoracions, and Synodalles'.

Also eliminated but not mentioned here was the patristic element in the office of Matins as it evolved in the middle ages: the readings from the Fathers, most often in the second and third nocturns of that office. These readings were taken from commentaries on biblical books, sermons, and material appropriate to the commemoration of particular saints. The primary object of this paper will be to try to ascertain what the regular patristic diet of Cranmer's generation was, taking as 'patristic diet' these readings from the Fathers in the daily office, which all clerics in major orders were bound to perform. Despite the fact that several notable divines of his generation studied the Fathers intensively apart from any liturgical requirement — certainly this was true of Cranmer himself[1] — we have little way of knowing at what rate, or for the most part in what Fathers, early sixteenth-century individuals did their patristic reading; but we can get a quite adequate idea of their exposure to the Fathers through the one medium all were supposed to have had in common, the daily office.

The initial resource for this investigation is the Great Sarum Breviary printed at Paris in 1531 by Claude Chevallon and Francis Regnault. This is the book chosen as the basis for the extremely detailed if horribly convoluted modern edition by Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, published in three volumes between 1879 and 1886[2]. At first glance their Index XI,

[1] For some idea of his range of patristic knowledge, see 'A Confutation of Unwritten Verities', in *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. J.E. Cox (Parker Soc., 1846), pp. 1-67, esp. 32-3.

[2] F. Procter and C. Wordsworth (edd.), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879-86).

'Auctorum in Lectionibus', seems almost to answer the question at once, for it gives references to lessons taken from the writings of roughly fifteen Fathers[3]. (I say roughly because, of course, no definition is perfectly clear; here it seems reasonable to include Isidore and Bede among the Fathers[4] but not Gregory of Tours nor such 'historical' works as the *Chronicon Marcellini* or the *Tripartita Historia*.) There are just over 250 entries for these writers, with no fewer than seventy-five coming from Bede (though many of these are in effect saints' lives); around fifty are taken from Augustine, forty-five from Gregory, twenty-one from Jerome, ten each from Ambrose and Leo, and so on.

But this index is only superficially useful. In the first place, the ascriptions are by name only, and enough of them are wrong that each entry has to be individually checked: sometimes a surprisingly difficult matter. Secondly, if the same author is named as the source of three adjacent lessons in the same service, that counts as three entries. Thirdly, the entries in this index cover the entire contents of the 1531 Breviary, not all of which would be any means be used in any given year. Most obviously, the conflict between the progress of the Temporale throughout the Sunday-based ecclesiastical year and the fixed feasts of the Sanctorale means that there is frequently an either/or situation as to whether a particular set of lessons is read — even if, given the wide variation in the date of Easter, it might be argued that recitation of the office throughout fifteen or twenty years would probably use all the lessons in both Temporale and Sanctorale.

Although at least one hundred volumes of patristica are known to have been in Cranmer's library[5], we cannot as far as I am aware ascertain the identity of any specific book from which he would have read the divine office: an obligation which we shall assume he and others of his generation took seriously at least in the years immediately following their ordinations. Crammer, born in 1489, was priested in 1523 (the obligation ran in theory from the subdiaconate). Born with five or six years on either side of him were Latimer (c.1485), Coverdale (1488), Gardiner (c.1490), Tyndale (c.1494), and Bilney (c.1495) — four of them to become notable Protestant leaders and one, Gardiner, a staunch defender of the old order.

Absent a single volume which we can use with certainty, it has seemed prudent to look at a conspectus of breviaries which might have been used by these men, taking as givens that the books would have been of the Sarum use and would have been — by, say, 1510 — printed, not manuscript, volumes (but as a precaution I have consulted some fifteenth-century manuscript breviaries as

[3] Vol. III, pp. xciv-xcv.

[4] See R.W. Pfaff, 'Bede Among the Fathers? The Evidence from Liturgical Commemoration', *Studia Patristica* XXVIII (1993), pp. 225-29.

[5] D. Selwyn, 'Cranmer's Library', in *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, ed. P. Ayris and D. Selwyn (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 39-72, at 59.

well)[6]. It has seemed wise also to choose as a 'base text' an edition somewhat earlier than the 1531. After surveying a range of possibilities I selected for this purpose a fine 1516 folio, printed (like the 1531) in Paris, by F. Byrckman[7]. This represents the fullest and most accessible format from which a churchman of Cranmer's generation could have read the Latin office — or, as we must always remind ourseves, heard it — in the years just before the break with Rome.

The attention of the reader (from now on I shall speak only of the reader, understanding that this includes the hearer if the office is said or sung corporately) will in the first place have been caught by a heading, often rubricated, which indicates the Father from whom a lesson is taken: though this can be misleading because many important patristic readings lack such indications. Even so, some awareness of the range of a year's patristic readings would have been conveyed through rubrical phrases like 'Omelia venerabilis Bedae presbyteri' or 'Sermo ex commentario beati Augustini episcopi'.

That is, such rubrics, repeating as they do simply the names of various Fathers (whether or not accurately is only peripheral to my concern here) must have kept awareness of that dimension of sacred reading — the patristic as opposed to the biblical and, to some extent anyhow, to the legendary — fresh in the minds of those who recited the office. But how much patristic literature were they actually offered, and under what guise(s) was it presented to them?

There are two simple dimensions here: the lengths of the lessons and the likelihood that they would in fact have been read. The first dimension can be demonstrated practically, but the second can be explained only abstractly — because a set of abstract formulas is needed to determine for any given year which variables will take precedence over which others. These formulas are brought together in a booklet, or part of a service book, called in late medieval England the *pie*: one of the items about which Cranmer complains by name in his Preface.

The variables concerning precedence are too numerous to be even summarized here. They include, as a tiny sample, feasts of the Sanctorale which are not important enough to 'trump' (to borrow a metaphor from the game of bridge) a concurrent Sunday, Sundays which are themselves trumped by great fixed feasts, and octaves which are interrupted by feasts falling within them. Nonetheless, the eye could always take in headings, expecially if rubricated, for occasions which were not being observed.

And as to the length of the lessons; considerable variation is widespread in manuscript office books; indeed, freedom to shorten the prescribed lessons drastically seems to have been a primary factor in the evolution of the breviary[8].

6 Notably Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. f.29. and Oxford, University College 22.

7 The shelfmark of the Bodleian Lib. copy is Douce B. subt. 7.

8 Note the remark in P. Salmon, *The Breviary through the Centuries* (Eng. tr., Collegeville, Minn., 1962, of *L'Office divin*, Lex orandi 27; 1959), p. 160 n. 226.

Certainly some late medieval manuscript breviaries have lessons at matins shortened to an almost prefunctory brevity[9]. But it seems to have been the case that with printing the length of lessons becomes both somewhat longer and, eventually anyhow, generally standardized. And some of the lessons, notably those in Lent, are formidably long.

By way of case studies we can look only at two seasons: one from the Temporale: the long season of Lent; and one from the Sanctorale: the brief but intense span of days between June 24th and July 9th. As we look at these seasons, we need to keep steadily in mind a distinction between what the reader consciously took in as forming part of his 'patristic diet' and what was in fact (whether or not he knew it) supplied by way of patristic fare. In terms of nourishment from the Fathers, the Lenten season was far from being a fast. During that six and a half week period (I am including Passion Week and Holy Week) there were identifying rubrics for the lessons of the second and third nocturns on each of the Sundays, as well as on each weekday of the first week of Lent: 'Omelia beati Gregorii pape', the rubric runs, or 'Augustini episcopi / Leonis pape / Maximi episcopi / Iohannes episcopi (i.e., Chrysostom), Hieronimi presbiteri, venerabilis Bedae presbiteri' — many of these more than once, for a total of nineteen passages rubrically identified as patristic.

What the reader actually had to read was close to but not identical with what the rubrics told him he was reading. Taken in the aggregate, there were throughout the season passages from the following[10]: Jerome's Commentary on Matthew[11]; Augustine's *Enarratio* for Psalm 63 and two pseudo-Augustinian sermons (310 and 393)[12]; Maximus of Turin, the whole of his long sermon (29; Bruni 45) on Psalm 21 and of another sermon (66; Bruni 38), as well as two Pseudo-Maximus homilies (Bruni 37 and 42)[13]; 'Chrysostomus Latinus', excerpts from four sermons (13, 9, 10, 12), of which Pseudo-Peter Chrysologus is the likely author of at least the last three[14]; Leo, all or most of three Lenten sermons (40, 42, 43)[15]; Gregory, excerpts from two of the Homilies on the Gospels (I.16 and I.18)[16]; Bede, four homilies (II.2, 3, 7 and III.49, the lat-

[9] Most egregiously in Bodl. Lat. liturg. f. 29, where the lessons for many occasions average about thirty words each.

[10] The point of this communication will be served by references to standard editions of the patristic works in question, without regard for the precise chapters or sections of such works included in the 1516 Breviary or for the fact that the form of many of the lessons derives ultimately from homiliaries, most often that of Paul the Deacon (see below, n. 29). Where more than one source is mentioned the references run respectively.

[11] CCL 77, 122-3.

[12] CCL 39, 808-9; PL 39, 2340-2 and 1713-5.

[13] CCL 23, 112-5 and 276-8; PL 57, 303-8 and 319-22.

[14] PLS 4, 700-2; and 674-6, 680-4, 684-7.

[15] CCL 138A, 223-30, 238-46, 251-7.

[16] PL 76, 1135-8 and 1150-3.

ter being also Super Lucam IV)[17]. And, given the high importance of the season and the relative paucity of feast days of great magnitude, these lessons would very likely have been in fact read.

The picture is similar, though somewhat less straightforward, in the crowded sixteen days of the Sanctorale between June 24th and July 9th. Additional complexity is caused by the interplay of octave days with three feasts of great importance in that period, John the Baptist on the 24th, Peter and Paul on the 29th (with an additional Commemoration of Paul on the next day), and the Visitation on July 2nd. Taking octave lessons into account as well as the main feast days, I find at least fourteen substantial patristic passages, plus an additional three or four that I cannot at present identify. The Pseudo-Maximus homilies are the most heavily drawn on, with two homilies (67 and 65) being used for John Baptist and three (71, 70, and 68) for Peter and Paul[18]. In addition, for John Baptist there are also a long sermon from Caesarius (Serm. 216, itself a cento from Augustine and Ambrose)[19], a Pseudo-Augustine sermon (196)[20], and a homily of Bede's (II.20)[21]. Peter and Paul are celebrated also through a substantial sermon of Leo's (82)[22], a Pseudo-Augustine sermon (72) possibly by the prebyter Eraclius[23], a passage from Origen's Commentary on Matthew in the 'versio latina antiqua'[24], and another from Chrysostom's panegyrics on Paul in the Latin version of Anianus of Celeda[25]. For the Visitation there are used a homily drawn from Ambrose on Luke (II.19)[26] and one from Bede (I.4) originally intended for Advent[27].

The lesson from Origen for Peter and Paul is headed 'Omelia excerpta de commentario Origenis'. Six passages rubrically identified as by Origen are prescribed throughout the year in the Sarum Breviary. The other five (besides that for Peter and Paul) are taken from a series of nine pseudo-Origenian Latin homilies on Matthew[28], several of which were used by Paul the Deacon in his Carolingian homiliary[29]. Each of the passages is assigned to an occasion which

[17] CCL 122, 193-9, 200-6, 225-32, and PL 94, 380-2 plus 421-22B.
[18] PL 57, 389-90 and 383-6 (John Bapt.), 399-402, 397-400, and 391-6 (Peter and Paul).
[19] CCL 104, 858-61.
[20] PL 39, 2111-3 (also included in Ps-Maximus, Hom. 65, as above: PL 57, 383-6).
[21] CCL 122, 328-34.
[22] PL 54, 422-28.
[23] PL 39, 1884-6; cf. CPL no. 388.
[24] GCS 40, 80-100.
[25] PG 50, 481-2.
[26] CCL 14, 39-43.
[27] CCL 122, 21-31.
[28] CPL nos. 668-75.
[29] F. Wiegand, ed., *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt in untersucht* (Leipzig, 1897); cf. R. Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du moyen âge, Inventaire et analyse des manuscrits* (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior VI; Rome, 1966) and *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits* (Biblioteca degli 'Studi medievali'; Spoleto, 1980).

would almost certainly have assured that it would be read: the vigil of Christmas, the second and third Sundays after the Epiphany octave, the eighth Sunday after Trinity, and the feasts of Peter and Paul and of the Name of Jesus[30].

Unlike the texts for the four occasions from the Temporale, Paul the Deacon's homiliary does not contain the Peter and Paul lesson. Nor would it have contained anything for the feast of the Name of Jesus, which is late medieval[31]; so here the choice of a reading from Origen, a much abridged version of the first of the eight Latin homilies, was recycled from Paul the Deacon's use of it at the Vigil of Christmas. Even though Origen is never granted a descriptive appellation, not even 'presbyteri', awareness of him as a named Father would have been fairly extensive.

Whether or not it is apparent, there is a play on words in my title. We have been trying to gain some sense of the patristic reading which Cranmer and his contemporaries — roughly, his generation — did insofar as they observed the canonical hour of Matins. But it is also true that Cranmer, insofar as we may speak of him as the chief begetter of the (First) Book of Common Prayer, 1549, generated a diet of reading in the daily office as he there rearranged it. In the case of the Fathers, it was a starvation diet. The offices of Mattins and Evensong each had two lessons, all four invariably taken from Scripture.

This means that, to notice again the two seasons we have used as case studies, neither during Lent, where there had been rich and concentrated patristic fare, nor in the great occasions of late June and early July, highlighted as they and the days of their octaves were by pointed readings from the Fathers, was there in the new arrangement any patristic reflection or teaching. It means also the loss of a general awareness of even the names of the chief Fathers ('omelia Origenis') as encountered sporadically throughout the year: an Origen or an Ambrose could now be encountered only by being studied intentionally; their names would never have been read liturgically[32]. The loss of 'uncertain stories, Legendes, Respondes, Verses, vaine repeticions, Commemoracions, and Synodalles' may or may not have been regretted by those who had read the daily office from the Sarum Breviary until Whitsunday 1549, and thereafter read it from the Book of Common Prayer; but it seems likely that a much more palpable loss would have been that of the lessons from the Fathers which must until that year have formed a major component of their intellectual and spiritual diet.

[30] Each is used at the third noctum save for the Vigil of Christmas, where it forms the first three lessons.

[31] R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 62-83.

[32] A question was raised at the session where this communication was read as to the rubric 'A prayer of (Saint) Chrysostome': that appears in Cranmer's Litany of 1544, and is not included in the daily office until 1662.

Nicetas and the Authorship of the *Te Deum*

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The *Te Deum* is one of the most venerable of all Latin hymns. It has been a regular part of Matins since the sixth century (sung at the end of the service 'during all times and seasons when the *Gloria* is used in the Mass')[1], and has also been frequently used at especially solemn public occasions, such as the coronation of a king or the election of a pope or the end of a council. The 'Marseillaise of the church', as it has been called[2], is so well known that it has even inspired spin-offs and parodies. Someone in the later Middle Ages wrote a *Te Matrem laudamus* and the Counter-Reformation produced *Te Lutherum damnamus*[3]. Even the anti-cleric Frederick the Great ordered it sung (in the churches of Dresden) after one of his military victories. Many of the great composers of the modern period tried their hand at rendering the hymn in polyphony or in classical or romantic style. These include Palestrina, Purcell, Handel, Scarlatti, Haydn, Mozart, Berlioz, Bruckner, Verdi, and Vaughan Williams. Today, too, there is still a place for the *Te Deum* in the liturgies of the Anglican (and Episcopalian), Lutheran, and Roman Catholic churches, although it is clearly no longer as popular as it once was.

If the *Te Deum* itself is famous, the question of who wrote it is shrouded in obscurity[4]. The most popular tradition has it that the *Te Deum* was composed (on the spot) by Ambrose and Augustine on the occasion of the latter's baptism in Milan in 387. A majority of the ancient manuscripts carry this attribution. Not surprisingly, 19th- and 20th-century scholars have rejected this colorful legend and some have opted instead for the authorship of Niceta (or Nicetas)[5], bishop of Remesiana (modern Bela-Palanka in former Yugoslavia)

[1] Michel Huglo in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13, pp. 954-5.

[2] Albert Gerhards, '*Te Deum laudamus* – Die Marseillaise der Kirche?' *Litur. Jahrb.* 40 (1990), 65ff.

[3] The former has been attributed to Bonaventura (Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1135). For a rendering of the *Te Deum* in Latin hexameters from Fulda in the ninth century, see A.E. Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana: His Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1905), p. cxxiv (referred to hereafter as Burn, *Niceta*).

[4] Although I use the word 'hymn' loosely to describe the *Te Deum*, it has neither the stanzaic structure of Ambrose's compositions nor the more classicizing features of Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* hymns. One might more accurately use the term 'rhythmical prose' to describe the accentual cadences of this composition. See Burn, *Niceta*, pp. cix-cxii.

[5] There is considerable variation with regard to the name in Latin. *Niceta* is derived from νικητής as *patriarcha* from πατριαρχής. Although Paulinus uses *Nicetas*, a Latinate form

in the late fourth century. It is with Nicetas and his possible connection with the composition of the *Te Deum* that the following pages are concerned.

The *Te Deum* was already a 'classic' in Late Antiquity. By the beginning of the sixth century, it was possible for Bishop Cyprian of Toulon to declare that the *Te Deum* was known 'throughout the entire world'[6]. It was prescribed to be sung weekly by Caesarius of Arles and was included in the famous rule of Benedict. No mention, however, is made of its author in these early references. In the earliest manuscripts, too, the Antiphonary of Bangor (c. 690) and Vat. Reg. lat. 11, 'Queen Christina's psalter' (first half of the eight century), the hymn is unattributed. It was only in the late eighth and early ninth centuries that the popular tradition of the joint authorship of Ambrose and Augustine first made its appearance[7]. Although other candidates were mentioned over the years: Hilary of Poitiers (by Abbo of Fleury in 985); Nicetus or Nicetius (beginning only in the tenth century)[8]; a monk named Sisebut (probably from Monte Cassino) or St. Abundius (of Como), it was the story of Ambrose's and Augustine's improvisatory composition that maintained its grip on the popular imagination well into the early modern period. Martin Luther still accepted (although not uncritically) the authorship of Ambrose and Augustine in 1530[9].

It was only in 1894 that Dom Germain Morin put forward what has proved to be a most controversial thesis, namely, that it was Nicetas of Remesiana who had composed the *Te Deum*[10]. Nicetas was a popular name among Christians in the fourth century — there was a churchman in Vienne (c. 379) and in Trier (527-566) as well as in Aquileia (died 485), each of whom bore the name of Nicetus or Nicetas — but Nicetas of Remesiana (c. 340-414) seemed the logical choice to Morin, because he was known to have concerned himself with the composition of psalms and hymns. Paulinus of Nola admired Nicetas' talent as a hymn writer, wanted him to visit the church of S. Felix 'with psalm-singing and hymns', and imagined Nicetas teaching the sailors on board the ship which would carry him over the Adriatic to sing hymns in chorus[11].

closer to the Greek, Cassiodorus has *Nicetus* and in the manuscript tradition it appears as *Nicetius*, *Nicesius*, and even *Vicetus*. See Burn, *Niceta*, p. xxxiv.

[6] Sed in hymno quem omnes ecclesia toto orbe receptum canit, cottidie dicens: Tu es rex gloriae Christus... (*MGH, Epist.*, vol. 3, pp. 434-6).

[7] E.g. Cod. Vindob. 1861 (s. viii); Codd. Sangall. 23 and 27 (s. ix).

[8] We find the name appearing as '*Neceta*' in Dublin, Trin. Coll., E.4.2, 'the Irish Book of Hymns'. The manuscripts are discussed in Burn, *Niceta*, pp. xcviii ff.

[9] Luther remarks: 'Das drit Symbolon sol Sancti Augustini und Ambrosij sein und nach S. Augustini Tauffe gesungen sein. Das sey also oder nicht, so ists on schaden, ob mans gleube oder nicht' (Ernst Kähler, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalms in der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1958), p. 137) (referred to hereafter as Kähler).

[10] G. Morin, 'Nouvelles recherches sur l'auteur du *Te Deum*', *Rev. Ben.* 11 (1894), pp. 59-60.

[11] See Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 17.90-2 and 27.193-99; 243-72; and 500-10. On Nicetas' attitude toward music and chant, see now V. Messana, 'Quelques remarques sur la liturgie du chant selon Nicétas de Remesiana', *Eph. Lit.* 102 (1988), pp. 138-44. Nicetas of Remesiana did write about the benefits of psalmody (*De psalmodiae bono*).

Morin's idea was accepted by such notable church historians as Theodor Zahn, Ferdinand Kattenbusch, and H. Leclercq, and in 1905 and later in 1926, the English scholar, A.E. Burn, defended the thesis with great enthusiasm. In 1958, however, Ernst Kähler published a study of the *Te Deum* which essentially demolished the work of his predecessors, especially that of Burn, who should probably be described as overly zealous in his detection of verbal parallels between works which we are certain that Nicetas of Remesiana wrote and the *Te Deum*.

Since our space is limited here, let us examine only one of these so-called parallels: Burn suggests that Nicetas' *De Symbolo* 7: '*sedes, dominationes, universae caelorum virtutes*' is parallel with the *Te Deum*'s '*Tibi omnes angeli tibi caeli et universae potestates*'. In fact the passage in *De symbolo* looks just as close to Col. 1. 16: '*sive throni sive dominationes sive principatus sive potestates*' (there is only one word in common in both passages)[12] and it is this New Testament verse (or another text, perhaps liturgical, based on this verse) which probably served as the common source for both passages here cited. Kähler examined (and rejected) 21 such 'parallels' and stated in his concluding remarks with characteristic emphasis: 'From the texts at any rate it cannot be demonstrated that Nicetas of Remesiana had anything at all to do with the *Te Deum*' and: 'It is no more possible to make the case that Nicetas of Remesiana was the author or editor of the *Te Deum* than it is for any of the other names that have been connected with the *Te Deum*'[13]. Kähler's caveat is still generally accepted and, indeed, there has been little substantive discussion of the authorship question since the late 1950s and early 1960s. In many of the hymnals in which the *Te Deum* is included, Nicetas is listed as the author, but a question mark follows his name.

This paper attempts to go one step farther along the path forged by Kähler[14]. How did the tradition of Nicetas' authorship, mentioned in some dozen manuscripts, mostly of Irish provenance, ever arise in the first place?[15] The development of the pious legend about Ambrose and Augustine is easy to understand. Ambrose was the most famous of all early Christian hymn writers and Augustine, of course, was arguably the most authoritative of the four great

[12] W.A. Patin, *Niceta von Remesiana als Schriftsteller und Theologe* (Munich, 1909), does point to a reference in *De symbolo* 10: '*Angeli virtutes, potestates supernae*', which is somewhat more apropos. The passage has at least two words in common with the phrase in the *Te Deum!*

[13] Kähler, p. 130.

[14] Kähler does recognize that his arguments would be strengthened if he could offer an explanation for how the name entered the manuscript tradition in the first place: 'Natürlich wäre die These von der Verfasserschaft des Nicetas am Te Deum noch eindeutiger als unhaltbar erwiesen, wenn man nun eine Erklärung dafür geben könnte, wie es zu den Angaben der Handschriften, auf die sie sich gründet, gekommen ist. Ich sehe zunächst keine Möglichkeit hier etwas Wahrscheinliches zu sagen' (p. 130).

[15] The earliest such manuscript listed in Burn, *Niceta* (p. c) is Angers, Bib. Mun. 15, from the Abbey of S. Aubin.

Latin 'doctors' of the church. How better to explain the origin of such a widely used hymn than to suggest that it took *two* great church fathers to compose it[16]? It is far more difficult to explain the appearance of the name of Nicetas in the manuscript tradition. Although Nicetas of Remesiana was a contemporary of Ambrose and Augustine, he was not nearly so famous. There was no monastic order that bore his name, or churches dedicated to his memory. He is supposed to have written hymns, but they do not survive, and his other works which have come down to us were not all that influential.

My proposal is as follows: what if we were to consider the problematic word 'Nicetas' (or variations thereof) which we find in some of the manuscripts of the *Te Deum* not as a proper noun describing a man of that name, but rather as an infelicitous transliteration of the Greek word νικητής meaning 'victor?' The word in its original form would not, therefore, have designated the author of the poem, but rather its dedicatee, most likely in the dative case τῷ νικητῇ ('to the victor'). The appearance of Nicetas as a proper name in tenth-century manuscripts could, then, be the result of a translator's failure to understand that the word he saw before him was a common noun (as opposed to a person's name) in Greek. If the first part of the *Te Deum* originally existed in Greek, as some scholars have suggested (on the basis of its textual connection with the *Gloria*), this would make especially good sense[17]. We do have a number of manuscripts (some as early as the ninth or tenth centuries) which contain the first twelve verses in Greek[18].

Dedications in the dative case, of course, are not at all uncommon in ancient literature. Pindar's Odes, for example, are prefaced by dedications to the victors, by name, whose athletic accomplishments they celebrate (e.g., 'To Hippokles the Thessalian boy'). There are even closer precedents in the poetry of the Bible. A number of psalms, 44 to be precise, begin in Latin translation with the dedication '*Victori*'. In Jerome's translation of the Hebrew as well as some Spanish versions of the *Vetus Latina* this is the dubious rendering of the

[16] Hilary, too, whose name appears in at least two manuscripts, was renowned as a hymn writer and would be a logical candidate. That the name of an Abundius of Como or a Sisebut, possibly of Monte Cassino, should appear in a few isolated instances in the later tradition is more surprising. There was, perhaps, some kind of connection between these personages and the manuscripts in which their names first appear.

[17] Klaus Gamber, 'Das *Te Deum* und sein Autor', *Rev. Ben.* 74 (1964), p. 320: 'Falls das *Te Deum*, was nicht ausgeschlossen ist, auf einen griechischen Text aufbaut – und dafür spricht besonders die textliche Verwandschaft mit dem *Gloria*'.

[18] These do seem to be translations from a Latin original, perhaps, as Burn suggests (p. cxxii), 'from the pen of one of those *Fratres Hellenici*', Greek-speaking monks at Sankt Gallen. If these manuscripts do preserve a late Greek translation of a Latin original, we might suppose that the Greek translators saw *Victori* in the Latin text before them, which they, in turn, translated as νικητῇ. The transliteration problem would, in this scenario, have occurred quite late in the tradition, but this would fit very well with the date of the earliest Latin manuscripts which contain a reference to Nicetas.

Hebrew לַמְנַצֵּחַ. The Septuagint translation of the phrase is εἰς τὸ τέλος but Aquila regularly translates it as τῷ νικοποιῷ, a word which is identified by Origen with Christ. In his commentary on Psalm 4.1 (*PG* 12, 1132-3), Origen remarks:

The goal for everyone who strives is victory. For this reason, as we demonstrated above, David is said to be Christ and the psalms which are dedicated to David announce the goal and the victory of Christ, whom, according to Aquila, it is right to designate as the victor. For to each one who is vanquished, he gives victory, since each one who is vanquished by Christ vanquishes the evil which clings to himself and removes it, so that he might be subject to Christ.

To whom might the appellation of 'victor' have referred? The most obvious suggestion is that the *Te Deum* was intended to honor Christ, who is often assigned this epiphet in early Christian literature. Ambrose, for example, in his commentary on Luke, remarks on the description of Jesus carrying his own cross as follows:

Sed iam tropaeum suum victor adtollat. Crux supra umeros imponitur ut tropaeum, quod, sive Simon, sive ipse portaverit ... (*CCL* 14, 376)

Augustine, too, describes Jesus' crucifixion as a '*victoria*' in *Tract. in Joh.* 51, 2 (*CCL* 8, 440), while the cross itself is described in victorious terms by Peter Chrysologus in *Sermo* CL, 9: *victoriossimum vexillum crucis* (*CCL* 24B, 937). Christ is also portrayed as a victor in early Christian art, as for instance, in the catacomb of Cosmas and Damian (cf. Wilpert, *Mos.* tab. 132), where he is shown with a crown on his head. Already in the New Testament, the verb νικᾶν is applied to Christ, as in John 16.33: 'In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome (νενίκηκα) the world'. and Revelation 17.14: 'These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome (νικήσει) them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings'. Such a dedication would certainly help to clarify the appositional accusative in the first line. The *Deum* in *Te Deum laudamus* is not, according to such a reading, a reference to the triune God, or to God the father, but specifically to Christ, who is (perhaps polemically) declared to be God: 'We praise you who are God'. We known from Pliny's correspondence with Trajan that hymns were addressed to Christ as God in the early second century. This focus on Christ as God in the first stanzas is, to be sure, somewhat dissipated in the later sections which address other members of the Trinity: the 'Father of an infinite majesty' and the Holy Spirit[19]. On the other hand, it is quite possible to argue that the

[19] Burn, *Niceta*, reject this idea (p. cxxiii): 'It is strange that this part of the hymn should have been regarded as addressed to the Son. No reasonable explanation of the words *aeternum Patrem* in verse 2 can be offered in that case. The nearest parallel is the title of Christ in Is. ix 6, LXX ... but no Latin writer has translated this by *aeternum Patrem*'. This is, however, an argument *ex silentio* and one should also observe that Isaiah 9.6 with its description of the prince of peace as

first verses existed as an independent entity before they were combined with other elements of the hymn to make what we now know as the *Te Deum*[20].

Other 'victors' also come to mind. The phrase 'for a victor' or 'for the victor' may have represented a dedication of this hymn to a martyr. In the New Testament the verb νικᾶν is more often applied to heroic believers than it is to Jesus himself. 'To him that overcometh', τῷ νικῶντι, is practically a refrain in the second chapter of Revelation. In later Christian literature, too, this epiphet is frequently applied to martyrs, although it is always clear that the believer's victory is connected with Christ's own paradigmatic victory over death. Basil makes this point well when he writes in the second of his ascetic treaties (*PG* 31, 624): 'for you follow a victorious king, who wishes you to take part in his victory'[21]. The martyred saints Nereus and Achilleus are termed νικηταὶ τῆς πλάνης in the description of their martyrdom (ed. H. Achelis in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 11.2, p. 13)[22]. By suffering at the hands of the Roman authorities, and losing their lives for the sake of the Gospel, these and other Christian martyrs were assured of great rewards in the world to come. They were 'victors' in the eyes of their fellow Christians to be feted by their adoring fellow mortals with as much aplomb as were the great Greek athletes who achieved immortality through Pindar's poetry.

Or, just possibly, there is a connection with the emperor Constantine himself, who was eager to appropriate the description of νικητής for himself (cf. e.g. Euseb., *v. Const.* II. 19, after his great victory at the Milvian Bridge. Eusebius tells us that 'conspicuous for all of the virtue that came from his piety, the victorious king himself found this most lordly appellation fitting for himself, because of the victory given to him by God against all of his foes and enemies'[23]. We know from Eusebius, too, that Constantine used this epithet of himself in laws

the everlasting father was regularly applied to Christ in early Christian exegesis. On the question of the addressee see also J. Jungmann, '*Quos pretioso sanguine redemisti*', *ZKT* 61 (1937), 105-7.

[20] It should, however, be noted that if it is taken as a whole, the hymn does have a discernible structure and unity of thought. For instance, of the 29 verses which make up the hymn, *Tu Patris sempiternus es filius* is in the exact center, the 15th. This might actually strengthen our suggestion that the hymn is dedicated to Christ the Victor. It is possible, too, however, to see the *Te Deum* as divided into three parts and possessed of a Trinitarian structure. The hymn begins by praising God the father in his celestial majesty, continues by reciting in credal fashion the Son's salvific accomplishments, and concludes with prayer, in which the Holy Spirit (as we know from Romans 8.26-7) assists us. The movement from eternity to the present (the *Te Deum* starts in heaven with the unending praise of the cherubim and seraphim, descends to earth in the historical incarnation of the Son, and concludes with petitions for divine assistance in the conduct of our daily lives (*per singulos dies*)) also suggests a unity which binds the disparate parts of the composition together. These features may still, of course, be the result of the work of an editor who put the various sections together.

[21] Νικητῇ γὰρ ἀκολουθεῖς βασιλεῖ, τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ βουλομένῳ σε γενέσθαι κοινωνόν.

[22] See also Damasus on the martyrdom of Andreas, *Epigr.* 8 (*PL* 13, 381-2).

[23] *GCS* 1.1, p. 56: ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ Θεοσεβείας πάσῃ ἐμπρέπων νικητὴς βασιλεύς (ταύτην γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπώνυμον κυριωτάτην ἐπηγορίαν εὕρατο τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ δεδομένης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ἐχθρῶν τε καὶ πολεμίων νίκης εἵνεκα) ....

(Νικητὴς Κωνσταντῖνος Μέγιστος Σεβαστός; *v. Const.* II. 24 (*CGS* 1.1, 58)) as well as in letters (see *PG* 25, 341a)[24]. It was not unheard of, either, to dedicate poems to Constantine. There was at least one contemporary Christian poet, namely Juvencus, who dedicated his paraphrase of the Gospels' account of the life of Christ to this 'generous ruler of the whole wide world':

Haec mihi pax Christi tribuit, pax haec mihi saecli,
quam fovet indulgens terrae regnator apertae
Constantinus, adest cui gratia digna merenti,
qui solus regum sacri sibi nominis horret
imponi pondus, quo iustis dignior actis
aeternam capiat divina in saecula vitam
per dominum lucis Christum, qui in saecula regnat[25].

If this hymn were dedicated to Constantine, we would have further support for the idea that at least the first part of the *Te Deum* would have been in existence well before the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth (that is to say, when Nicetas of Remesiana was active). Indeed Klaus Gamber has suggested that a reference in Tertullian (*De orat.* 3) to the triple *Sanctus* is actually an allusion to its occurrence in the *Te Deum*, since the triple *Sanctus* itself was not introduced into the liturgy of the Mass in the West until much later[26]. We also have a passage from Cyprian's *De Mortalitate* 26 which bears some remarkable resemblances to the wording of the first lines of the *Te Deum*:

Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus.
illic prophetarum exultantium numerus,
illic martyrum innumerabilis populus.

Gamber suggests a date for the '*erste Ausbildung*' of the *Te Deum* in the second century and North Africa as its place of provenance. (Nicetas was simply an editor of sorts).

While it is impossible to prove any of these latter suggestions conclusively here, my proposal does, at the very least, offer a possible explanation of how the name of Nicetas came to be associated with the *Te Deum* in the first place. In other words, it may be necessary to dash once and for all Burns' pious hope 'that in time to come Nicetas' name will be a household word among the Christian congregations whose hearts are stirred in every generation by his matchless hymn of praise'. But if Nicetas' fame must be diminished as a result of these remarks, it is hoped that they will help to stimulate more scholarship devoted to the questions of where and when and how this important artifact of western European Christian culture, the *Te Deum* itself, came into being.

[24] See also Eus., *De laudibus Constantini* 5 (*PG* 20, 1336) and *HE* 10.9.6 (*GCS Eus.* 2.2, 902).

[25] Constantine is not the only imperial candidate possible. Constantius, too, used this appellation, as for instance in his correspondence with Athanasius (*PG* 25, 341).

[26] Klaus Gamber, 'Das *Te Deum* und sein Autor', *Rev. Ben.* 74 (1964), pp. 318-21.

George of Nicomedia: Convention and Originality in the Homily on Good Friday

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In the present paper I will examine the models used by George of Nicomedia for the composition of his homily on Good Friday, the first homily which has come down to us that treats the subject from a mariological point of view. George of Nicomedia elaborates on the passage from the Gospel of St John (20:25): *'Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleopas and Mary Magdalene'*. The events of the Crucifixion are related through the eyes of the Virgin, who follows Christ from the court of Annas and Caiaphas to Calvary where He is crucified. The last part of the homily is devoted to the Deposition and Burial of the Lord. The homily of George of Nicomedia is characterised by a distinct dramatisation of the events related and by the extensive use of monologue and dialogue. These are the elements that I will try to trace back in the homiletic and hymnographic tradition of the Eastern Church until the 9th century. George wrote most of his homilies on the occasion of the feasts of the Mother of God. Although it can be attributed to an accident of the manuscript tradition the practice of focusing on an individual subject of interest was not unusual in the Byzantine homiletic tradition[1]. The preoccupation of the author with the Mother of God implies a theological interest that is expressed in his mariology. However, here I will refrain from developing mariological points and I will only examine texts that could have been used by the homilist for the composition of his work.

To my knowledge there is no single homily that can be proposed as George's sole, immediate source. The 'invention' of the theme of the lamentation of the Mother of God at the foot of the cross is found in the hymnographical tradition. The methodological problem that one faces when studying the hymns of the Orthodox Church is that, apart from a few hymns whose authorship is attested, the great majority of the liturgical texts are either unattributed and undated or — even worse — attributed incorrectly. Hymns, like icons, were important in themselves and the composers were not supposed to sign

[1] For example, Proclus in the 5th century and Germanos of Constantinople in the 8th century were known for their mariological homilies, whereas Leontius of Constantinople found particularly appealing the theme of Job. A characteristic example is his homily on Good Friday in which he links the subject to the story of Job. See Pauline Allen with Cornelis Datema, *Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople, Fourteen Homilies* (Brisbane, 1991) pp. 87-94.

them, just like the artists who were not supposed to sign their icons. The problem is relevant to the subject because of the existence of a hymnographical text, the Lament of the Mother of God, which is read even today in the Eastern Church as part of the service of the Burial of the Lord. This text reproduces almost verbatim passages of the homily in question. Although its dating is uncertain, liturgiologists tend to consider it a composition that was incorporated in the service books towards the end of the middle Byzantine period, or even later[2]. Let me now turn to the background of Marian devotion in order to trace the development of the theme.

Although very little is written about the Virgin either in the Gospel or in the Acts of the Apostles[3] it is clear that at every single stage of the development of Orthodox theology in Byzantium, the Mother of God preoccupied the Fathers and was made a model of behaviour. At the same time the faithful saw in her the human, yet, God-bearer protectress and mediatrix[4]. Basil the Great portrays the Mother of God as the protectress of virgins[5], of whom she becomes an archetype. Of the Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa worked most of all on the establishment of the typological references[6] of the Mother of God. The importance of homiletics for the formulation of doctrine as the establishment of the living experience of the Church may be attested in the example of the homily delivered by Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the presence of his adversary Nestorius, in the great church of Haghia Sophia, in 428 or 429, in which the Virgin is referred to as the All-Holy and Ever-Virgin Theotokos, the Mother of God[7].

Let us now turn to the hymnography where the subject of the lament of the Virgin at the foot of the cross seems to appear for the first time. The celebrated hymnographer Ephrem the Syrian in a poem that was meant to be read during the Saturday vespers in Holy Week[8] elaborates the theme. In this hymn the Virgin approaches the cross and speaks to the Lord without expecting a response. It is a silent lamentation, and one of the first attempts to reveal the

[2] I am grateful to Fr Michael Fortounatto and to Nicolas Ossorguine for their advice on the subject.

[3] Fr John Breck, 'Mary in the New Testament,' *Pro Ecclesia*, 2/4 (1993) pp. 460-472.

[4] Fr John Breck, 'Mary: Mother of Believers, Mother of God,' *Pro Ecclesia*, 4/1 (1995) pp. 105-111.

[5] Basil the Great, *Πρὸς παρθένον ἐκπεσοῦσαν*, ep. 135, PG 32, col. 372; see also Gregory of Nazianzus, PG 35, col. 1181A.

[6] Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Moses* 2.21 (Jean Daniélou ed., *SC* 1, Paris, 1968, p. 118); Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (New York, 1963) pp. 64-5. Also with reference to the typological references employed by Proclus of Constantinople see Nicholas P. Constas, 'Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotokos and the Loom of the Flesh', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 3:2 (1995) pp. 176-82.

[7] For the historical background and the mariological aspects of the homiletic work of Proclus see Constas, *op.cit.*, pp. 169-176.

[8] D. Caillau, *S. Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera*, IV (Paris, 1844) pp. 440-444; also introduction to the hymn by Romanos, *Marie à la Croix*, by Grosdidier de Matons (SC 128; 1967), p. 144.

human aspect of the salvific mystery. In the Syriac hymn of Jacob of Sarug on the Dormition of the Mother of God we read: *'Many sorrows has your mother borne for your sake, and all afflictions surrounded her at your crucifixion. How many sorrowing weeping and tears of suffering did not her eyes shed at your funeral... How many terrors did not the mother of Mercy experience when you were buried and the guards of the sepulchre turned her away, so that she could not approach you!'*[9] In the homily of George of Nicomedia we read: *'But who will enumerate the arrows that penetrated her heart at that time? Who will recount in words her pains that are beyond words?'*[10] The ineffable sorrow and pain of the Mother of God form the basic pattern upon which the events of Good Friday are recounted and each scene of the Passion of the Lord is introduced by a similar two-line exclamation.

Yet, the *dialogue* between the Mother of God and Jesus at the crucifixion, to our knowledge, was first used by Romanos the Melodos, the great 6th century Syrian hymnographer[11]. His well-known hymn on Mary at the Foot of the Cross[12] is the only one to appear in the actual *Triodion*[13]. The Mother of God pleads with him to address her a word of consolation: '*...Address me a word, Oh Word, do not pass in front of me in silence, you that preserved my purity, my son and my God*'[14] In the relevant passage George of Nicomedia writes: *'But you, say something as a farewell to your mother, ... say a sweet and life-giving word'*[15] and elsewhere: *'They pierced the limbs of the one that has preserved my undefiled chastity, the one who has retained unblemished the seals of virginity and purity'*[16].

[9] The hymn provides evidence for the introduction of the feast of the Dormition but most interestingly for the purpose of the present paper it introduces the lamentation of the Mother of God at the crucifixion and the burial of the Lord. Jacob of Sarug, *Hymn on the Dormition of the Mother of God*, in Baumstark (ed.) *OC*, 5 (1905) pp. 91-9; also quoted by H. Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

[10] George of Nicomedia, *Oratio in illud: 'Stabant autem juxta crucem Jesu Mater ejus, et soror Matris ejus' atque in sepulturam divini corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sancta ac magna die Parasceves; Λόγος εἰς τὸ 'εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ' καὶ εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ*, PG 100, cols. 1457A-1489D; citation in 1464C.

[11] For the literary genre of the kontakion and its background, see E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge* (London, 1959) pp. 226-231. For the feature of dialogue in hymnography see N.Tomadakis, *'Η Βυζαντινὴ 'Υμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησις*, vol. 2 (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1993) pp. 109-115 and for a different use of dialogue Averil Cameron, 'Disputations, Polemical Literature and the Formation of Opinion in the Early Byzantine Period' in G.J. Reinink and H.L.J. Vastinphout (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East* (Leuven, 1991) p. 106-7.

[12] Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, Tome IV, Grosdidier de Matons (ed.) (SC 128, Paris, 1967) pp. 160-187.

[13] *ibidem.*, introduction, p. 143; see also *Triodion*, Compline of Good Friday, Ikos of Tone Eight, Canticle 7 and elsewhere.

[14] Romanos, *op.cit.*, stanza 1, l. 8.

[15] PG 100, col. 1473C-D.

[16] PG 100, col. 1472B.

The response of the Lord to his mother is also similar in the two texts; Romanos writes: *'Alleviate, mother, alleviate your grief: lamentations are not worthy of you who has been called the one full of grace'*[17] where in the text of George, Jesus replies: *'Calm the excess of the more severe pains mother; remit the heaviest despondency in your heart, by the grandeur of the benefit...'*[18] But the Virgin is not consoled, despite the fact that the words of the Lord remind her of the reason he was sent to the world. The comparison of the two texts shows that George knew Romanos' hymn and that he uses the technique of dialogue in a similar way in order to achieve a similar end.

During the 8th and 9th centuries numerous hymns were composed for the Mother of God: Theotokia were written in the Eight Tones and although we cannot be sure of the exact date of their introduction in the services of the Church, their existence marks a distinct phase in the development of Marian devotion. Their authors were the distinguished iconophile preachers and hymnographers Germanos of Constantinople (d.733), Andrew of Crete (d.740), John of Damascus (d.*c.* 749) and Theodore the Stoudite (d.826), to name only the most important among them.

I have singled out the distinguished poet and patriarch of Constantinople, Germanos, for two reasons: the first is that George follows the style of his predecessor, both in the way of expression and in his treatment of the Mother of God. His admiration for the florid and elaborate style of Germanos lead him to the creation of his own embellished style of speech. The second is that in his homily *On the Bodily Burial of the Lord on Holy Saturday*[19], Germanos incorporates a lament of the Mother of God. After the eulogy of the feast that occupies the beginning of the sermon, Germanos dedicates the main part of his homily to the lament of the Mother of God, who voices her despair for the bereavement in short, rhythmical phrases. The prophecy of Symeon about the sword that would pierce her heart is interpreted not as doubt[20], but as the deplorable pain that ravages her heart. Her address to the Lord is reminiscent of the model of Ephrem the Syrian in that she expects no answer; but her lament is not 'silent'. On the contrary it is similar to the laments of ancient Greek tragedy[21]. The invitation to Nature and the world to participate in the wailing contrasts with the murmuring of sweet memories[22]. An antithetical pattern is used in order to show the changing attitude of the Jews towards

[17] Romanos, *op.cit.*, st. 5, l. 1-2.
[18] PG 100, col. 1476C.
[19] PG 98, *In Dominici Corporis Sepulturam*, cols. 244B-289B.
[20] For the interpretation of the prophecy of Symeon by the Alexandrian exegetical school see H. Graef, *op.cit., passim.*
[21] Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices, Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (London, New York, 1992), pp. 144-149; Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), *passim.*
[22] Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981) pp. 91-108.

Jesus, who are addressed in a variety of terms that derive from the stock of the *topoi* of anti-Jewish polemic[23].

The treatment of the lament of the Mother of God by Germanos suggests that his work could have been used as a source by George of Nicomedia in the composition of his homily on Good Friday, although it has to be noted that neither dialogue nor dramatisation are fully explored by Germanos. However, he opened a way by introducing the subject of the lament, which as we have seen derives from the hymnographical tradition, to the domain of homiletics.

Finally I would like to refer briefly to the Theotokia written by Theodore, the abbot of the Stoudion monastery, which refer to the lament of the Mother of God at the Foot of the Cross. Very laconic, the Stavrotheotokia do not occupy more than a few lines. In the matins of the Friday in the first week of Lent the Stavrotheotokion reads: *'Beholding Thee, O Christ, stretched dead upon the Tree, Thy Virgin Mother cried aloud with bitter tears: "O my Son what is this fearful mystery? How dost Thou who givest life eternal unto all, suffer willingly a shameful death upon the Cross?"* '[24] Although George does not use the imagery of the Tree for the cross, the Virgin laments her dead son in the same way and the idea of the willing death of the Lord who gives life to the whole creation occurs regularly in the homily[25]. The lamentation of the Virgin also appears in the Stavrotheotokion of the Vespers of Friday[26]: the Mother of God together with the whole of creation wonders at the strange and marvellous sight of the crucified Lord. Nature is evoked in the lament of the Virgin in the homily on Good Friday: *'Set sun, seeing my and the world's light setting bodily. Shudder sky, and in your grievous appearance share my lament; mourn as you perceive the slaughter of the universal Lord.'*[27] George of Nicomedia offers an interesting example of a synthesis of the homiletic and the hymnographical tradition, combining his sources in order to achieve the dramatisation of the subject-matter which — we may well suppose — was the feature that enthralled his audience and earned him the title of 'great rhetor'.

[23] col. 273B-D.

[24] *Lenten Triodion*, Eng. transl. by Archimandrite Kallistos Ware and Mother Mary (London, 1978) p. 268.

[25] See PG 100, col. 1469A and 1476C.

[26] Friday in the First Week of Lent, Stavrotheotokion in the Eighth Tone, *op.cit.*, p. 272.

[27] PG 100, col. 1472C.

Triple and Single Immersion: Baptism in the Arian Controversy.

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One of the first lessons I had to learn when I began to study the development of early Christian doctrine was that exegetical arguments, which purport, and at first sight appear, to be of a straightforward and logical character, are in fact very often largely determined by the immediate historical context of argument. Today it may seem surprising that I needed to learn so evident a truth. But I did, and the particular case that brought it home to me was the changed use made of the Johannine texts which speak of the Son being sent by the Father and acting in obedience to the Father's will in the period after Nicaea as compared with the time before 325. The Johannine texts I've alluded to were at the heart of Tertullian's anti-Monarchian polemic, providing fundamental support for his case that the Christian gospel requires belief in (at least) two divine persons, not just one. But for the post-Nicene Fathers those texts had to be understood very differently. Interpret them as Tertullian did and you play into the hands of the Arians, who were in no doubt that the Christian gospel requires belief in two divine persons but held also the further belief that one of those divine persons is inferior to the other. So for the post-Nicene Fathers the texts were judged not to be about the fundamental relation between the two divine persons at all, but exclusively about the relation of God to the incarnate figure of Jesus[1]. In his recently translated, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*, Simonetti sums up the phenomenon I have described like this:

> The hermeneutical vicissitudes of Scripture passages used in these theological debates were further complicated by the fact that some of them, substantially those which constituted the scriptural foundation for the trinitarian controversies from the 2nd to the 4th century, were called upon to give authority to very different and sometimes opposite doctrines[2].

It was not, of course, scriptural exegesis alone to which appeal was made in doctrinal argument. Liturgical practice was another important court of appeal. The *lex orandi* was cited then, as now, as a source of the *lex credendi*. But liturgical practice can be read in different ways as easily as scriptural texts. So

[1] Maurice Wiles, *The Making of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 125-7.
[2] M. Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 126.

when its natural or customary interpretation suggested ideas unwelcome to the prevailing orthodoxy, it was not usually very difficult to make a shift in the way it was understood. But there was another possible solution to the problem that did not readily appertain in the case of scriptural exegesis. You could not very easily change the scriptural text, though clearly a good deal of doctrinally motivated change did take place in the course of textual transmission. But change of the existing liturgical practice did not present quite such a problem; the *lex credendi* could influence the *lex orandi* as well as the other way round.

In the case of baptism in the threefold name, scriptural text and liturgical practice went hand in hand. Matt. 28:19 recorded a direct dominical command to baptise 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. No doubts of a critical historical kind clouded the clarity of its dominical status, let alone any (admittedly far more tenuous) doubts of a text-critical kind that have occasionally raised a question in the minds of some scholars in this century about its authenticity as part of the scriptural text at all[3]. The direct dominical command was clear and unambiguous.

It was recognised that there was a *prima facie* conflict with references in Acts to baptism in the name of Christ, and in Romans to baptism into the death of Christ. But these statements, it was argued, were not intended as descriptions of the precise form actually used in the baptismal rite. Paul's argument at the point in his letter to the Romans at which he speaks of baptism into the death of Christ is, Origen claims, concerned with the imagery of death and resurrection in its application to Christian life, and not in the first instance with baptism as such; it is the context of argument, not any difference in liturgical practice that is responsible for the variety of expression[4]. Hilary argues that it is inconceivable that the disciples could have disobeyed so express a dominical injunction and ever have baptised in the name of Christ alone[5]. And Basil simply declares in sweeping terms that 'the naming of Christ is the confession of the whole'[6]. Thus invocation of the threefold name was assumed to have been the invariable practice from the beginning, and in 314 it was decreed by Canon 8 of the Council of Arles to be a necessary characteristic for the distinguishing of genuine baptism from false imitations of it.

In early practice those three invocations seem to have been closely linked with three immersions, each associated with one of the three persons of the Trinity. Tertullian makes the point in characteristically forceful style in the course of his anti-Monarchian argument in *Adversus Praxean*: Christ 'commanded to baptise into Father, Son and Holy Spirit, not into one only; for not once but thrice are we baptised into each distinct person at each distinct name'

[3] See H. Benedict Green, 'Matthew 28:19, Eusebius, and the *lex orandi*' in Rowan Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 124-141.

[4] Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 5,11.

[5] Hilary, *De Synodis* 85.

[6] Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 28.

(*non semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas, tinguimur*)[7]. And the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus prescribes a baptismal rite in which the three immersions follow the candidate's three professions of faith in the three clauses of the creed, affirming faith respectively 'in God the Father Almighty', 'in Christ Jesus the Son of God' and 'in the Holy Spirit'[8].

But under the influence of the Arian controversy there is a marked change of emphasis in the period after Nicaea, just as there is in the tradition of christological exegesis. The threefold invocation at baptism remains a fundamental part of the case in support of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity; the way in which the three persons are conjoined in the formula was regularly cited against accounts which spoke of a difference of rank or of *ousia* between Father and Son[9]. But when Rowan Williams (in his recent article on 'Baptism and the Arian Controversy' with which I shall be engaging a good deal in this paper) speaks of Athanasius and Basil insisting that we are baptised into the 'name' of each person in turn, he seems to me to be going beyond the evidence[10]. Talk of distinct names or of baptism into the distinct persons is notably absent. Instead what is emphasised is that the Matthaean text does not speak of names in the plural, but of the name (singular) of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. And that, says Ambrose on more than one occasion, is to signify the '*una substantia, una divinitas, una maiestas*'[11]. Theodore of Mospuestia elaborates the point in his *Catechetical Homilies*. On the basis of Acts 3:6 (Peter's healing of the lame man with the words 'In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk'), Theodore argues that the formula 'in the name of' indicates the source of the effect that follows; in that case it was Christ who made the lame man walk. The reason for the singular 'name' in the baptismal formula is the same. It is not that the three persons don't have names of their own, names that they don't share with one another; they do, but those names are irrelevant to the context of baptism. For what brings about the grace of baptism, is the one common Godhead[12]. The polemical intention of this emphasis is most clearly spelt out by Eusebius of Vercelli. Why, he asks, do the Arians baptise in the (singular) name of the Trinity but not accept the unity of God? Why do they affirm the names of Father, Son and Holy Spirit but deny the united name of the Godhead[13]?

[7] Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.* 26.

[8] Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* 21.

[9] See, e.g., Athanasius, *Ep. ad Ser.* 1:29-30; Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 24.

[10] Rowan Williams, 'Baptism and the Arian Controversy' in M.R. Barnes and D.H. Williams (edd.), *Arianism after Arius* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 174. Williams gives no precise reference for his claim. None of the passages he draws on in the accompanying discussion seem sufficient to justify his statement.

[11] Ambrose, *De Sacramentis* 2, 22; *De Spiritu Sancto* I,13:132.

[12] Theodore, *Cat. Hom.* III,15.

[13] Eusebius of Vercelli, *De Trinitate* 7:6 (CCL 9,94).

If the triple invocation had to be handled with care as evidence of a homoousian, co-equal Trinity, that was even more true of the triple immersion, where the separateness of the three moments might even more easily suggest an undue separateness of the three persons. But there were other features of the baptismal faith, in addition to the trinitarian nature of the Godhead, that triple immersion could be seen to symbolise. For Ambrose, for example, it images Peter's triple denial and later restoration, and so depicts the multiple nature of the sin from which baptism absolves us[14]. And when Basil speaks not just of the triple invocation but also explicitly of the triple immersion that accompanied it, he relates it not specifically to the Trinity but to the three day period between Christ's death and resurrection[15]. That interpretation of the practice was already in Basil's day a standard part of catechetical instruction.

It seems pretty clear from the evidence available to us that triple immersion went hand in hand with the triple invocation as the general baptismal practice of the church from the late second century to the late fourth century. In the eyes of the Fathers themselves, the triple invocation had, as we have seen, direct scriptural and dominical authority, and in their eyes must, therefore, have been universal practice in the true church from the very beginning. But what about triple immersion? That didn't have the same explicit scriptural authority, and the difference between the authority for those two aspects of baptismal practice was recognised. But many features of the conduct of the mysteries were believed to have been deliberately handed down in unwritten tradition only, and triple immersion was regarded as one example of such ancient, unwritten traditions, which were believed to go right back to apostolic times[16].

So how and why did single immersion arise? Our sources regularly relate it to the heretical intentions of Eunomius or the Eunomians. A classic statement of what became the dominant orthodox view is given by Theodoret: Eunomius overthrew dominical and apostolic tradition, rejected triple immersion and triple invocation and practised single immersion into the death of Christ[17]. But that is myth not history; or, to put the point another way, it is history as the orthodox believed it ought to have been. Epiphanius, living nearer the time, is equally keen to discredit Eunomian baptism, but tells a very different tale in doing so. Eunomius, he says, baptised 'in the name of the uncreated God, and in the name of the created Son, and in the name of the sanctifying Spirit, created by the created Son'[18]. Some scholars have accepted that statement at its face value as a true description of the baptismal formula used by the Eunomians[19].

[14] Ambrose, *De Sacramentis* 2,20-21; *De Spiritu Sancto* II,10:105.
[15] Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 35.
[16] Tertullian, *De Corona* 3; Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 66.
[17] Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* 4:3 (PG 83 420B).
[18] Epiphanius, *Pan. Haer.* 76 (PG 42 637B).
[19] See, e.g., M. Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident* (Paris, 1967), p. 386.

But that cannot be right. We can compare Athanasius' criticism of Arian baptism in the *Contra Arianos* where he says that 'the Arians do not baptise into Father and Son, but into creator and creature, and into maker and work', and then goes on to say that they use the right name or names (he uses both phrases) of Father and Son but do not have the right faith about them[20]. Epiphanius' remark needs surely to be understood in the same way. What he is doing is to express what, in the judgement of his opponents, the threefold name meant when spoken by the lips of Eunomius. So understood Epiphanius' words are strong evidence that Eunomius did, in fact, continue to use the traditional triple invocation.

The view that Eunomius himself continued to follow the traditional threefold practice is further supported by the accounts given by the church historians, Socrates and Sozomen. Both ascribe the changes in baptismal practice to Theophronius and Eutychius, who broke away from the main Eunomian body to form their own sects. Socrates says it was they who made the change from baptism in the name of the Trinity to baptism into the death of Christ[21]. Sozomen describes the change as the first ever introduction of single immersion; he acknowledges that some people ascribe it to Eunomius himself, but gives his own judgement in favour of those who make the Eunomian secessionists, Theophronius and Eutychius, responsible. The precise time and occasion of these secessions is uncertain. That of Theophronius came first. That of Eutychius appears to have begun in Eunomius' lifetime but after his banishment from Constantinople, with Eutychius receiving some support from Eunomius. The final breach with the parent body occurred in the aftermath to Eunomius' death. The main issue in dispute concerned the extent and character of divine knowledge, and it is on that issue that Eutychius is said to have had the backing of Eunomius. So the evidence is not conclusive, but as it stands it appears to indicate the adoption of single immersion as part of break away movements from the main body of Eunomians in the period between 381 and 394[22]. Richard Vaggione, after a careful survey not only of the external evidence but also of baptismal allusions in the polemic of Basil and Gregory against Eunomius, concludes that there are no grounds for believing that Eunomius deviated from traditional baptismal practice[23].

Two other texts, both purporting to be Church Canons (Canon 7 of The Council of Constantinople of 381, and Canon 50 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*) offer the promise of more direct and detailed evidence, but in each case there are problems which call for careful discussion before we can draw conclusions from them. Canon 7 distinguishes those heresies, including the

[20] Athanasius, *Con. Ar.* 2,42-3.
[21] Socrates, *H.E.* 5,24.
[22] Sozomen, *H.E.* 6,26; 7,17.
[23] R. Vaggione, *Aspects of Faith in the Eunomian Controversy* (Unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1976), pp. 191-202.

Arians, whose baptism, being trinitarian in form, is accepted as valid by the church from those whose baptisms are not recognised. In the latter category three are explicitly named: 'The Eunomians who are baptised with only one immersion, and Montanists who are here called Phrygians, and Sabellians who teach the doctrine of the identity of Father and Son (υἱοπατορία)'. Were the canon a genuine canon of the third Ecumenical Council of 381, it would be strong evidence that single immersion was introduced relatively early and in the main body of the Eunomian community. But it has long been recognised that it is not a genuine canon of the Council at all. It has very poor attestation in early texts of the canons, and is in fact an extract from a letter from Constantinople to Martyrius, Bishop of Antioch about the middle of the fifth century, which William Beveridge published in 1672. Canon 7 appears to have been added to the list of canons some time between 560 and 860[24].

But even if the text of the Canon, as we now have it, be correctly dated to the middle of the fifth century, the substance of it certainly belongs to a significantly earlier date. Didymus' *De Trinitate*, which is generally dated between 381 and the early 390s, also records the need for rebaptism in the case of the Eunomians, giving as the reason their practice of single immersion, baptising only into the death of the Lord. It looks as if Didymus' information goes back to the same source as Canon 7; he mentions only one other group, the Phrygians, explaining the need for rebaptism in their case in terms close to those given by Canon 7 for the rebaptism of Sabellians: 'they do not baptise in the three hypostases but believe Father, Son and Holy Spirit to be the same'[25].

Whatever the precise origin of these rules for rebaptism reflected both in Didymus and in the so-called seventh canon may have been, the phrase used to describe the distinctive shortcoming of the Eunomians deserves to be noted. With the Sabellians and the Phrygians it is their basic dogmatic error that is cited as the relevant factor. With the Eunomians it is neither their false doctrine nor, in the case of Canon 7 at least, any failure to use the name of the Trinity that is singled out for special mention, but simply their use of single immersion. Could that imply that they still used the triple invocation but not triple immersion? That seems to me to be a possibility that ought to be kept in mind, though it is probably more likely that the single immersion is picked out because it was seen as a dramatic and memorable symbol of their non-trinitarian practice.

The case of Canon 50 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is both more complex and more potentially illuminating. In some of the best manuscripts Canon 50

[24] William Beveridge, *Synodicon* (Oxford, 1672) Vol. II Annotationes, pp. 100-101. Modern scholars simply repeat Beveridge's findings. See, e.g., W. Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils* (Oxford, 1882), pp. 104-8; N. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 22.

[25] Didymus, *De Trinitate* 2:15 (PG 39, 720A). Later in the *De Trinitate* Didymus reports Montanus as having said 'I am the Father, the Son and the Paraclete' (*De Trin.* 3:41,1: PG 39, 984B).

is followed by a long theological gloss, which interrupts the sequence of canons and has no parallel elsewhere among the 85 canons. This gloss appears in two recensions, a longer one surviving only in Syriac and a shorter Greek one. In the judgement of C.H. Turner, which is not I think seriously disputed, the longer version 'is beyond doubt the earlier and purer form of the text' and the shorter version one that has been expurgated in the interest of orthodoxy. But textual problems, though important, are not the heart of the matter; that lies in an apparent conflict between the substance of the canon and the main body of the *Apostolic Constitutions*[26].

So let me begin by citing the text of the Canon: 'If any bishop or presbyter does not use the triple immersion of the single initiation, but a single immersion given into the death of Christ, he is to be deprived; for the Lord did not say to us: "Baptise into my death", but: "Baptise in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"'. It reads just like the type of orthodox objection to Eunomian baptism that we have already encountered. It outlaws precisely the two things that are emphasised there: single immersion and baptism into the death of Christ instead of in the name of the Trinity. For those who believe, on other grounds, that the *Apostolic Constitutions* is a Eunomian compilation, the simplest solution has seemed to be to regard the canon as a later Nicene interpolation. But the case for its being an interpolation is difficult to sustain. It is not just that there is no textual evidence for the theory. More awkwardly the gloss attached to the canon is anything but Nicene in character. It breathes the spirit of the main body of the work. Those baptised with the trinitarian formula are to be taught that the Father alone is sovereign (*αὐθέντης*) and that there is no question of the Spirit being co-creator (*συνδημιουργός*) or of equal honour (*ὁμότιμος*) with the Father and the Son. Since the raison d'être of the gloss appears to be to comment on the canon, we are in danger of having to postulate the original compiler (or someone of his school) making a further interpolation to explain the interpolation.

For reasons of this kind, Rowan Williams insists, rightly I believe, that 'this canon is no Nicence interpolation'[27]. He argues that it is both anti-Eunomian in intention and an integral part of the work, and regards it as the most damaging piece of evidence against the theory that the work as a whole is of Eunomian provenance. That theory arises, he thinks, from our tendency to try to place all fourth century writings 'on an anachronistic map in which a clear frontier runs between Nicene Orthodoxy and everything else'. He draws a comparison with Cyril of Jerusalem and Eusebius of Emesa, neither of whom can be satisfactorily understood in such categories. In his view the *Apostolic*

[26] C.H. Turner, 'Notes on the *Apostolic Constitutions* II The Canons', *JTS* xvi (1915), pp. 523-38, especially p. 526. Cf. ed. M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* III (Paris, 1987), pp. 10-11.

[27] R.D. Williams, art. cit., pp. 161-70.

Constitutions is to be seen as the work of an archaizing tradition with a hierarchical understanding of the Trinity. (That description, it is worth noting, is not in fact very different from some modern accounts of the Eunomian movement). But Williams' suggestion has, in its turn, some serious difficulties to face. The *Apostolic Constitutions* is certainly a lot further from main stream orthodoxy than either Cyril or Eusebius, and of a somewhat later date since it includes Canon 50's rejection of single immersion. Williams asserts as 'certain' that 'some groups associated with the name of Eunomius were baptising with a single immersion by the 370s'[28]. It is not clear what the grounds for this statement are. He cites Richard Vaggione's doctoral thesis as his authority, but Vaggione makes no mention of any date. Canon 7, as we have seen, is not reliable evidence for the practice of single immersion in the 370s. It may well have started then, but we cannot be *certain* of a date before the 380s. Whatever revised map of the ecclesiastical history of the period we may choose to adopt, it is difficult to see where we can convincingly place this archaizing but anti-Eunomian movement with its radically hierarchical account of the Trinity. Williams' argument is stronger in its criticism of the interpolation theory than in its own alternative proposal. Is there a third way?

I believe that there is. We need to begin with a fuller account of the baptismal teaching to be found in the main body of the work. It is both clear and consistent. The formula prescribed for the baptismal rite is the traditional threefold invocation (VII,44:1). It is described as being both dominically ordained (VII,22:1) and an essential element in any valid baptism (VI,15:1). The author combines the ideas of baptism in the name of the Trinity and baptism into the death of Christ without any awkwardness or sense of conflict between the two (III,16:3-17:1). There is, indeed, a striking conflation of the two ideas in V,7:30, where he speaks of Christ's post-resurrection 'command to proclaim the gospel to all the world, to teach all the nations and to baptise into his death'. References to baptism in the threefold name are usually followed by a firm reminder of the different relations of the three persons to the baptismal act: the Father as the ultimate authority, the Son as the one who died and the Spirit as witness (III,17:2; V,7:30; VII,22:1). One last recurring emphasis is on the singleness of baptism. The one true baptism requires not only, as we have seen, the triple invocation; it must also be administered by blameless (*ἀμέμπτος*) or pious (*εὐσεβής*) priests (VI,15:1; VII,44:3).

Taken together these features correspond very closely with what we know of the baptismal practice of Eunomius and the early Eunomians: the use of the triple invocation; a primary stress on baptism as baptism into the death of Christ; a radically hierarchical view of the Trinity with a strong emphasis on the different roles of the three persons; insistence on the rebaptism of converts from the catholic church. This last point merits some brief elaboration as it has

[28] Art. cit., p. 172.

not figured in our discussion so far. Catholic practice based the requirement for rebaptism exclusively on the issue of the baptismal formula used, and not on the person of the administrant. Insistence not merely on the right formula but also on the right officiant was characteristic of the sects generally. It was bitterly resented by Catholics. There are many laws against such rebaptisms in the *Theodosian Code*, sometimes in general terms but in some cases directed specifically and exclusively against the Eunomians[29].

If our survey of the baptismal ideas in the main body of the book tends to reinforce the ascription of the work to a Eunomian milieu (and Rowan Williams with characterstic fairmindedness acknowledges the strength of that case while seeking to rebut it), what is to be made of Canon 50? As C.H. Turner pointed out long ago[30], there is nothing inherently inconsistent between what is said in the main body of the book and what is said in the canon. The one holds together the ideas of baptism in the threefold name and baptism into the death of Christ; the other protests at their separation into mutually incompatible alternatives.

Both sides in the contemporary debate about the canon speak of it as anti-Eunomian[31]. But the term is not sufficiently precise. We have already seen that the Eunomian movement gave rise to internal schisms and that our best ancient evidence places the origins of single immersion in that schismatic context. Canon 50 would seem to fit into such a context unproblematically. Noone is more hostile to those seceding from a community than those from whom the secessionists are breaking away, especially if the community is itself seen as schismatic by most of its contemporaries. In such a setting there is no problem in seeing canon 50 as both Eunomian in authorship and anti-Eunomian in intention. In it, I suggest, we are given an insider's view of the start of a schism and of the practice of single immersion. It is not surprising that it should have proved difficult to maintain the combination of baptism into the death of Christ and baptism in the name of the Trinity that our author advocates, especially at a time when the orthodox opponents of Eunomius were appealing to the threefold baptismal formula in support of the notion of a coequal Trinity. The background to the gloss to Canon 50, I suggest, is the pressure within the Eunomian community to abandon the trinitarian form and adopt single immersion. The passionate nature of its language, making more intensely points already present in the main body of the work, reveal the author attempting either to prevent an emerging schism, or to hold back others who might be tempted to join one already in existence.

Puzzling over the inclusion of the long gloss on Canon 50, which so strikingly interrupts what is otherwise a straightforward list of canons, Turner pointed to

[29] See *Theodosian Code*, 16:5:58 and 16:6:7.

[30] C.H. Turner, art. cit., pp. 533-4.

[31] See Kopecek's discussion of Williams' article in his review of *Arianism after Arius* in *JTS* ns 46 (1995), pp. 333-47.

the fact that in the Latin version of Dionysius Exiguus, made early in the sixth century, there are only 50 canons. On that basis he made the suggestion that Canon 50 may have come at the end of a first compilation of canons, in which case the gloss on it would not originally have held its present oddly intrusive position in a longer sequence of canons[32]. Whether or not that suggestion is right, the addition of the gloss — either at the end of an original version or as an intrusion into the list — is less surprising if the issue at stake was one of exceptional urgency, affecting the continuing life of the community as a single entity.

If my explanation of Canon 50 is correct, it would suggest a date for the *Apostolic Constitutions*, as we now have it including Canon 50 and its gloss, in the 380s, which is the most likely dating of the schisms in the Eunomian movement. This is the date suggested on other grounds for the *Apostolic Constitutions* by Pierre Nautin[33] and by Sebastian Brock[34]. Metzger, in the *Sources Chrétiennes* edition, prefers a 380 dating, but admits that there is nothing requiring us to place it before the Council of Constantinople and that it could perfectly well be a few years after it[35]. The process of production was, no doubt, a fairly gradual one with Canon 50 and its gloss very likely to be among the final additions at my assumed time of Eunomian crisis. The proposal is thus fully compatible with an already highly probable date for the work. I put it forward tentatively to be tried out in discussion and debate, but it certainly seems to me to have less difficulty attached to it than either of the other two ways of dealing with this problem text that I have outlined.

Before ending this paper, I want to take the survey one stage further. I have not, in fact, yet reached the phenomenon that intrigued me into investigating this topic in the first place; and it adds a fascinating final twist to the story.

In the West the issue of single immersion developed in a remarkably different manner. Two extracts from papal correspondence in the sixth century provide the evidence.

Pelagius I was Bishop of Rome from 556-561. One of his letters is addressed to Gaudentius, Bishop of Volterre, in response to an enquiry about the proper procedures for receiving members of a heretical body into the church[36]. Pelagius' reply points out that in the case of those who have been 'baptised in the name of Christ only, moreover by single immersion', the procedure is to be guided by 'the evangelical precept, communicated by the divine Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself, (which) instructs us to administer holy baptism to everyone in the name of the Trinity, moreover by triple immersion'.

[32] C.H. Turner, art. cit., p. 537.

[33] In A. Di Berardino, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1992), Vol. 1, p. 62.

[34] S. Brock, 'The Transition to a Post-Baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite' in B. Spinks (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Praise* (Rome, 1981), p. 215.

[35] Ed. M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* I (SC 320; Paris, 1985), pp. 57-60.

[36] PL Suppl. IV 3, cols. 1290-1.

Nowhere in the letter is it stated who the heretics in question are. Pelagius commends his advice as reflecting the usage in Sirmium and Singidunum (Belgrade) where 'that heresy' is very strong. On that basis Duchesne offers the suggestion that they may have been Photinians or Bonosians, both being anti-trinitarian heresies known to be prevalent in those areas[37]. Any suggestion as to their identity is bound to be pure speculation, but the combination of baptism into the name of Christ and single immersion in Pelagius' description of the baptism received by some of the heretics raises the question whether there may have been continuing Eunomians still in existence there at that time. The area had been the chief continuing Arian stronghold a century and a half earlier, but we do not hear of Eunomians there at that time. I doubt if there is evidence to determine the issue. But there is in any case another point of interest in the passage already quoted from Pelagius' letter. Triple immersion is there given so close a link to triple invocation that his words can easily be taken to imply that triple immersion was a specific part of the dominical injunction. Indeed an Eastern Orthodox Encyclical of 1895 does take the words in that way and cites Pelagius as evidence that the Roman Church once believed triple immersion to be a part of the divine command[38]. But Pelagius, in fact, holds back from giving triple immersion a fully determinative role in defining ecclesiastically valid baptism. In summing up his instructions at the conclusion of the letter, he simply repeats the standard requirement that those baptised in the name of the Lord only are to be baptised in the name of the Trinity, whereas those already baptised in the name of the Trinity need only go through a rite of reconciliation. The references to single and triple immersion are omitted from that final summary.

But Pelagius' letter does at the very least imply that in Rome at the middle of the sixth century single immersion was wholly unacceptable, being seen as almost as direct a breach of Christ's command as failure to use the triple invocation. This makes the subsequent reference to single immersion in the papal correspondence of Gregory the Great even more surprising than it would anyway have been.

The problem that Gregory had to deal with in response to a letter from Leander, Bishop of Seville, was the obverse of that put to Pelagius some 50 years earlier[39]. In 589 King Reccared was converted from Arian to Catholic Christianity with a resultant large scale switch of allegiance in the region as a whole. Arianism had long been the dominant from of Christianity there. In their baptismal rite the Arians had used both the threefold invocation and triple immersion, and these had been understood to depict the separateness of the

[37] L. Duchesne, *Églises Séparées* (Paris, 1905), p. 90, n. 2. For the divided evidence about Bonosian baptism, see Le Bachelet, 'Bonose' in *DTC* II, col. 1030.

[38] L. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 91.

[39] Gregory, *Ep.* I.43.

three persons. As a result it had come to be widely assumed that an Arian conception of the Trinity was the inherent doctrinal significance of the three-fold baptismal rite. The bishop was therefore worried that if the same practice continued to be used in former Arian churches now turned Catholic, people would assume that there was no difference between Arian and Catholic understandings of the Godhead. Gregory's response was to say that while he himself adhered to the practice of triple immersion and found in it a rich symbolism in terms of the three days between Christ's death and resurrection, diversity of practice within the church was acceptable provided the unity of faith was maintained. A proper trinitarian faith could perfectly well be expressed through the practice of single immersion. For that practice gave expression to the *una substantia* of the Godhead. So his final conclusion was that where triple immersion was being understood to imply a false division of the Godhead, Catholics ought not to use it but should use single immersion instead. Thus in face of the different problem on which he was called to advise, Gregory felt able to detach the issue of immersion from that of invocation (where the dominically ordered triple form was of course beyond question) and to require single immersion of the Spanish church[40].

His advice seems to have been effective in marking the difference between Arian and Catholic belief, but not to have been followed universally. And the fact that some Catholics still followed the older practice of triple immersion gave rise to the appearance of schism, with the validity of some baptisms being called into question. Diversity of practice between churches at a substantial distance from one another might be acceptable; within the same locality it was not. So in 633 the Fourth Council of Toledo decreed that the local diversity must end[41]. The only way to demonstrate difference from heresy and at the same time to avoid the scandal of schism was to stress the mandatory character of Gregory's advice and insist that single immersion alone be practised. The Council goes on to stress the positive merits of single immersion. It was a symbol both of the once for all death and resurrection of Christ and of the unity of the Trinity. Gregory had spoken of triple immersion expressing the tripersonal character of God and single immsersion the one substance, but the Council was able to point out that in the practice of single immersion and triple invocation, unity and threeness find approriate expression within the single rite. Furthermore much of the traditional baptismal typology in the Old

[40] E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969) says that 'the triple as well as the simple immersion at baptism was recognised by the Catholic Church until it was noticed that the Arians of Spain immersed thrice', and interprets Gregory's letter as ordering a change from this dual practice to a recognition of single immersion only. He offers no evidence of earlier catholic use of single immersion, and the statement appears to be based on a msreading of Gregory's letter.

[41] Fourth Council of Toledo, Chapter VI (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* Vol. X, cols. 618-20).

Testament (the crossing of the Red Sea at the Exodus and of the Jordan with the Ark at the entry into the promised land) involved only a single going down into and emerging from the water.

So what was anathema in the East as embodying the iniquities of Neo-Arianism became required practice in the extreme West in order to avoid the appearance of Arianism. And whether it was triple or single immersion that was being insisted on, each could readily be furnished with a rich variety of biblical symbolism[42].

[42] I am grateful to Caroline Bammel, Tom Kopecek and Ted Yarnold for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Angels Unawares: Heavenly Liturgy and Earthly Theology in Alexandria

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Rudolf Lorenz's monograph, *Arius Judaizans*, has a good claim to be regarded as one of the first swallows of a new summer in Arius studies, and I am happy to record my own indebtedness to it[1]. Some expressed puzzlement over its title[2]; but in fact one of the most helpful and suggestive sections in the work is that devoted to the possible antecedents of Arius's theological vocabulary and assumptions in Jewish and Jewish Christian angelology. Of particular interest is the sub-section[3] dealing with the echoes in the *Thalia* of language about the 'himmlische Thronwelt', the court and liturgy of heaven. However, the argument is, I think, unnecessarily weakened by Lorenz's attempt to set aside the more extreme conclusions of Martin Werner on the origins of 'Arianism' in angelology: Lorenz insists (with Barbel) that 'angel' can be just as easily a term denoting function as a term denoting nature, and that to call the Logos an angel does not prejudge the question of whether or not the Logos is a creature. Pre-Nicene writers employ such language without by any means committing themselves to a doctrine of the createdness of the second hypostasis — just as Philo is able to refer to the Logos as an angel while also conceiving him (or it) as 'eine von Gott als Quelle ausgehende Kraft'[4].

I want to argue that the wrong question is being asked in this discussion. I believe Lorenz's interest in the 'himmlische Thronwelt' as part of the background of the Nicene crisis is well-founded, but that we miss the full significance of this background if we attempt to quarry it for evidence about what 'ontological' status was accorded to the Logos. I suspect too that the running together of a range of very diverse material to produce a 'Jewish-Christian' consensus (Christ as angel, Jesus as promoted to heavenly dignity because of moral probity, salvation being given as a result of ethical attainment) will not help us much[5]; the temptation is to begin from a set of doctrines stigmatized

[1] Rudolf Lorenz, *Arius Judaizans? Untersuchungen zur dogmengeschichtlichen Einordnung des Arius* (Göttingen, 1979).

[2] E.g. R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 19, n. 2.

[3] Pp. 163-174.

[4] P. 173.

[5] See p. 174 for this juxtaposition of doctrines considered as 'Jewish-Christian'.

as 'Arian' by controversialists, and then to seek to discover their antecedents in other non-standard versions of Christian theology. It may be more illuminating to see where exactly what Lorenz identifies as Jewish Christian themes are woven directly into 'standard' discourse: so that our attention may be shifted from the eccentricities of a single theologian to what it is in his entire intellectual and spiritual world that generates a crisis of terms and definitions. I hope that, in pursuing this question, Lorenz's own intentions are honoured, since he has provided a fuller documentation of possible backgrounds for Arius than almost any other scholar in this field.

The hint he himself offers — but does not pursue — is in his observation on one particular line of the *Thalia*: 'Mighty God as he is, he sings the praises of the Higher One with only partial adequacy'. Lorenz comments that there is a liturgical flavour to these words, recalling, as they do, the later Trisagion, with its address ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρος to God[6]. However, as Lorenz grants, the allusion to the Byzantine Trisagion is a red herring, since that text is, on any showing, considerably later. What *is* interesting is the picture of the Son as worshipper (perhaps hinted at earlier in the *Thalia* as well)[7]; Lorenz notes that the idea of the Son and the Spirit offering praise to God in heaven is fairly common in earlier literature, from Irenaeus and the *Ascension of Isaiah* to Origen, that it has clear antecedents in Jewish apocalyptic and that it is traceable (though whether as a survival or as a polemically conscious archaism is not clear) in the liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*[8]. In short, when Christology and angelology come into close proximity, it is regularly in the context of the heavenly liturgy: the Son is assimilated to the angels in the sense that he shares the angelic function of singing praise to God. Of course, more specifically, he is the *leader* of the angelic chorus, and a text like the *Ascension of Isaiah* is careful to stress that the Son and the 'angel of the Holy Spirit' are themselves praised and worshipped by the rest of the angelic host[9]. This should remind us that the use of a designation like 'angel' is indeed in some respects a fluid matter, but that the essential point is to do with a particular kind of relation to God, one in which praise and worship are offered. To refer to Son and Spirit as 'angels' is, as Barbel and Lorenz argue[10], not necessarily to assign them to a homogeneous species of creatures; but it *is* to mark a sharp distinction between them and the ultimate and mysterious Godhead. And while the question may not be clearly articulated in the pre-Nicene period of whether

[6] P. 163: 'Der Vers hat "liturgischen" Klang';

[7] The fourth and fifth lines of the *Thalia* declare that we worship the Father as 'without beginning' and 'eternal' on account of the Son — which might indicate the idea of the Son as paradigm worshipper (for the text, see H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke III.1: Urkunden zur Geschichte des Arianischen Streites* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1935), pp. 242-3.

[8] VIII.12.27, following the Vat. gr. 1506 manuscript; Lorenz, p. 166, n. 202.

[9] *Ascension of Isaiah* 8, 17-18.

[10] Lorenz, op. cit., p. 173, referring back to J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Bonn, 1941/1964).

this precludes ascribing to Son and Spirit a share in divine nature in anything like a strict sense, the use of this imagery designates a theology and what had better be called a rhetoric in which Son and Spirit model the relation to God of what is not God rather than the action of God towards what is not God.

The point of greatest interest in all this is that the vision of the Son and Spirit as worshippers of the Father is enshrined not simply in exegesis or speculation but in Christian worship itself — that is, in the most commonly available discourse used by Christians; and the case can be made that the Alexandrian church had developed a more thoroughgoing embodiment of this in its practice than many other churches we know about. This may be arguable in part because we have more material pertinent to the early history of Alexandrian liturgy than we have in respect of other churches; but there is nonetheless a certain family resemblance between various elements in this material that strongly suggests a fairly coherent structure in the background. This is not a new hypothesis: Gregory Dix advanced something very similar in a groundbreaking article in 1938 on the origins of the eucharistic anaphora[11]. However, Dix (*more suo*) stretches the evidence to answer one particular question; and the progress of liturgical scholarship has made this article, and the development of its arguments in *The Shape of the Liturgy*[12], far from definitive. Briefly: Dix contends that Alexandria is where we should look for the origins for the Christian liturgical use of the Sanctus, and that the Sanctus was originally understood as the hymn of praise offered by the Son and the Spirit to the Father. The Alexandrian theological and exegetical tradition identifies the Son and the Spirit with the seraphim of Isaiah 6 and the 'living beings' (ζῶα) of Habakkuk 3.2; the Alexandrian liturgical tradition represented by the anaphora of Serapion and the liturgy of St Mark introduces the Sanctus with reference to Son and Spirit, to the ζῶα of Habakkuk and to the seraphim of Isaiah, and both the ζῶα and the seraphim are called τιμίωτατα, 'most honourable' (the seraphim by Serapion and the ζῶα by the liturgy of St Mark). Although, according to Dix[13], the Sanctus itself and its immediate introduction were inserted into Serapion's traditional text in the third or early fourth century, there is a clear cumulative case for regarding the theological view represented especially by Origen which identified the angelic liturgists with the Son and the Spirit as connected with a pretty primitive liturgical *Vorlage* employing the biblical Sanctus as part of the eucharistic prayer.

In his recent and magisterial survey of the question of the origins of the Sanctus[14], Bryan Spinks has little difficulty in making hay with this as a theory about the early development of the actual text of the eucharistic liturgy:

[11] Gregory Dix, 'Primitive Consecration Prayers', *Theology* 37 (1938), pp. 261-283.

[12] Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945), pp. 162-166 in particular.

[13] Ibid. p. 165.

[14] *The sanctus in the eucharistic prayer* (Cambridge, 1991), particularly pp. 2-4. Spinks also refers to G. Kretschmar as an advocate of much the same thesis (*Studien zur früchristlichen*

Dix, as so often, accumulates a dazzling quantity of evidence that doesn't really connect with the question in hand. Origen is not writing about the liturgy, Serapion does not refer to the ζῷα of Habakkuk, the 'living beings' and the seraphim seem to be distinguished from each other in the liturgy of Mark, and so on. But — again, as so often — Dix's extraordinary breadth of reference suggests lines of enquiry that are not so easily dismissed, and I believe that Spinks' discussion does less than justice to the possibilities opened up. Whatever the truth about the origins of the Sanctus in the eucharist, Dix details a cluster of themes and images that has some consistency; and there are some intriguing parallels with fragments of other material unknown to Dix himself. We ought to spend a little longer looking at the material discussed by Dix, and cognate evidence about Alexandrian thinking on the liturgy, earthly and heavenly.

Dix rightly draws attention[15] to two passages in Origen's *de principiis* where the identification of Son and Spirit with the seraphim and the 'living beings' is spelled out. One of these (I.3.4) is particularly important (it fell under Jerome's lash in due course)[16] since it attributes the identification of Son and Spirit with Isaiah's seraphim to *Hebraeus magister*, and the identification with Habakkuk's to a more distinctively local exegesis[17]. It is not clear whether *nos putamus* here in respect of the Habakkuk exegesis refers to Origen himself or to Alexandrian custom, but I am inclined to opt for the latter. Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on Habakkuk devotes a good deal of space to refuting the identification[18], but without mentioning Origen by name as the source of it, and this may suggest that it had been widespread and respectable enough not to be dismissed simply as the aberration of one over-speculative teacher. The *Hebraeus magister* recurs in IV.3.14 as the source for the interpretation of Isaiah 6, with an extra refinement in this instance: the two seraphs

Trinitätstheologie (Tübingen, 1965); see particularly pp. 155-164 on the material from Origen and other pre-Nicene sources, and pp. 71-8 on the *Ascension of Isaiah*). Kretschmar is inclined to see Origen's theology as influencing the liturgy rather than the other way around, and suggests that the Sanctus was introduced into the anaphora by Dionysius of Alexandria as a pro-Origenian move. This seems highly unlikely, given the overall liturgical setting of the seraphim imagery, and its role in Jewish and Jewish-Christian invocations. There is a good general survey of the question in R.A. Taft, 'The Interpolation of the Sanctus into the Anaphora: When and Where? A Review of the Dossier', *Or. Chr. Per.* 57 (1991, pp. 281-308, and 58 (1992), pp. 83-121 (= IX in *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond* (Leiden, 1995)); pp. 88-95 of the second article deal specifically with Egypt and reflect some sympathy with Dix and Kretschmar. Taft would support a third century date for the introduction of the sanctus, though it is not quite clear whether he would follow Kretschmar in seeing it as motivated by 'Origenian' concerns.

[15] 'Primitive Consecration Prayers', pp. 273-6.

[16] *In Is.* III (PL 24,94f.), *ep. ad Pammachium et Oceanum* 3 (PL 22,745), *ep. ad Vigilantium* 2 (PL 22,603).

[17] This seems to be the implication of ἡμεῖς δὲ in introducing the latter interpretation (the Greek preserved in Justinian's ad Mennam; cf. *nos vero putamus* in Rufinus's Latin).

[18] PG 71,900.

hide with their wings not their *own* faces but the face of God; by which is signified that, without the mediation of the Son and the Spirit, not even the angelic powers in heaven would have any true knowledge of the purposes of God. As it is, even such knowledge as they do have is limited[19].

As Dix points out[20], the liturgy of Serapion seems to follow this exegesis: the seraphs hide the face of *God* — and therefore also are responsible for *revealing* it when possible or appropriate. As it stands, the opening of Serapion's prayer shows the influence of pro-Nicene considerations: much is made of the fact that the Son truly knows the Father, as against Arius's insistence that the Son's comprehension is imperfect. But it also shows what must be a simpler and more primitive motif, that the Son is the one who speaks for and interprets the Father to creation; and we might think here of Arius's lines in the *Thalia* — 'We sing his praises as without beginning because of the one who has a beginning. We worship him as eternal because of him who was born in the order of time'[21]. Serapion's liturgy begins with the praise of God as ἀνέκφραστος and ἀκατανόητος: he is 'interpreted' by the Son and thus becomes accessible not to our comprehension but at least to our worship[22]. It is a major theme of the *Thalia* that the Son reveals the Father as supremely mysterious, as beyond revealing: and this would be an easily intelligible précis of what the liturgical language of something like Serapion's prayer implied. The Son who both hides and reveals the face of God is unmistakably the Logos of Arius; how important in the background of his thought was the image of the seraph covering God's face with his wings? and does Serapion's text give us any clue about the liturgy Arius himself knew?

But does Serapion identify the Son and the Spirit with the seraphim? Spinks is sceptical[23]. In fact, however, the text goes a long way towards saying precisely this, if read as a consistent whole. Serapion's prayer includes not only a petition for the Spirit to empower us to speak, but also, far more significantly, the plea that 'the Lord Jesus may speak in us, and the Holy Spirit, and sing

[19] P. 346 in the GCS edition, ll. 11-28.

[20] Art. cit., pp. 274ff. On the seraphim hiding the face of God, see Origen, *Hom. in vis. Is.* I, PG 13,221C.

[21] C.f. supra, n. 7.

[22] For the text, see G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens nebst einen dogmatischen Brief des Bishofs Serapion von Thmuis* (TU, Neue F. II Bd, Heft 36; Leipzig, 1899). There are several minor but interesting convergences of vocabulary between Serapion and Arius (and some later anti-Nicene formulations). ὑμνεῖν in both is used for the activity of the Son (and, in Serapion, the Spirit) towards God; the Son reveals τὰς περὶ[θεου] δόξας in Serapion, recalling the plural 'glories' of the sixteenth and seventeenth lines of the *Thalia*, and Serapion's God is ἀκατανόητος πάσῃ γενητῇ ὑποστάσει and τῇ γενητῇ φυσει, recalling the phraseology not only of Origen, but perhaps also of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where the liturgy in VIII.5.1-2 insists on God's, invisibility and inaccessibility and transcendence over 'every cause and generation' (πάσης ἀιτίας καὶ γενεσέως).

[23] Op. cit., p. 89.

your praises through us'[24]. I think it is rather perverse to deny that the most natural reading of this is indeed that of Dix: the Son and the Spirit are the paradigm liturgists, the source as well as the model for our praise of the ineffable Father. And, to go beyond Dix, it seems a natural progression that, after praying for the Son and the Spirit to be heard in us, the celebrant of the eucharist proceeds to introduce the Sanctus. The introduction weaves together the angelological language of Eph.1.21, Dan.7.10, and Col.1.16; but its climax is the mention of the two 'most honourable' (τιμιώτατα) seraphim. Spinks points out, reasonably enough, that the liturgy of Mark reserves the epithet to the ζῶα; but surely the salient fact in both texts is that a distinction is being drawn between the two supreme agents in the heavenly liturgy and all the other ranks of angels. Whether they are designated as seraphim or 'living beings' is neither here nor there, and there can be no doubt that the identification and interchangeability of the designations had a history well before the fourth century[25]. What is more, the pattern of angels worshipping or honouring the Son and the Spirit, who in turn worship the Father is exactly that of the *Ascension of Isaiah*; in such a framework, it makes perfect sense to mark off the radical difference of the two 'most honourable' members of the heavenly court[26].

So far, then, I have proposed that we rethink Dix's materials and give full weight to the cumulative case for a pre-Nicene Alexandrian tradition of depicting the Son and the Spirit as leading the praises of the heavenly chorus, almost certainly in the words of the Sanctus (in some form). Since the introduction of such a motif into the liturgy of Alexandria is unthinkable *after* the Nicene crisis, and since Serapion's text is generally admitted to have a good claim to represent a substantially earlier tradition, it seems highly probable that something like the Serapion/Mark idiom reflects a pre-Nicene pattern of identification between the supreme angelic powers of Jewish angelology and the Son and Spirit. We know that the *Ascension of Isaiah* was being used and discussed in Egypt at the beginning of the fourth century: Epiphanius's account of the teaching of Hieracas includes mention of the fact that he interpreted the *Ascension* as implying an identification of the 'angel of the Holy Spirit' with Melchizedek — a celestial priest 'like' the Son (Heb.7.3)[27]. And whatever exactly lies behind this, it certainly witnesses to the currency of ideas about the

[24] As already noted, the verb is ὑμνεῖν.

[25] We have already noted Origen's assimilation of the two. In the text of Ezekiel, 'cherubim' and 'living beings' seem to be interchangeable; and Philo seems to have identified the cherubim flanking the mercy-seat on the ark of the covenant with the seraphim of Isaiah, and regarded both as representing the two mediating powers between God and creation (see *cher*. 9.27 and *de Deo* 4-9, as preserved in the Latin and Armenian).

[26] We might compare the distinction drawn in the *Shepherd* of Hermas between the lesser angels and the σεμνότατος ἄγγελος of Vis. 5 and ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος of Sim. 8.1.1-2, through whom the other angels 'enter in' to the divine presence.

[27] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 67.1 and 3 (GCS edn. pp. 133.1-9, 136.9-11).

heavenly liturgy in Arius's milieu. The *Ascension* itself, incidentally, does not raise the question of the identity of the seraphim in Is. 6; but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the picture of Son and Spirit standing (apparently) each side of the Father and singing hymns of praise to him owes something to the vision of the prophet in the Temple[28].

Two other pieces of evidence may be worth mentioning before we move on. First: Dix claims that the Sanctus in Origen's quotations is introduced by formulae very close to those of Serapion and Mark[29]; but this claim has rightly been seen as exceeding the evidence. The formula is simply adapted from the canonical text of Isaiah and needs no further explanation. However, the context of Origen's two mentions of the Sanctus as the hymn of the Son and the Spirit may have some significance. In both cases, what is under discussion is the possibility of *knowing God*; Son and Spirit are responsible for revealing what can be revealed of God, and there is a suggestion, no more, that their status as leaders of the praises of heaven is somehow connected with this, that the Sanctus itself is a kind of revelation. This *might* help to explain why the *Thalia* in effect deals with the question of God's knowability by alluding to what is shown forth in the Son's praises: what is revealed is a God worthy of worship and the means — even the words? — in which he is to be worshipped. It also makes sense of the connections made in the liturgical texts between the Sanctus and the revelation of the ineffable God. The heavenly Sanctus demonstrates how God may, after all, be spoken of or spoken to. That this may hint at a still deeper continuity between the worship of earth and that of heaven is borne out by some further material that we shall examine a little later.

Second: in addition to Serapion and the tradition of the liturgy of Mark, we have another important witness to the early Alexandrian liturgy in the shape of the 'Strasbourg Papyrus' (Strasbourg MS gr. 254)[30]. There is still no complete agreement as to whether this represents a complete eucharistic prayer or only a fragment[31]: while it shares the shape and some of the phraseology of the pre-Sanctus intercessions and thanksgivings of the liturgy of Mark, it stops rather abruptly at the point where either a longer and fuller doxology or a commemoration of the institution might have been expected. Whatever the solution to the problems posed here (and I am a bit inclined to doubt whether it is a complete anaphora), the phraseology of the opening acclamation addressed to the

[28] The *Ascension* depicts the 'lord' and the Spirit standing in the presence of God, with the Spirit 'on the left of my Lord'; the natural interpretation is that they stand either side of the throne of God.

[29] Art. cit., pp. 271f. and *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 165.

[30] Ed. M. Andrieu and P. Collomp, 'Fragments sur papyrus de l'Anaphore de saint Marc', *RSR* 8 (1928), pp. 489-515. The text is also printed in G. Cuming, *The Liturgy of Saint Mark* (Or. Chr. Anal. 234, Rome, 1990), pp. 61-2.

[31] See B. Spinks, 'A complete anaphora? A note on Strasbourg Gr. 254', *Heythrop Journal* 25 (1984), pp. 51-5.

Father is of some interest. After praising and thanking God for creation, the text continues: 'You made all things through your wisdom, the light of your true Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom, with the Holy Spirit, we give thanks and offer this rational sacrifice, this bloodless worship'. That the heavenly sacrifice is one that does not involve the slaughter of animals is a commonplace of intertestamental/Second Temple Jewish piety[32]; and it sounds very much as though the 'sacrifice' envisaged here is in the first instance the offering of praise and thanks itself, not the presentation of the bread and wine[33]. But what is most significant is that this offering is made 'with' the Son and Spirit as well as 'through' them. The Christian sacrifice participates in the heavenly sacrifice — offered by the angelic liturgists, as in, for example, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*[34] — and the supreme agents of this heavenly offering are the Son and the Spirit, once again allocated roles defined by Jewish angelology, closely comparable to the picture evoked in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. While there is no Sanctus in the Strasbourg fragment, the thought-pattern of the fragment is much the same as that of Serapion or Mark: it would not be at all surprising to find a preface-and-Sanctus complex following an introduction like this.

What appears quite clearly is a primitive model both of exegetical convention and of liturgical practice (even if not so sharply defined and at so early a date as Dix originally proposed) in Alexandria in which the role of the Son as paradigm 'angelic' intercessor and priestly mediator was of great importance. The praises uttered in heaven by the 'most honourable living beings', the highest among the angelic ranks, themselves adored by inferiors, are laid open to us in the Isaianic vision, and we are enabled to reproduce such praises on earth. There is nothing unusual in early liturgical texts about presenting the earthly liturgy as a representation of or a share in the heavenly one (you will find such language in the liturgy of Addai and Mari, for instance)[35]; what is, I believe, distinctive in the Alexandrian tradition is the strong and repeated stress on the liturgy as a participation in the worship of the Word and the Spirit, conceived as highly superior angelic liturgists, and on the idea that the vision of the Son and Spirit worshipping in heaven, particularly in the words of the Sanctus, is a revelation of how we are to express the inexpressible divinity in human speech.

But there is one further theme which gives all this a still stronger turn. In certain contexts, it is clear that the earthly utterance of the Sanctus is *more*

[32] See e.g., the *Testament of Levi*, III.6.

[33] Thus Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 166.

[34] This sacrifice must be interpreted as the prayer and obedience of the angels; on the equivalence of prayer, virtue and sacrifice, see R. Daly, *The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (London and Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 104-110, who discusses the way in which Philo defines the nature of 'reasonable' sacrifice over against the offering of irrational beasts.

[35] In this text, the Sanctus is followed by the words, 'With these heavenly powers we give thanks to you, O Lord'.

than a representation or reproduction of the heavenly. Spinks cites[36] a significant passage from 4 Baruch (9.2-6), in which Jeremiah, having offered a sacrifice, prays for 'the sweet voice of the two seraphim' and for 'another' offering of incense[37]. The implication is that his intercessions will be heard and accepted if he is given the 'voice' of the seraphim; and the incense he prays for must be the incense of the prayers offered in heaven, the bloodless sacrifice (in the heavenly sanctuary there is only an incense alter, as there is no blood-sacrifice at an altar of burnt-offering)[38]. This sounds remarkably like the language of Serapion, pleading that the Son and the Spirit may 'hymn' the Father in us. But it also recalls another significant text relating to early ideas about the heavenly liturgy, the account in the *Epistula Apostolorum* (13) of the desent of the Lord from heaven at the Incarnation[39]. Here distinctions between Christ and the angelic hosts are underlined very markedly; as in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the descending Christ takes on the form of each level of being through which he passes, so that, among the angels he 'passes' for an angel. However, before leaving heaven (in the likeness of the archangel Gabriel), Christ 'adorned the angels with a wondrous voice that they might go up to the altar of the Father and serve and complete the service until I should go to him'[40]. When, at the conclusion of the work, Christ returns to heaven, the angels 'rejoiced and praised and said, "Assemble us, O priest, in the light of glory"'[41]. The picture seems to be of a delegation to the angels of the Son's liturgical duties: for them to perform this service, they need to receive some special gift, the 'voice' that equips them to do what the Son does. When he returns, he resumes his normal position as leader and *animateur* of the liturgy of heaven.

Is the prayer in Serapion's liturgy an echo of some such idea, a prayer for a real supernatural elevation that enables us not simply to say the Sanctus in *imi-*

[36] *The sanctus in the eucharistic prayer*, p. 32.

[37] This is the translation favoured by S.E. Robinson in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* vol. 2 (New York, 1985); he bases his version on the provisional text edited by R.A. Kraft and A.-E. Purintun, *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* (Missoula, 1972). Earlier translations read the passage differently, as does the first editor, J. Rendel Harris (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch. A Christian Apocalypse of the Year 136 AD* (London, 1889)); but it is surely best to read it as a prayer for heavenly endowments that will make the supplication effective. It may be that the string of graces invoked — the prayer of the Sanctus itself, which begins the passage, the 'incense of the living trees' and the 'true light' should be read in apposition to the voice of the seraphim and the supplementary 'incense', perhaps the odour of the prayers of the saints. It is worth noting also that God is addressed in the same prayer as ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπερινόητος, again, as in Serapion, associating the prayer of the seraphim with the revelation of God as beyond understanding.

[38] See R.H. Charles, *The Revelation of St John* (Edinburg, 1920), vol. I, pp. 227-8.

[39] E. Hennecke/W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. I. *Gospels and Related Writings* (London, 1963), pp. 197-199.

[40] Ibid. p. 198.

[41] Ibid. p. 227.

tation of the Son and Spirit, but actually to utter it with their voice, to say on earth exactly what they say in heaven? This would certainly explain why Serapion and the Mark family of liturgical texts use the Sanctus as a kind of springboard for petition: 'Full in truth are heaven and earth or your glory ... fill also this sacrifice with your blessing' — or, in Serapion, 'with your power and participation' (μεταλήψις). The utterance of the heavenly prayer *par excellence* opens the way to the entire anaphora being taken up into the action of the heavenly liturgy (again assuming that the sacrifice is still the offering of praise and thanksgiving rather than the offering of the bread and wine alone). It also makes sense of the fact that in the Mark tradition the Sanctus comes as the climax of a series of intercessions, a uniquely Egyptian pattern. Intercessions are offered, and sealed or completed by the recitation of the prayer of Son and Spirit; this in turn provides the ground for the petition that the rest of the prayer, inviting the descent of the Spirit upon the eucharistic elements, be equally effective. In Serapion, there are no pre-Sanctus intercessions; but after the commemoration of the institution and the invocation of (in this case) the transforming Word, prayers for the good effects of communion are concluded by the reminder to God that we have called upon his name, through the Son and in the Spirit[42].

The provenance of the *Epistula Apostolorum* has been much disputed, but Hornschuh's monograph of 1965[43] makes a strong case for an Egyptian origin, noting what Lietzmann remarked in 1921[44], that there is at least one verbal reminiscence of this work in the liturgy of Mark. If my discussion above is at all to the point, we have some further reason for suspecting an Egyptian background. But, whatever the truth about this, there seems to be some evidence that the liturgical utterance of the Sanctus was seen as a moment of special solemnity, in which extra effect was bestowed upon the prayers of the Church. Geoffrey Cuming, in his edition of the liturgy of Mark, alludes to the possibility that this moment was marked by particular gestures or posture, and suggests that when Clement describes worshippers raising their heads and hands and standing on tiptoe at the 'final acclamation' of the eucharistic prayer, he is referring to the Sanctus[45]; this seems highly plausible in the light of the material we have been examining. What happens in the eucharistic liturgy, and especially at the climacteric point of the recitation of the Sanctus, is that the 'voice' not merely of the angels but of the Son and the Spirit is heard on earth; the silence in God's presence that might otherwise be enjoined by the unutterable transcendence of the Father is broken from heaven itself, by the words of the creative Word and

[42] See Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, pp. 167-8, on the primitive force of calling on the 'Name'; and cf. infra, n. 46. Note too the phraseology of calling on the God who is ἀγένητος.

[43] M. Hornschuh, *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum* (Berlin, 1965); pp. 103-115 on possible Egyptian provenance.

[44] Reviewing C. Schmidt's edition of the Coptic text of the work (ZNW 20 (1921), p. 175).

[45] Ed. cit. pp. 118-119.

the Word's nearest neighbour and immediate inferior, the second great 'seraph', the angel of the Holy Spirit. And the utterance of these heavenly words secures the effectiveness of the petitions that surround them in the eucharist: the prayers are 'filled' with divine presence and power. There is discernible here a faint but unmistakeable trace of magical invocation: Spinks rightly notes[46] the way in which the Egyptian Sanctus tradition echoes aspects of what we find in the magical papyri, especially given the status ascribed to 'Sabaoth' as a name of power in invocation. We need not be too fastidious to recognize what Spinks calls the 'similarity in *function*' between such spells and the eucharistic prayer: phenomenologically they are quite close. But we should also remember the significance in mystical/apocalyptic literature of words heard in heaven which are too powerful or dangerous to repeat openly on earth. The Sanctus is certainly a word of power heard in heaven, but in this case licensed for repetition on earth under certain conditions (it is worth remembering that it seems in the Egyptian rites to be a celebrant's prayer, not a congregational acclamation). What distinguishes the Egyptian liturgical use from the sort of thing found in the magical texts is above all the notion that the word of power is a word not only revealed from heaven but a word spoken *in* heaven by the supreme power next to the throne of God, and that the utterance of these words on earth in the Church's public ritual is actually the effective presence on earth of that great power, a presence resting not on the effectiveness of a human invocation but ultimately upon the free will of God to reveal himself through his angelic viceroy (as is made clear in the repeated praises of God for his generosity or loving-kindness in making himself or his 'name' known; a theme familiar as early as the liturgical material in the *Didache*)[47].

To return at last to our starting point: what light does all this throw on the language of Arius and the theology that seems to inform what we have of his authentic writings? Some at least of the *Thalia* now looks like a gloss on what was regularly and plainly said in the eucharistic liturgy — that the Son praises God and that, in so doing, he also reveals to us God's praiseworthiness and God's ultimate transcendence. If Arius and his supporters were hostile to any theology that seemed to play down the distinction between the Son and the Father, this becomes readily intelligible if what is at issue is the concrete effectiveness of Christian worship. If there is no heavenly high priest whose prayers we voice at the eucharist, what exactly is going on in the eucharist? Does it not remain simply the prayer of mortals who have no natural access to proper words for the mystery of God? This may be to ascribe to Arius a theology too close to that of Eunomius, with his passionate concern for the utterance of the sound words revealed by grace, and I should not want to press the point

[46] Op. cit. pp. 91-3.

[47] In the liturgy in ch. 10, the father is thanked ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.

unduly; but that *something* of this was a factor in the religious motivation of Arius's theology seems to me increasingly likely. In this, as in other respects, Arius appears as someone pressing the apparent logic of existing practice towards a potentially unwelcome conclusion: if a *worshipper* of God, then not God in any defensible sense, though the term may be used, by a kind of scripturally licensed courtesy, as an address to the Son. If a being who praises the glory of the Father, then one whose glory is distinct from and unequal to the glory of the Father. If a being who reveals to us the utter incomprehensibility of the Father, then a being who shares with us the epistemic distance between God and all other subjects, since he can only reveal this incomprehensibility by pointing beyond himself to the mystery of his origins.

I argued recently in an essay on baptism in the controversies of the fourth century[48] that liturgical practice could be deployed in argument by both sides in the Nicene debate with equal ease. If my case here is correct, the language of the eucharistic just as much as the baptismal rite gave plenty of hostages to 'Arian' fortune. We do not have, as we do in the case of baptism, a thoroughgoing revisionist argument from the pro-Nicene camp designed to show the compatibility of the liturgical formulae with the new statements of orthodoxy. I suspect that this may be for two reasons. On the one hand, the texts themselves are still allusive and ambiguous, capable (just) of readings that are not at odds with Nicene orthodoxy if you do not look too closely or analytically; and in the second, the form of the eucharistic prayer was still fluid and not universally agreed (the Syrian and Cappadocian tradition seems to point to a primitive model addressed to the *Son*, so that the entire theological structure would look different)[49]. Outside of Egypt, there was no argument necessary about eucharistic texts, since they would not have been the same. What we *do* find, of course, is not theological argument to sanitise a text, but revisions and expansions of the liturgical materials to bring them clearly into line with the new orthodoxy. We have noted one probable instance in Serapion; there are others in this text[50], and the very complicated history of the Mark liturgy shows signs of radical development in the later fourth century[51], leaving only

[48] 'Baptism and the Arian Controversy', M.R. Barnes and D.H. Williams (eds.), *Arianism After Arius. Essays on the Development of the Fourth century Trinitarian Conflicts* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 149-180.

[49] Spinks, op. cit. pp. 60,67-8.

[50] In addition to the clear pro-Nicene elements in the opening section, especially the insistence on the fact that the father is truly known by the Logos, it is likely that the petition for the Logos to transform the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ reflects a post-Nicene concern.

[51] See Cuming, ed. cit. pp. 69-74, for reconstruction of the elaboration of the text of the liturgy between 350 and 450; note the replacement of 'Lord and Saviour and King of all' by 'Lord and *God* and King of all' in the later version, and the addition elsewhere of 'God' to 'Lord' and 'Saviour'. The invocation of the Spirit on the elements shows clear signs of the influence of the actual text of the Nicene Creed.

the two ζῶα and the reference to thanking and offering sacrifice 'with' the Son as signs of an older and more indeterminate theology.

Lex orandi, lex credendi is a sound principle; but it does not, of itself, solve many problems, since the language and rhetoric of the *lex orandi* is by its nature oriented to something other than solving problems. As in the use made of baptismal formularies in the fourth century, the language of liturgy was shown to be capable of supporting quite contradictory theological projects. In the material we have been examining, the tension is between a liturgical rhetoric which *begins* with the dynamic of the 'angelic' Son's relation to the transcendent Father and with the miracle of our participation in this dynamic, and, on the other hand, a liturgical rhetoric which accords to the Son a status and a role qualitatively different from the usual relation of one bit of the created order to another — this being the point exploited to admirable effect in Athanasius' *contra Arianos* I.61 and III.25, for example (I wonder whether the former passage is a sidelong blow at anyone reading the *Ascension of Isaiah* too uncritically?)[52]. This is a tension that can be solved — you might say — dramatically or in narrative form, as in the *Ascension*, where the transition from worship *of* the Son and Spirit to worship *by* the Son and Spirit makes a highly effective climax to the vision of the grades of the heavenly court, a transition powerfully underlining the majesty of the ultimate object of worship. The *Thalia* stands very close to this in much of its language. But there is a metaphysical issue being forced at the same time, for whatever reason (Arius may not have been primarily a philosopher, but he is clearly responding to some kind of philosophical pressure)[53]: the loose continuities between earth and heaven that still seemed intellectually negotiable earlier on had become more problematic, and the line between creator and creature required drawing with a firmer hand. This is now a commonplace in discussion of the fourth century. But, insofar as the liturgical tradition can live with and even exploit the framework of 'loose continuities', it becomes a source, not a solver, of problems.

Because the Eucharist actually *requires* reference to the dynamic of the Son's self-gift to the Father, the embarrassment is potentially greater than in the case of baptism; and indeed we can see how the language of the liturgy could, as late as the twelfth century, occasion theological anxiety in the Greek world. In what sense does the Son both offer *and* receive the eucharistic sacri-

[52] Athanasius insists that Father and Son *together* are worshipped by the hosts of heaven.

[53] I argued the case for such pressure in *Arius. Heresy and Tradition* (London, 1987); I should perhaps make it clear, in the light of certain criticisms of the argument, that I did not intend to depict Arius as someone with predominantly philosophical concerns, or as a conscious follower of Neoplatonic ideas. The gulf that separates him from Neoplatonism is, I hope, made plain in the book. But I believed and still believe that there are aspects of his originality that best make sense against the background of *some* awareness of the shifts in contemporary metaphysics, shifts which a writer like Eusebius seems far less attuned to.

fice, as the text of the *Cheroubikon* at the Eucharist asserts he does[54]? The underlying difficulty is how to formulate trinitarian doctrine in such a way that the Son's dependence on the Father and his relation of self-abnegating love directed to the Father do not entail that he is inferior to the Father or merely an accidental adjunct of the divine self-sufficiency of the Father. The nerve upon which Athanasius and other Nicene apologists press is, of course, the concept of *theosis*: our share in the worship of heaven is a way of focusing very clearly the fact that we enjoy the Son's relation to the Father; and if that relation can finally be reduced to being a case, however exalted and exceptional, of something else (the relation of thing made to maker), then the one thing that cannot be said of the process of salvation is that it involves some fundamental shift in the character of our relation to God, some modification of the kind of thing humans are. Arius might have said that, for the sake of preserving an appropriate realism about our privileges in worship, it was essential not to demythologise the iconography of the heavenly court, not to make the Son an emanation or an impersonal principle or a 'portion' of the Father's essence. Athanasius in effect responds that, for the sake of preserving an appropriate realism about what the redeemed life consists in, in terms of our endowment with the liberty and immortality of divine life, the language of heavenly liturgy needs not so much demythologising as relativising, interpretation in the light of more fundamental considerations. For our participation in the words of a heavenly worship to mean anything more than an occasional elevation, we need to disentangle the relation to the Father that we share with the Son from creation's praise and thanksgiving to God. And it may be that considerations like this, to do with greater precision in trinitarian theology, had something also to do with the growing distinction, within the language of the eucharistic liturgy, between thanksgiving for creation and the specific pleading of the sacrifice of Christ. But that would need longer to elaborate. The main point is that the fourth century shows, once again, both the seductiveness and the ultimate theological inadequacy of an appeal to liturgy: theological argument cannot be carried on without interpretation of the language of worship; but the whole process of the Church's growth in theological self-awareness draws in wider and more complex considerations — then as now[55].

[54] This occasioned a major controversy in twelfth century Byzantium; see John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1974), p. 40.

[55] In the sense that liturgy and spirituality demonstrate the *use* of doctrinal formulation, they are central and indispensable material for determining the *meanings* of such material — as the foregoing study might indeed suggest (the meaning of the *Thalia* comes more clearly into focus, certainly, if its arguments are seen in the context of public doxology). My point is, however, that the *words* of liturgy are not designed to resolve controversy, though part of that task is the exploration of what liturgical meanings might entail.

Daily Prayer: Its Origin in its Function

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Introduction: The State of the Question at the Present Time

Daily Offices are often described as more or less arbitrary attempts to bring a Christian meaning to the times of the day and night, but in this paper we shall try to show that the rhythm of day and night, or night being followed by day, is fundamental to the whole concept of prayer at evening and morning.

Prayer at the beginning and end of the day is common to most religious traditions, including Judaism, but we can no longer trace a direct line for Christian prayer from supposed synagogue practices to the early church[1]. The daily symbols of night and day are basic to any symbolic understanding of reality. The very daily nature of this passage of time may be why it seems to be so easily missed, or just taken for granted. Yet it seems that the primordial symbol of darkness — night — is basic to many other symbol systems. Mircea Eliade, speaking of initiatory symbolism said: '...initiatory death is often symbolized, for example, by cosmic night, by the telluric womb, the hut, the belly of a monster[2].'

Twice-daily public prayer in the Christian tradition is associated with the so-called 'cathedral office' identified by Anton Baumstark, and distinguished by him from the 'monastic office'[3]. But the earliest period from which we have much evidence for the existence of twice daily public prayer is the fourth century[4]. Paul Bradshaw seems unwilling to go beyond stating a number of features that do seem to be common at morning and evening prayer services; for example, psalms 148-150 and the *Benedicite* in the morning, and a hymn of light, such as Φῶς ἱλαρὸν, and either psalm 140 or 103[5] in the evening. Robert Taft is prepared to go further[6], emphasising the passover from death to life[7], and the domestic piety inherent in lamp-lighting ceremonies in the evening[8].

[1] See Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (London, 1992), who sums up much of modern Jewish and Christian scholarship on the subject, esp., pp. 186-7 and 24.

[2] *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (Eng. tr. W.F. Trask, New York, 1958), pp. 14-15.

[3] *Comparative Liturgy* (London, 1958), pp. 111ff.

[4] See Bradshaw, pp. 190-192.

[5] Ibid., pp. 187-188.

[6] *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, 1986).

[7] Page 28.

[8] Ibid., p. 37.

However, he concludes that 'Per se there is no special mystical significance about morning and evening as times of prayer. They are the beginning and end of the day, ...[9].'

Looking at this question in another way, just as there is a rite involving a water-bath at the centre of Baptism, and another involving a simple meal of bread, the staple of temperate climes, and wine, a sign of festivity, at the centre of the Eucharist; then, it is the contention of what follows, that it is the moments of sunset and sunrise which lie at the centre of the *acts* of evening and morning prayer. The ritualisation of these moments is what gave rise to forms of evening and morning prayer, and this paper will be an exercise in comparative liturgy, attempting to show that various orders for evening and morning prayer from all over the ancient Christian world are there to fulfil an identical function. If we can identify the function, then we can identify the original purpose of these services, and if that fits in with what we know from other sources of early Christian attitudes to darkness and light, night and day, then we may have clues to the original overall shape and form of daily prayer, though not necessarily to the exact content of that shape.

In what follows, there will first be a brief examination of some of the earliest evidence for forms of daily prayer; then there will follow a comparison of some liturgical structures, and elements employed by them. Finally there will be a similar, comparative examination of euchological evidence. The conclusions to this paper will examine whether there is a function or moment that is being ritualised in evening and morning prayer, and whether this provides an hermeneutical principle for comprehending the Liturgy of daily worship.

The Evidence from the Church Orders and selected Fathers

Paul Bradshaw has recently shown that the Church Orders were more interested in prescribing than describing[10], and we must be aware that what they appear to be proposing may be the ideal rather than the reality. One of the earliest documents giving any kind of information relevant to our present subject is the *Didascalia*, a document that is not strictly interested in liturgical matters but in practical Christian life[11]. Perhaps composed about 230[12], it knows of a practice of prayer three times a day[13], and might indicate the existence of a

[9] Ibid., pp. 347-348.

[10] See e.g., *The Search...*, p. 107.

[11] R.Hugh Connolly OSB (ed), *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments* (Oxford, 1929), Sebastian Brock and Michael Vasey (eds), *The Liturgical Portions of the Didascalia* (Grove Liturgical Study 29; Bramcote, 1982).

[12] Bradshaw, *The Search...*, pp. 87-8.

[13] Connolly, p. 116.

twice-daily public service[14]; it makes much of the light of the resurrection shining in the darkness, and light as the eschatological reward for those who remain faithful[15].

The *Apostolic Constitutions* of c. 375-380 CE[16] require psalm 62 in the morning and psalm 140 in the evening[17]; evening Prayer is to comprise a 'psalm at the lighting of the lamps' and prayers[18], and there is no necessary connection with psalm 140, quoted at 2.59, which after all does not mention light. Other elements, including psalm 140, could just as well have *preceded* the lamp-lighting. The prayers are for acceptance of the evening thanksgiving and for protection through the night[19]. There is a prayer of blessing that those present will be enlightened by the knowledge of Christ[20].

In the morning we find the phrase 'after the recitation of the morning psalm[21]', which might refer to psalm 62; and might not, in view of the fact that this is really a psalm for the period *before* the sun appears. The prayer after the litany is to acknowledge God as creator of the day, and is also a prayer for eternal life[22], of which the people may be judged worthy, as the prayer of blessing prays[23].

The evening and morning offices in this text follow each other in that order; a prayer at lamp-lighting for protection, is followed in the morning by prayer that sees the new day as symbol of the eternal day. Book 8.34 justifies morning private prayer as the time when light is sent to chase away darkness, and evening prayer is for rest, and preparation for the next day on which 'works of light' are to be performed[24].

In the second half of the fourth century, we have the teaching of St John Chrysostom who exhorts to prayer for forgiveness of sins at night, so as to move to thanksgiving and praise in the morning[25]. He explicitly mentions psalm 140 as the evening sacrifice fulfilling Levitical precept; psalm 62 is a psalm of longing for God, day overcomes the sinful night[26]. In his commentary

[14] Ibid., p. 126, 1.8ff.

[15] Ibid., p. 174, ll. 5, 6-14, 29-32.

[16] This re-works much of *Didascalia*, and employs the *Didache*; it also uses in book 8, liturgical information from *Apostolic Tradition* with additional material, see Bradshaw, *The Search...*, 93. For text see: F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolicae* (Paderborn, 1906).

[17] Funk, 171.

[18] Ibid., p. 544.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., p. 546.

[22] Ibid., pp. 546-8.

[23] Ibid., p. 548.

[24] Ibid., p. 540.

[25] Taft, op. cit., p. 42.

[26] Ibid., pp. 42-3.

of I Timothy 2.1, Chrysostom speaks of daily prayer in the evening and the morning, in that order, ἐν ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐν πρωΐα[27].

Theodoret of Cyr in the same period mentions night vigils, morning service at cockcrow, and the offering of incense and light at Vespers[28]. In the early sixth century, Severus of Antioch spoke of a sacrifice of praise at the hour of evening, and a night office before cockcrow[29]. He emphasised the idea of the vigil before cockcrow as the time of Christ's resurrection[30], and makes reference to the frequently found vigil canticle from Isaiah 26.9, 'My soul yearns for thee in the night'[31].

The *Apostolic Tradition*, attributed to Hippolytus, and possibly dating from around 215 CE, cannot now be assumed to reflect Roman practice of that period[32]; it was however very influential on later practice elsewhere. J. Edward Phillips notes how in chapter 41, *De tempore quo oportet orare*[33], Hippolytus aligned the Temple sacrifices at morning and evening with the Third and Ninth hours, thus making them the morning and evening prayer. However one cannot be sure that this referred to public, communal prayer.

Apostolic Tradition also calls for a common meal, which is without doubt an act of worship (chapters 25 and 26[34]). This began with the bringing in of the lamp, and the bishop's thanksgiving for the revealing of the inextinguishable light, Christ. The meal follows, with psalms from the *Hallel* at the thanksgiving cup. This supper practice reflected themes of sacrifice, new light, and new day. Of course it is difficult to know how often this evening meeting took place, but it may be similar to that mentioned by Pliny[35].

In the *Testamentum Domini*, which might be late fourth century[36], evening is regarded as the beginning of another day[37]. In the morning, the risen Christ is

[27] *PG* 62, col 530.

[28] Further information in Taft, pp. 47-48.

[29] Geoffrey Cuming, 'The Liturgy of Antioch at the time of Severus (513-518)' in J. Neil Alexander (ed), *Time and Community: In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 83-103, 95.

[30] See J. Tabet, *L'Office Commun Maronite* (Kaslik, 1972), pp. 217-223.

[31] Cuming, op. cit., p. 97.

[32] For summary of research on this document, Bradshaw, *The Search...*, pp. 89-91.

[33] B. Botte, *La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte* (Münster, 1963), pp. 88-97, J. Edward Philips, 'Daily Prayer in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, New series vol. 40 (1989), pp. 389-400. On ninth hour, see Botte, p. 92: 'Illa ergo hora in latere Chr(istu)s punctus aquam et sanguem effudit et reliquum temporis diei inluminans ad uesperum deduxit. Unde incipiens dormire pri(n)cipium alterius diei faciens imaginem resurrectionis compleuit.'

[34] P. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (London, 1981), 55-57.

[35] Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (London, 1943), p. 5.

[36] G. Sperry-White, *The Testamentum Domini: A Text for Students, with Introduction, Translations, and Notes* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 19; Bramcote, 1991), who argues for dating on page 6.

[37] Ibid., p. 39 and footnote.

praised at dawn — the sacrificed and risen Christ is celebrated over night, from sunset to sunrise. God is prayed to in the morning as the 'begetter of light, principle of life, giver of knowledge[38]', there is prayer to God the giver of light after the darkness[39] and we also find morning praise of God, the inextinguishable light[40].

From these disparate sources, it may be possible to say; (a) The theme of light overcoming darkness is a 'hope' at nights, and an eschatological promise in the mornings; (b) the light is that of the risen Christ; (c) the evening light ceremony may be associated with a common meal; (d) the order in which prayers are described is often evening, then morning; 'Vespers' begins the new day; (e) psalms and canticles might include psalms 62 and 140.

The Structure of Vespers

Alphonse Raes SJ divided the Eastern Vespers into three parts, introductory (including the psalmody in course); the central complex, often employing psalm 140 and a light ceremony, concluding with prayer; and the conclusion, including any processional material[41]. The processional material may be much later in many cases and so will not be discussed in this paper.

There has been a tendency in the West Syrian/Maronite traditions for the recitation of the psalter to die out of use. P.E. Gemayel believes that originally there was a monastic type of continuous psalmody at the beginning of the office which has disappeared[42]. The East Syrian rite is known to have had some recitation of the psalter in the time of Gabriel Qatraya, that is the sixth/seventh centuries[43]. This period of psalmody was conducted whilst the sanctuary veil remained closed, in other words it was not central to the service but preparatory; in fact several scholars think it a relic of None[44]. This need not be the case at all; as Gabriele Winkler has pointed out, a ninth/tenth century commentary mentions day hours of which no trace remains[45]. Also, the psalmody at this point is no part of the night recitation of the psalter in course; in fact it displays signs of some principle of selection, e.g.: on Tuesdays, the two

38 Ibid., p. 32.

39 Ibid., p. 33.

40 Ibid., p. 34.

41 *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem* (Rome, 1947), pp 178-206: 'De Officio Vespertino', pp. 202-205.

42 'La structure des Vêpres Maronites' in *Orient Syrien* 3 (1958), pp. 105-134, 128.

43 Sarhad Hermiz Jammo, 'L'office du soir Chaldéen au temps de Gabriel Qatraya' in *L'Orient Syrien 12* (1967), pp. 187-210, 187.

44 J. Mateos, 'Les différentes espèces de vigiles dans le rite chaldéen' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica 27* (1961), pp. 46-63, 47, fn. 3; S. Pudichery, *Ramša: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Chaldean Vespers* (Dhamaram College Studies 9; 1972), pp. 157-158.

45 'Das Offizium am Ende de 4. Jahrhunderts und das heutige chaldäische Offizium' in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 19 (1970), pp. 289-311, 305-306.

marmyatha (or divisions of the Psalter) comprise psalms 24-29 which pray that sins be not remembered (24), that those praying may do so worthily (25), that they might 'dwell' in the house of the Lord (26), and their prayer be heard in the sanctuary (27), and the Lord bless his people with peace (28), the people whose mourning is turned to dancing (29)[46].

A similar kind of preparatory psalmody before the main part of the office may be evidenced by Egeria's fourth century pilgrimage to Jerusalem[47]. She says that *after* the light ceremony, there were *Lucernare* psalms and antiphons, and then more after the bishop's arrival. A 6th/7th century account of a visit to Nilus of Sinai, has Vespers commencing with 'Blessed is the man', very probably the group of psalms 1-8 that comprises the first division of the psalmody in course of modern Byzantine Vespers[48]. A ninth century Palestinian Horologion appoints psalms 119-133[49], the eighteenth kathisma of the present rite, recited daily at certain times of the year. Mateos suggested that this usage was to do with non-eucharistic days[50], but concedes that one cannot tie the St Sabas Horologion only to fast days[51]. Psalms 119-133, the 'Gradual psalms' could well suit pilgrimage to Jerusalem; they also suit the time of day: prayer for protection (119), to God who sleeps not (120), for peace in the city (121), delivery from danger (123), and so on through to prayer for unity (132) and prayer at night (133). So there appears to have been a similar preparatory psalmody to the Chaldean *marmyatha*, the existence of which is hinted at by Egeria, and which was concerned to prepare for the central act of vesperal prayer.

The older Constantinopolitan office, the *akolouthia asmatiki* or chanted office[52], had psalm 85 as the introductory psalm, which also found its way into the Armenian office in the sixth or seventh century, possibly as a result of Byzantine influence[53]. This is another psalm that reflects on the end of the day and prays with confidence to God for his continued guidance.

46 A.J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices* (London, 1894), p. 23 (numbering of psalms altered to LXX).

47 John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), pp. 123-124.

48 A. Longo, 'Il testo integrale della "Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio" attraverso le "Hermineiai" di Nicone' in *Rivista degli Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 23 (1965-6), pp. 233-267, 251, line 6.

49 J. Mateos, 'Un horologion inédit de Saint Sabas' in *Studi e Testi* 233 (Rome, 1964), pp. 47-76, 47-8 and 69.

50 'La psalmodie variable dans l'office Byzantin' in *Acta Philosophica et Theologica* II (Rome, 1964), pp. 327-339, pp. 330-1.

51 'Un horologion...', p. 48.

52 Miguel Arranz SJ, 'L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos ('vêpres chantées') de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978), pp. 107-130 and 391-419, 393.

53 See the commentary of John of Odsun (Yovhannes O'jneçi) in F.C. Conybeare and A.J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), p. 497. Also G. Winkler 'Über die Kathedralvesper in den verschiedenen Riten des Ostens und Westens' in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 16 (1974), pp. 53-102, 78-80.

The Roman/Benedictine offices of Vespers had a series of psalms from 108 onwards, forming a continuous recitation of the later part of the psalter at Vespers, whilst the first two thirds were largely done at Matins/Nocturns. This psalmody acted as preparatory to the main, central ritual act of Vespers, but later became identified as the basic material of the service[54].

We seem then to have a psalmody, and other material, which draws upon themes of coming to worship at the end of the day, and which prepares for the central vesperal rite to which we now turn.

As many authors have pointed out, at the centre of Vespers is a light ritual and/or an offering of incense. The incense rite has become complex and dominant in the West Syrian/Maronite uses[55], arising from psalm 140: 'Let my prayer come before you like incense, the raising of my hands like an evening oblation.' The light theme was not entirely absent from this Syriac tradition, and Winkler believed it to be the original theme of the office[56]. The fixed evening psalms, 140 and 141, with 116 as a doxology, also include in this tradition psalm 118:105-112, because of verse 105: 'Your word is a lamp for my steps and a light for my path'[57]. Gemayel proposed an original structure of monastic psalmody, then psalms 140 etc, the office of light and the rite of incense[58]. This would mean that having accepted the gift of God's light, the worshippers could make prayer that they be free from sin and able to offer the evening sacrifice.

The Chaldean tradition knows the same group of evening psalms as the West Syrian, but the incensation took place before them, originally at the solemn procession of the bishop and clergy to the *Bema* for the central part of cathedral vespers. Qatraya saw this procession with lights and incense, rather than a lamp-lighting as such, as symbolising the manifestation of Christ to his people[59]. The central moment was summed up in the psalms; 140, the evening sacrifice, 141, dependence upon God, 118:105-113, the evening light as guide, 116, praise for God's mercies[60]. The intercessions bring this basically simple structure to its close.

The Coptic tradition has very similar services of the Evening and Morning Incense[61]. In the evening, there is an evening prayer of Incense, incensation

[54] See J. Jungmann, 'Psalmody as the Introduction to the Hours', in *Pastoral Liturgy* (London, 1962), pp. 157-162.

[55] Winkler, op. cit., p. 101.

[56] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[57] J. Puyade, 'Les Heures Canoniales Syriennes et leur Composition' in *Orient Syrien* 3 (1958), pp. 401-428, 403; and Gemayel, op. cit., p. 115.

[58] Ibid., p. 128.

[59] Jammo, op. cit., p. 188.

[60] Pudichery, p. 30, fn 36.

[61] See John, Marquess of Bute, *Coptic Morning Service of the Lord's Day* (London, 1882), gives the morning incense, pp.1-34. A description of both is to be found in O.H.E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of her Liturgical Services...* (Cairo, 1967), pp. 35-45.

and prayers, the prayer: 'Vouchsafe, o Lord, to keep us this night without sin', Lord's Prayer, Creed etc., and two verses of psalm 140 before a Gospel reading; then intercessory prayers and absolutions. The verses from psalm 140 are also noted by Winkler[62]; the evening prayer of incense quotes this psalm, so there may indeed be remnants of a cathedral office here. The Ethiopian *wazema* basically comprises a hymn, three selected psalms (on Sundays, 23, 92 and 140), evening prayer, readings with chants, and litanic prayers[63]. The first two Sunday psalms (i.e., Saturday night) are chosen seemingly because they reflect resurrection themes.

In Jerusalem, Egeria describes light being brought out of the Holy Sepulchre cave[64]; there were then psalms as we have seen, and the entry of the bishop was followed by more 'ymni uel antiphonae', and a period of intercession. It is possible that the second period included psalm 140, which was mentioned in the visit to Nilus of Sinai, where it was followed by 'Hail Gladdening Light', 'Vouchsafe, O Lord', and the *Nunc Dimittis*[65]. The St Sabas Horologion gives as the central part of Vespers, psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116, together with 'Hail Gladdening Light', psalm verses with Alleluia, 'Vouchsafe, O Lord', *Nunc Dimittis*, and the Trisagion ('Holy God, Holy and mighty...')[66]. This Palestinian shape has largely become that of the modern Byzantine office. Psalm 141 is for protection, 129 'Out of the depths' is a powerful vigil psalm of longing for daybreak. Now comes the ancient hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν, known to St Basil in the fourth century, and possibly dating from the second/third centuries[67]; the evening light at the setting of the sun elicits praise and is the climax of this vesperal prayer. The remainder of the service runs quickly through to the prayer of protection and guidance in the ancient 'Vouchsafe O Lord', part of which is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*[68]. As with most forms of vesperal prayer that we have seen so far, there is a climactic moment concentrating on the light ceremony, the offering of incense, the evening psalm(s), and then after a relatively small number of other features, intercession rapidly brings the service to an end.

The structure is very clear in the 'chanted' office of Hagia Sofia in Constantinople; the opening psalm and the *Psalmodia currens* were taken in the narthex, psalm 140 marked a move to the nave for a series of three 'little antiphons', the intercessory section and the blessing; and, additional to the

62 Op. cit., pp. 81-82.

63 Bernard Velat, *Études sur le Me'eraf* (Patrologia Orientalis XXXIII; Paris, 1966), pp. 303-305.

64 Wilkinson, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

65 Longo, op. cit., p. 251, ll. 6-8.

66 'Un Horologion...', pp. 56-58.

67 Antonia Tripolitis, 'Φῶς ἱλαρόν — Ancient Hymn and Modern Enigma' in *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (1970), pp. 189-196.

68 See Funk, op. cit., Book 7, 48, pp. 456-8.

main service, came processions to the sacristy and baptistery. The psalmody in the narthex was similar to the sort of preparatory psalmody that we saw employed in Egeria's Jerusalem. The psalter was divided into 68 antiphons; in the tenth century more were sung on winter mornings, and less at night; this reversing in the summer[69].

In the fifteenth century, St Symeon of Thessaloniki described an elaborate procession with lights and incense, when the clergy led the people into the nave[70]. This was done to the psalm of the evening incense, 140. Incense is once more a sign of eschatological glory rather than a propitiatory sacrifice. The *prokeimenon*, a form of responsorial psalm, continues the theme of God's glory on Saturday night: 'The Lord is King with majesty enrobed.'

The little antiphons, made up of verses from psalms 114-116, with unrelated refrains[71], are accompanied by prayers which express suitably vesperal themes. A rather elaborate series of intercessory prayers and prayers over the catechumens and the faithful brought the central part of the office to an end, and several manuscripts appear to know nothing of the processional appendices that followed[72]. The readings of the modern Lenten Vespers of the Presanctified have a light ceremony between them; a candle and the thurible are used to bless the people with the words: 'The Light of Christ illumineth all[73].' It is possible that an early form of Lenten vespers had readings *before* the service proper began, then this acclamation and the evening psalm[74]. In this case, we may say, the introductory service is made up of readings rather than psalmody.

In Armenia we find no continuous psalmody at all at Vespers. The service went directly from the opening psalm to a group of psalms 139-141, followed by 'Hail Gladdening light' on Saturday night, 'Vouchsafe, O Lord', 'Let my prayer come before you' and intercessory prayer[75]. Winkler proposes as a reconstruction: opening psalm (54), light ritual, Psalm 140 and Intercession[76]. The commentary of Yovhannes Ojneç'i (flourished c. 700) on Vespers sees it as commemorating Christ's descent into the tomb[77], and psalms 54 and 139 both pray for delivery from persecutors; psalm 140 is itself a prayer for rescue,

[69] J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église (Ms Sainte Croix no 40, Xe siècle)* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165-6; Rome, 1962-3), see e.g., vol. 5, pp. 355 and 368.

[70] St Symeon of Thessaloniki, *De Sacra Precatione* in *PG* 155, cols. 629 and 631.

[71] 'Asmatikos Hesperinos', 412.

[72] Mss that do have them are described by Arranz in 'Asmatikos Hesperinos', pp. 125-129.

[73] See e.g. *The Liturgikon* (Englewood, NJ, 1989), pp. 346-347. — Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι.

[74] V. Janeras 'La partie vespérale de la Liturgie byzantine des Présanctifiés' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964), pp. 193-222, 216-220.

[75] Conybeare and Maclean, op. cit., pp. 477-482.

[76] Op. cit., pp. 78-80.

[77] Conybeare and Maclean, 493: 'Hora autem decima oratur, quia creaturarum Dominus eadem hora in sepulcrum descendisse dicitur, per incorruptam suam mortem nobis donans incorruptionem.'

and psalm 141, a psalm of one abandoned in 'prison'; Yovhannes emphasises this by citing verse 8 'Bring my soul out of this prison...'. After this somewhat pessimistic point, the lamp-lighting prayer sees Christ as overcoming darkness, so the light ceremony now follows.

The Ambrosian office, before recent reforms, comprised a greeting, the *Lucernarium* (with the addition of the *antiphona in choro* on Sundays), hymn, *Responsory in Choro*, then the Roman current psalmody with a prayer, the *Magnificat* and a prayer; and finally the processional appendices[78]. In Holy Week, there was a form that had only a single psalm and prayer after the Responsory, and, as on all Fridays in Lent, no *Magnificat*, which would argue that this canticle, like the Roman psalmody, was a later additon, probably of the Carolingian era[79].

If the *Lucernarium*, on Sundays from psalm 17 'You O Lord are my lamp', was originally a complete psalm, then so might also have been the Responsory *in choro*, which on Fridays is from Psalm 140[80]; these psalms deal more with God's guidance and teaching of his people. Finally the selected psalms of the day, such as those for a feast, or for the first three days of Holy Week, would make up a three psalm cathedral Vespers, in which the hymn would play a role in the light ceremony[81]. We should note the tendency to arrange psalms and other pieces in threes.

A strikingly similar shape is found in the Old Spanish or Mozarabic Vespers: a light formula: 'In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, lumen cum pace[82]', was followed by a psalm chant on the theme of light, e.g. psalm 17 on Mondays[83]. There was then a psalm for the day — those on Sundays often being typically vesperal, e.g., 140[84], and finally the *Alleluiatica* or *Laudes*, many of which utilise psalm 118, thus providing a theme of following God's law. Hymns were a later addition, and then came the intercessory material and the appendices[85]. Once more, the evening light leads to prayer for protection,

[78] Different forms of Vespers are described in W.C. Bishop (ed. C.L. Feltoe), *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites* (London, 1924), pp. 98-134 'The Breviary at Milan'. Texts in *Breviarium Ambrosianum* (4 volumes, Milan, 1944) and M. Magistretti (ed), *Manuale Ambrosianum* (2 volumes, Milan, 1905), ceremonial described in Magistretti's edition of *Beroldus, sive Ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis Kalendarium et Ordines* (Milan, 1894, reprinted Farnborough, 1968), pp. 53-57.

[79] For accounts of attempts to Romanise the Milanese rite in the Carolingian period, see E. Cattaneo, *Il Breviario Ambrosiano* (Milano, 1943) and P. Borella *Il Rito Ambrosiano* (Brescia, 1964).

[80] *Manuale*, p. 442.

[81] The hymn *Deus creator omnium*: 'Et cum profunda clauserit;/Diem caligo noctium,/ Fides tenebras nesciat,/ et nox fides reluceat.' *Breviarium Ambrosianum*, pars hiemalis I, p. 176*.

[82] *PL* 86, 47, and see J. Pinell, 'El Oficio Hispano-Visgotico', in *Hispania Sacra* 10 (1957) pp. 385-427, 401.

[83] *PL* 86, 194.

[84] *PL* 86, 189.

[85] For further details, see my 'Evening and Morning Prayer in the old Spanish Liturgy' in *Studia Liturgica 22* (1992), pp. 184-213, esp. 187-199.

and that leads to prayer for guidance — the evening is not an end but a new beginning.

The Roman and Benedictine offices of Vespers would now seem to be the oddities, having no *Lucernarium*, nor incense ceremony connected with psalm 140. There is however, the versicle and response 'Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea. Sicut incensum in conspectu tuo[86].' This reference to psalm 140 is not accidental, Amalarius of Metz (c. 775-850) saw this versicle as the moment of the offering of incense, *before* the *Magnificat*[87]. Hansjakob Becker has argued that Benedictine responsories[88] are the remnants of a *Lucernarium* psalm. He also proposes that the *capitulum*, 'Benedictus Deus...' (II Cor. 1:3-4), might have been an opening blessing for the service, and not a reading at all[89]. Thus he can suggest an original structure of monastic psalmody, and then cathedral office with light ceremony, incense at psalm 140 (and the *Magnificat*), and then intercession[90]. It is then possible that there was a Roman cathedral office, preceded by psalmody, as elsewhere, that disappeared at an early date and left only vestigial traces of its presence.

The Structure of Matins

In this part of the overview of structures, no hard and fast division will be made between the night and morning offices, many of which seem to have followed on immediately one to the other, throughout their histories. The night vigil described by Egeria is a very good, and very early, example. From before cockcrow to daybreak, the ascetics, joined in 'hymns, psalms and antiphons', interspersed with prayers[91]. Lacking qualifications such as 'matutinos' or 'lucernares', the psalmody before dawn appears to be undifferentiated, possibly in course. The popular Sunday vigil involved the bishop; there were three psalms or canticles and a gospel reading[92], and the more 'monastic' vigil then continued until sunrise and the morning service, followed by the Eucharist[93].

By the time of the visit to Nilus of Sinai, we find a reference to six psalms to start a Sunday monastic vigil, comprising the whole psalter in three sections with scriptural readings; followed in the morning by the scriptural canticles,

[86] *Breviarium Romanum* (4 volumes, Tournai, 1894), hiemalis 150.

[87] J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia (Studi e Testi 138-140*, Rome, 1948-1950), p. 435.

[88] E.g., *Breviarium Monasticum* (2 vols, Bruges, 1930), I, p. 158, from psalm 103.

[89] 'Zur Struktur der 'Vespertina Sinaxis' in der Regula Benedicti' in *ALW* 29 (1987), pp. 177-188, 183-4.

[90] Ibid.

[91] J. Mateos, 'La vigile cathédrale chez Egérie' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 27 (1961), pp. 281-312, 283.

[92] 'La vigile...' 288-292, Wilkinson, pp. 124-125.

[93] Ibid.

psalms 148-150, and the *Gloria in excelsis*[94]. The six psalms are very likely the group that characterises modern Byzantine matins; 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, and 142. This group may once have been simply psalm 3 on its own 'I lay down and slept, I wake again for the Lord sustains me', frequently found for this service for which one rises when it is still dark. 62 is also a prayer of longing for God before light, in spite of its use as a morning hymn in the strict sense[95]. 37 appears to be a 'fill-in' to make a symmetrical set of three, the second three having a certain mutual cohesion: 87 is a lament, a cry at night; 102 sings of delivery from the grave; and 142 for help against enemies — there is a consistent movement from helplessness to prayer for God's power. Mateos may be right to say that these psalms have nothing specific to do with the night or morning[96], but I would suggest that they have a lot to do with the vigil before dawn.

In Armenia, the night office was the only one at which continuous psalmody was employed. Gabriele Winkler stresses the importance of nocturnal continuous psalmody to commentators like Yovhannes Ojneç'i and Khosrov Andzewats'i in the eighth and tenth centuries respectively[97]. The psalter was divided into eight canons, each followed by an Old Testament canticle, recited in an eight-day rotation[98], from about the seventh century[99]. As for the introductory material, Winkler concludes that psalm 3 was in place by the late fifth century, the others (87, 102 and 142) by the seventh century[100]. Psalm 62 is not used in this tradition[101].

The East Syrian or Chaldean night office, *Lelya*, has a very simple structure; after the opening prayer there are three *hullale*, or divisions of the psalter, some poetic pieces, and a litany or *karozutha*, with some extra pieces on Sundays[102]. The psalter is divided into 20 *hullale* which covers the whole psalter twice a week[103]. This daily vigil was the place of the continuous psalmody. The psalms are sung on Sundays, and accompanied by farcings or *qanone* which emphasise watching for God, the hope of his people. The *qalta*,

[94] Longo, 'Il testo integrale...', pp. 251-2, ll 10-30.

[95] Mateos sees this psalm as characteristically matinal in 'Quelques problèmes de l'orthros Byzantin' in *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 11 (1961), pp. 17-35 and 201-220, 25.

[96] 'Quelques problèmes...', p. 26.

[97] 'The Armenian Night Office I:...' in *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* I (1984), pp. 93-112 and 'The Armenian Night Office II:...' in *Révue des études arméniennes*, ns 17 (1983), pp. 471-551, I, 94.

[98] Conybeare and Maclean, p. 446.

[99] 'Night-Office II', pp. 479-482.

[100] I, pp. 97-107.

[101] Winkler, 'New Study of Early Development of the Divine Office' in *Worship* 56 (1982), pp. 27-35, 32-3.

[102] J. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra: Les Offices Chaldéens de la Nuit et du Matin* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 156; Rome, 1972), pp. 41-42.

[103] *East Syrian Daily Offices*, p. 86.

or selected psalms that follow the current psalmody on Sundays, have resurrection themes, e.g., 'Will your love be told in the grave or your faithfulness among the dead?'[104]. Here again we have a vigil before dawn in expectation of the morning that symbolises the second coming of the Saviour.

Common to the West Syrian and Maronite night-morning services is an introductory service called *m'irono*, which includes psalm 133 'Bless the Lord, all you servants of the Lord, You who stand by night in the house of the Lord'. The word *m'irono* conveys the idea of wakening[105], and poetic strophes reflect the themes of watchfulness; an example is 'Let me awake that I may sing with the watchers a watchful praise to you,...'[106].

The major part of *lilyō* (nocturns) is made up of three units of similar structure called *qawme* (stations), or *'eddone* (periods) which do not now contain any psalmody. Mateos concludes that this poetic material replaces a lengthy monastic psalmody[107]. The end of the night office is the so-called fourth *qawmo* which in Maronite use comprises the *Benedicite*, poetic material and psalms 148-150 and 116; in West Syrian use the *Magnificat* and psalm 132 are used as well. The praise psalms, 148-150 and 116 are repeated at *safrō*, and it would seem that there is a duplication here. Clearly the thrust of the office has moved from night to morning, and Mateos has concluded that *lilyō* is the monastic morning office, and *safrō* the cathedral service; both somewhat cut down and now celebrated together[108]. This does however mean that the monastic office must also have commenced while still dark and finished in the light.

The Coptic liturgical books appear to preserve the relics of a cathedral vigil and morning prayer; the monastic night office has a longer version of the same structure as the other hours of prayer, and so does not help the present discussion[109]. The Ethiopian church has two kinds of vigil, *Mawaddes* for Sunday and *Kestat za-Aryam* for feasts. Both show more features of the cathedral vigil; however, the morning service, *sebhata naghe*, for Lent, has a *psalmodia currens* in two blocks, preceded by psalm 62[110], which covers most of the psalter in a week. Once again, we can see a morning service which starts before light, 'On my bed I remember you. On you I muse through the night...' (psalm 62:7), and then the early morning vigil psalmody whilst moving towards daylight and the morning praise.

[104] Maclean, p. 156.

[105] Tabet, op. cit., (note 30), p. 63, and J. Mateos, 'Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 26 (1960), pp. 51-73.

[106] Mateos, op. cit., p. 59; 'Réveille-moi, que je te chante avec les vigilants une vigilante louange,...'

[107] 'Les matines...', p. 72.

[108] 'Les matines...', p. 58.

[109] See Robert Taft, 'Praise in the Desert: The Coptic Monastic Office Yesterday and Today' in *Worship* 56 (1982), pp. 513-536, 528-529. The office is given as an appendix to Bute, *Coptic Morning Service...*, pp. 119-144.

[110] *Me'eraf*, pp. 136-139 and 140a.

The 'chanted Matins' of Hagia Sophia was briefly described by a Russian visitor: 'When they sing Lauds at Hagia Sophia, they sing first in the narthex before the royal doors; then they enter and sing in the middle of the church; then the gates of Paradise are opened and they sing a third time before the altar'[111]. The psalmody in the narthex was introduced by psalms 3, 62 and 133; all suited to vigil prayer while still dark; the main morning part of the service started with the *Benedicite*, sung at the entrance into the nave[112]. The current psalter was again a pre-matinal vigil[113], described by Symeon of Thessaloniki as celebrated before the closed doors, with reduced lighting, as token of man's exclusion from the 'ancient paradise'[114].

We see that throughout the Christian East, Egeria's daily vigil of psalmody leading to the morning office at dawn/sunrise finds constant parallels. Even in the West the same was true; in Milan, prior to recent reforms, the weekday Matins began with the hymn *Aeterne rerum* that talks of stirring from sleep[115], a responsory, the first part of the Daniel 3 canticle, *Benedictus es*, and then ten or so psalms in course; these were followed by three readings with responsories. On Saturdays, psalm 118 was used, with the Exodus 15 canticle, the Song of the Sea. On Sundays, there was no psalter in course, but three canticles, and the *Te Deum* (from 1440[116]) after the last reading. Once again this was a night psalmody, at least from Monday to Friday, but the arrangement of the psalter into what were called *decuriae*, spread it over a two week period, and that arrangement may not have existed before the Carolingian era[117]. The readings were Roman[118], but the responsories were probably from Milanese sources. It is possible, that before the system of the *decuriae*, there may have been simply three selected psalms and prayers as the weekday pre-matinal vigil in Milan.

Something similar may be seen in the Old Spanish cathedral Matins, which commences with the same hymn *Aeterne rerum*, then follows psalm 3 or a group of three psalms; 3, 50 and 56 on Sundays[119]. Psalm 50 may be transferred from

[111] Anthony of Novgorod in 1200, translated by W.O. Strunk, 'The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia' in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), pp. 112-142, 112.

[112] M. Arranz, 'L'office de l'Asmatikos Orthros ('matines chantées') de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin' in *OCP* 47 (1981), pp. 122-157, 126.

[113] M. Arranz, 'Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines' in *OCP* 37 (1971), pp. 404-436 and *OCP* 38 (1972), pp. 64-115, 412.

[114] *PG* 155, 636: πάλαι παράδεισον, also 641-5.

[115] *Breviarium Ambrosianum*, Hiemalis I, 1*: 'Surgamus ergo strenue:/ Gallus jacentes excitat,/ Et somnolentos increpat:/ Gallus negantes arguit.'

[116] Borella, op. cit., p. 240.

[117] See Bishop, op. cit., pp. 114-115 and 122.

[118] Mario Righetti, *Storia Liturgica*, vol II, *Excursus III — Il Breviario Ambrosiano* (Milan, 1946), pp. 615-616.

[119] L. Brou and J. Vives (eds), *Antifonario Mozarabe de la Catedral de Leon* (Madrid, 1959), passim.

the beginning of the morning part of the office, where it is often found on weekdays[120]; psalm 56 seems to be added for symmetry. Three antiphons, or antiphons with psalms, now follow. In Lent there may be the remains of a semi-continuous psalmody[121]. The Spanish monks had their own night offices at which the greater part of the psalmody was completed[122]. The pre-matinal vigil of the secular churches probably relied upon selected psalms, rather than *psalmodia currens*.

In early fifth century Gaul, John Cassian knew of a nocturnal vigil, then a gap until the morning office that started with psalm 62, and 118:147-8, 'I rise before dawn and cry for help', then came psalms 148-150[123]. Once again, it would seem that psalm 62 and the verses of psalm 118 make up part of the daily cathedral pre-matinal vigil, the monastic psalmody being confined to the monastic service; the same is true of the office of the Antiphonary of Bangor[124].

Finally, the night part of the Roman/Benedictine offices was largely taken up with continuous psalmody. The Benedictines favoured hymns reflecting rising in the night whilst still dark; e.g., *Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes*[125]. The major part of this nocturnal office was the current psalmody, the old Roman order providing for the recitation of twelve psalms on weekdays and eighteen on Sundays. A reminder of the vigil before light is found in a versicle and response common to both traditions: 'Memor fui nocte nominis tui Domine; et custodivi legem tuam'[126]. The Master chose the time of cockcrow to begin the pre-matinal vigil because '...cockcrow is the end of the waning light, since night gives birth to day'[127], so even if there were a gap between the night and morning offices, they still retained a pre-matinal vigil theme.

In the structure of the morning offices, strictly so-called, we have some very striking parallels. The old Roman office remained redolent of this common tradition until 1912. This morning office was centred on psalms 148-150, preceded by a canticle, *Benedicite* on Sunday, another for each weekday, psalms 62 and 66 together preceded the canticle, and were themselves preceded by a morning psalm for each day of the week, psalm 99 on Sundays; the service began on weekdays with psalm 50, and on Sundays with psalm 92, perhaps because of its exaltation of the risen Lord[128]. The simple thrust of the service

[120] *PL* 86, cols. 191 and 459.

[121] A.W.L. Porter, 'Studies in the Mozarabic Office' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1934), pp. 266-286, 282-5 and J. Janini (ed) *Liber Misticus de Cuaresma* (Toledo, 1979), passim.

[122] J. Pinell, 'Las Horas Vigiliares del Oficio Monacal Hispanico' in *Liturgica 3 — Scripta et Documenta* (Monserrat) 17, (1966), pp. 197-340.

[123] Taft, pp. 96-109.

[124] M. Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor* (Dublin, 1984), p. 183.

[125] *Breviarium Monasticum* I, p. 19.

[126] *Brev. Romanun, autumnalis*, 11 and *Brev. Monasticum* I, 23.

[127] L. Eberle (ed.), *Rule of the Master* (Kalamazoo, 1977), 33.4, p. 195.

[128] *Brev. Rom. aut.* 19ff, and for similar arrangements (with more variable psalms and canticles), *Brev. Mon.* I, 36ff

was most obvious on weekdays; confession (psalm 50), prayer for the new day (variable psalm and psalms 62 and 66), resurrection/cosmic praise (canticle), and praise of God's glory at sunrise (psalms 148-50), followed by the eschatological overtones of the *Benedictus* with its promise of '... light to those in darkness and the shadow of death, ... (Luke 1:78-9).' Parallels with other traditions are numerous, but the most obvious are the canticles, many of which have paschal overtones; the Roman morning office employed five out of the nine canticles of the Greek canon.

The parallels with the Ambrosian rite are instructive if we see the overall shape of that office, pre-matinal and matinal. The Sunday canticles of the pre-matinal vigil (Isaiah 26.9ff, I Samuel 2 and Habakkuk 3), preceded by *Benedictus es* from Daniel 3, were followed by a procession with the *Antiphona ad Crucem*, then the Exodus 15 song of the sea and the *Benedicite*; psalms 148-150 and 116 now followed and a selected psalm; then the *Laus Angelorum Magna* (i.e. the *Gloria in excelsis* with additions)[129]. This means that, taking into account the seasonal use of Deuteronomy 32, Milan used no less than seven of the canticles of the Greek canon, and probably did not originally admit the New Testament canticles, *Benedictus* and *Magnificat*. On weekdays, we have suggested that there may have been three psalms at the pre-matinal vigil; then psalm 50 preceded the praise psalms. Saturdays retained a more festal aspect, with a pre-matinal vigil of the Exodus 15 canticle and psalm 118, and psalm 117 preceded the praise psalms[130].

The morning office of the Bangor Antiphonary appears to have comprised the Exodus canticle, *Benedicite* and psalms 148-150, and the Great Doxology was also used — this late seventh century office almost exactly parallels that of Milan[131]. From sixth century Gaul, Gregory of Tours' described a morning office that certainly included psalm 50, *Benedicite*, and psalms 148-150[132], while Caesarius knew of a nocturnal psalmody followed by psalm 117, possibly psalms 42 and 62, the Exodus and Daniel canticles, and then two groups of praise psalms; 145-147 and 148-150[133]. On this showing, the Roman office could have originally been canticle/canticles and psalms 148-50 at sunrise; preceded by the pre-matinal vigil of psalms 50 and 62/66 with one for each

[129] The readings at Nocturns were obviously of Roman provenance, and the *Benedictus*, which started the morning office, was almost certainly a borrowing from elsewhere, as we can see by its replacement in Advent and certain other times by Deuteronomy 32; *Brev. Ambr. hiemalis* I, 8*-11*.

[130] The shape was all the more interesting because the Matins was divided into three 'nocturns': the canticle, then two sections of the half of psalm 118 appointed for that week, ibid., pp. 102*-107* and 168*-173*.

[131] Curran, op. cit., pp. 184-186.

[132] Taft, p. 146.

[133] Taft's reconstruction, 111-2; on praise psalms see W. Jardine Grisbrooke, 'The Laudate Psalms: A Footnote' in *Studia Liturgica* 20 (1990), pp. 162-184, esp. 175-176.

day of the week — another tripartite structure of pre-matinal vigil, and praise at sunrise. The Old Spanish office was also very similar in shape: psalm 50, a variable canticle, *Benedicite*, psalms 148-150, but with a variable morning psalm[134] between the *Benedicite* and the praise psalms; and then a hymn and the intercessory material.

Similar forms are found in the morning offices of the Eastern churches, though the parallels are not always so close. The 'chanted office' of Hagia Sophia moved from darkness to light while singing the *Benedicite*, and the core of the 'chanted matins' was psalm 50 and the praise psalms 148-150, together with the Lucan canticle *Benedictus*[135], and the Great Doxology. Praise of God in creation is expressed in the *Benedicite*, and then, in psalm 50, a need for re-creation, leading to further praise and eschatological looking forward. At the end of the Great Doxology on Sundays, the procession went into the sanctuary, for the reading of the resurrection Gospel and the intercessory material[136]. On weekdays the office was concluded in the Nave with the prayers after the Doxology.

The Armenian morning office is very similar. We have already noted the pre-matinal psalmody, and to each canon of psalms, a canticle was attached[137]. The canticles provided a significantly paschal element to move us away from the current psalmody to the new day as symbol of the resurrection[138]. The morning office proper began with *Benedicite*, then psalm 50, the praise psalms and the Great Doxology — a very similar structure to Constantinople. A further similarity was the presence of the canticle *Benedictus*, which may still have been new here in the seventh century[139].

We have stressed the paschal nature of the canticles, and it would seem that at least in abba Nilus' monastery, all nine[140] were used together[141]. Three canticles may originally have been used on weekdays, as in Lent today. Stuhlman has also interpreted the canticles as the transition from the night office to the morning office proper, as they are paschal pieces[142].

[134] See Pinell, 'El *Matutinarium* en la Liturgia Hispana' in *Hispania Sacra* 9 (1956), pp. 61-85.

[135] *PG* 155, p. 648.

[136] The resurrection gospel has occurred at several places, see Mateos, 'Quelques problèmes...', pp. 212-215. In modern Byzantine use it precedes the canon of canticles, and even psalm 50; this is probably one of the many oddities that has arisen as a result of the long process by which the Palestinian monastic office and the office of Hagia Sophia became synthesised; see Byron D. Stuhlman, 'The Morning Office of the Byzantine Rite: Mateos Revisited' in *Studia Liturgica* 19 (1989), pp. 162-178, esp. 168-9.

[137] Winkler *Night Office* II, 475-6.

[138] Ibid., 486, and also, A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (London, 1958), pp. 36-37.

[139] Winkler, ibid., p. 505.

[140] I.e., Exodus, Deuteronomy and Hannah; Habakkuk, Isaiah 26, and Jonah; the two canticles from Daniel 3 and the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* composing the ninth and final ode; *Horologion* (Rome, 1937) pp. 91-116.

[141] Longo, op. cit., p. 252, lines 21-25.

[142] Op. cit., pp. 170-172.

Less directly related, the Chaldean office also had a Sunday vigil, *qale d-Šahra*, between the night time psalmody and the morning praise. It comprised a tripartite psalmody, which could also utilise certain canticles, Exodus 15, Isaiah 42.10ff., Deuteronomy 32[143]. The poetic material that follows can also be very resurrectional, e.g., a *tešbohta* for Sunday: 'Praise to him who in his goodness hath made our race free, from the slavery of the Evil one and of death...'[144] The psalms of the morning are 99 'Cry out with joy to the Lord', 90 'He who dwells in the shelter...', 103.1-16a 'Bless the Lord, O my soul...', 112 'Praise, O servants of the Lord', and then psalms 148-50 and 116, with the conclusion: 'Glorify the Lord, all the whole earth. O Giver of light, O Lord, even to thee do we lift up glory'[145]. The psalms celebrate the new light of day, and the grouping might be prior to the mid seventh century[146]. Although using a different set of psalms from what we have seen elsewhere, the theology is the same, and was reinforced by a ceremonial that included procession to the *Bema* after psalm 112, and the opening of the veil for the hymns of light and the *Benedicite*[147]. The psalms form a pattern of 99 as an invitatory, then 90, 103 and 112 reflect in hope on the light of creation, and bless the majesty of God. The opening of the veil and psalm 92 would commemorate the risen Lord, and then follows the praises, and creation blesses the light of God in the *Benedicite*, poetic phrases are suitably matinal[148].

The *safrō* of the Maronite and West Syrian traditions, is, as we have already seen, duplicated to some extent by a monastic night to morning office. There is also considerable variety in the way in which the different elements are used. Psalm 50 is usually found near the beginning, though not in the Maronite weekday form. Psalm 62 only appears in the Maronite and Antiochene orders[149], and not in the variant West Syrian use of Tikrit — this may be because it shared with the Chaldeans a Mesopotamian tendency to ignore this psalm. The one constant is the group of the praise psalms, 148-50 and 116. Antioch and Tikrit add 112 in front of these on weekdays. It is possible to say, especially taking into account the morning poetry, that these morning offices reflected the offering of cosmic praise to God at sunrise: this worship being summed up in the verses that have remained attached to the praise psalms[150].

The remnants of a cathedral morning office in Egypt are contained in the services known as the *psalmodia* of evening and of the night. One precedes the

143 Maclean, p. 160.
144 Maclean, p. 161.
145 Maclean, pp. 103-104.
146 Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, pp. 406-7.
147 Ibid., pp. 404-6.
148 E.g., 'At the early dawn of the morning we glorify thee, O Lord...' Maclean, p. 106.
149 Tabet, pp. 199-201.
150 Tabet, 269: 'Peuples! Louez-le et exaltez-le à jamais.' and 'Ainsi, voici que nous adorons et louons Dieu, à tout moment.'

evening offering of incense, and the other comes between monastic morning prayer and the morning offering of incense[151]. The longer psalmodia of the night has three odes, Exodus 15, psalm 135 'O give thanks to the lord for he is good' and *Benedicite*, then after poetic material, the so-called fourth ode, psalms 148-150, and more poetry and prayer[152]. This does appear to be a cathedral vigil with morning praise. It is possible that the shorter Psalmodia of the evening could be a displaced and dislocated morning office for weekdays, but we can only be very tentative here.

The Ethiopian Sunday vigil *mawaddes* and the festal vigil, *kestat za-aryam* are lengthy and complex. After introductory material, that is not easy to classify, the former has psalms 62, 3 and 5 near the beginning, psalms awaiting the light[153]; whilst the latter has psalms 50, 3, and 133 in a similar place[154]. A number of psalms, 39-49 leads to psalm 50 at *mawaddes*, and then psalm 117 and psalm 91, both ones that are often associated with a Sunday; canticles, and psalms 148-50[155]. *Kestat za-aryam* is largely made up of the canticles, and these include many of those we have come to recognise as suitable for the morning vigil[156], and psalm 150 is included amongst these canticles[157]. There again seems to be a duplication when we turn to the morning service *sebhata naghe*, which outside of Lent begins with psalms 62, 91, 5 and 64 – 62 alone in Lent. The verses accompanying these psalms reinforce the themes of dawn and morning, together with being chosen to dwell in the 'courts of the Lord' in psalm 64[158]. Psalm 50 and/or a canticle may follow, and the two Daniel 3 canticles and the praise psalms are found in all forms of this service[159]. Clearly, in spite of large amounts of poetic material, and although lessons have been added, it is possible to see a shape that is, once again, common to the morning services of the East, and not unrelated to those of the West.

The Euchological Evidence

The structures of the offices would appear to show: first, a vesper service which may have prefatory psalmody, but which basically comprises an evening act of worship involving lights and/or incense, and then moves into

[151] Burmester, op. cit., p. 108.
[152] Ibid., pp. 109-110, and M. Brogi *La Santa Salmodia Annuale della Chiesa Copta* (Cairo. 1962), pp. 9-27.
[153] *Me'eraf*, p. 130, 355-61.
[154] Ibid., p. 417.
[155] Ibid., pp. 361-395.
[156] Ibid., pp. 419-423.
[157] Ibid., p. 422.
[158] Ibid., p. 443.
[159] Ibid., pp. 452, 456-459, 491-492.

prayer; and secondly, a morning service that takes up the vigil where it was left off at Vespers, and in which psalmody and/or readings of a basically monastic kind are carried out in darkness, and then the service moves towards the light, employing canticles and psalms with a clear resurrection reference, and reaches its climax at the full light of the new day, and looks forward to the eternal day. The next question that we must ask is whether other texts, especially prayer texts, bear this out. The examples we will use are from the old Constantinoplitan office, and the East Syrian, Armenian, Roman, Ambrosian and Old Spanish offices.

The codex Barbarini 336, dating from the eighth century, contains the prayers that accompanied the 'chanted office' of Hagia Sophia, many of which are still in use in the modern office, though displaced[160]. Goar also included the texts that are not used in the modern office[161]. Generally the themes are thanksgiving at the end of the day and protection at night. The prayer with psalm 140, for the entrance into the church, '...Direct thou our prayer as incense before thee,...[162]' sees incense as a symbol of prayer. The prayer of the first little antiphon is much more vesperal, and survives in modern use only at the special vespers of Pentecost evening: 'Blessed art thou,... who hast lightened the day with the light of the sun and hast illuminated the night with flashes of fire,...receive our evening supplications...Guard us with thy power...Grant us also that the present evening with the coming night and all the days of our life may be perfect, holy and peaceful...[163]' This prayer looks beyond this night to the days ahead. The same thing is found in the prayer that accompanied the final intercessory litany, the *aitesis*; '...that, enlightened by meditation on thy commandments, we may rise up in joyfulness of soul to glorify thy goodness[164].' Coming at the original end, this must reinforce the impression that the service begins the night as a time of expectation, rather than ends the day by simply looking back over it.

In the morning thanks are first given that we have been raised from our beds to 'worship and call upon thy holy name[165].' The prayers of the antiphons in the morning are prayers while it is still dark, the prayer at the *Benedicite* looks back and thanks God for banishing sluggishness and sleep, and prays '...grant that we may come to the beginning of the day praising, singing and blessing the goodness of thine ineffable beneficence[166].' Psalm 50 is accompanied by a prayer of penitence, and the praise psalms by a prayer that prays 'receive our

[160] See Arranz, 'Asmatikos Hesperinos', pp. 113-116 — full texts can be found in J. Goar, *Euchologion, sive Rituale Graecorum* (Paris, 1647; Venice, 1730 (Graz, 1960)).

[161] Ibid., pp. 35-37.

[162] Ibid., p. 31.

[163] *Liturgikon*, op. cit., Ibid., p. 410.

[164] Ibid., p. 18.

[165] Ibid., p. 134.

[166] Ibid., p. 136-7.

praise...[167]', a praise to be offered with all creatures. The prayer to accompany the *aitesis* is again important; '...thou hast brought us in safety through the shades of night and has shown unto us once again the light of day...Illumine our hearts with the true sun of thy righteousness;...that walking uprightly as in the day,...we may attain unto life eternal,...[168]' We have reached morning, but that morning is an eschatological sign of the eternal life to which God's people are called.

It is impossible to make any definite decision about the dates of the prayers used in the East Syrian or Chaldean offices, but assuming that many are indeed ancient, we find at Vespers, prayer that recognises God's protecting care; 'Thy mercy, O Lord and our God, and the care of thy goodwill towards us are we bound to confess...'[169] — this prayer is just before psalms 140 etc. Another prayer entrusts 'body and soul' to God[170], and at the imposition of hands ending the service, we find prayer that '...all in one union of love be worthy to raise to thee glory and honour,...[171]', we are taken beyond the present night to the coming kingdom.

The prayers at *Lelya* are indicative of the hour; '...waken the sleep of our thoughts...Illumine the darkness of our minds...give us strength and a helping hand, that thereby we may arise and confess thee and glorify thee,...[172]' A prayer at the vigil, *qale d-šahra*, emphasises watchfulness; 'Make us worthy,...with the watchful ones and the companies of angels, with voices full of confession to sing praise to the glorious Trinity, night and day,...[173]', and the litanic *karozutha* is particularly suited to a vigil before light: 'O thou who didst spend the night in prayer...[174].' Prayers at *sapra* are suited to the morning praise, we may note this which follows psalms 103 and 112: 'Thou, O my Lord, art the Creator of light in thy lovingkindness, and thou orderest the darkness in thy wisdom, and enlightenest creation with thy glorious light...[175].'

The lamp-lighting prayer of the Armenian vespers is a good summation of vesperal themes: '...Thou madest the sun to give light by day, and the moon and the stars to give light by night, and the light of the candle...From thee doth the darkness flee...send forth thy living light into our hearts...[176]', and at the end of the intercessory section there is a prayer that commends the evening sacrifice: 'Hear our voices, O Lord our God: accept our prayers and the lifting

[167] Ibid., p. 137-8.
[168] Ibid., p. 138.
[169] Maclean, p. 5.
[170] Ibid., p. 10.
[171] Ibid., p. 11.
[172] Ibid., pp. 85-6.
[173] Ibid., pp. 153-4.
[174] Ibid., p. 162.
[175] Ibid., p. 166.
[176] Coneybeare and Maclean, p. 477.

up of our hands and the words of our prayers;...[177]' The prayer of blessing asks that we '...may stand firm and abide in faith...[178]'. The day may be over, but Christian life continues.

The night office prayers again speak of waking from sleep '...that our eyes may behold thy salvation[179]' a salvation that may be seen to lie ahead in the morning, as we keep vigil praying: '...make us to be awake and ready in the hour of dawn together with thy saints;...[180]' In the morning, a prayer with psalm 50 says that we offer up our morning prayer, who have been worthy to pass the night in peace and reach the dawn[181]; now may the day '...be worthy in peace...Teach me to do thy will,...from thee, Lord, floweth the fountain of life; and by the light of thy countenance we behold the light...[182]' The continuity of the offices through the darkness to the light is clear, as is also the idea that the light is the sign of the eternal light. Yovhannes Ojneç'i said that the morning hour looked forward to the resurrection of all in the coming of Christ, the true sun of justice[183].

In the Roman tradition, the Verona libellus (5th/6th century) has three evening and four morning prayers. One of the evening ones prays for sustenance at night, and another speaks of reviving, or restoring the people[184]. Morning prayers look forward to everlasting light, pray for protection, and for strength to serve God[185]. The Old Gelasian sacramentary, possibly representing seventh/eighth century usages, provides eight vesperal prayers: e.g., '...ut expulsis de cordibus nostris peccatorum tenebras, ad veram lucem, quae Christus est, nos fatias pervenire[186].' Another prays for light in the morning to succeed the dark of night[187]; another, that as we are guarded through the night, we may come to praise God at the morning hour[188]. A prayer in the Sacramentary of Gellone makes an explicit reference to psalm 140: '...te supplicis deprecamur ut ad te eleuatio manuum nostrarum sit in conspectu tuo acceptabile sac-

[177] Ibid., p. 479.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid., p. 452.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid. p. 455.
[182] Ibid, p. 456.
[183] In Coneybeare and Maclean, p. 492.
[184] L.C. Mohlberg et al. (eds), *Sacramentarium Veronense* (RED Series maior I; Rome, 1956), pp. 75-76: '...diei molestias noctis quiete sustenta...' — '...ipsa mutabilium rerum uarietate nos refoue: per.'
[185] Ibid.: '...in tua iugiter luce uiuamus...' — '...et tuis seruitiis inherentes peruigili protectione custodi:' — '...ut adiuti necessario fragilitatis auxilio, et corpore tibi simus et mente deuoti.'
[186] L.C. Mohlberg *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (RED IV; Rome, 1960), p. 231.
[187] Ibid.: 'Deus, qui iluminas noctem, et lumen post tenebras facis,...'
[188] Ibid., '..custodiendi per noctem: repraesenta nos, quaesumus, Domine, matutinis horis incolumes...'

rificium uespertinum'[189]. These prayers represent the same kind of theological understanding of vesperal prayer that we have seen elsewhere.

The matins prayers are similar; one in the Gelasian prays for entry into God's light[190]; another prays that God's people may always walk in the ways of his precepts[191]. Some short prayers in Gellone make good examples of the genre: 'Salua nos omnipotens deus et lucem nobis concede perpetuum.' and 'Exaudi nos omnipotens deus et mentibus nostris gratiae tue lumen ostende'[192].

The Ambrosian tradition was well supplied with prayers that were probably ancient. It is possible that the prayers that came to follow the psalms of the Roman course might have originally been connected with the *Lucernarium.* The standard Sunday prayer asked that the dread darkness of night be lightened by divine splendour[193], whilst the prayer that followed the *Magnificat* prayed for a calm and peaceful night, while looking forward to the morning: '...ut tranquillam et quietem noctem deducentes, matutinis horis in tuis laudibus consurgamus'[194]. This prayer might once have accompanied the *Responsory in Choro* or psalm of the evening.

The matins prayers start with the Paschal vigil remembrances of the canticles *Cantemus* and *Benedicite*: e.g., '...nos quoque famulos tuos, de hujus saeculi caligine liberatos, promissam patribus requiem introire permittas'[195]. The Sunday Prayer before the praise psalms looks forward in new light to the everlasting light: 'Deus lux vera credentium...quos post hanc noctem lucem fecisti cernere, ad beatum illum...et sempiternum diem jubeas pervenire'[196].

The Old Spanish office has many prayers which have been the subject of numerous studies, above all by Jordi Pinell in his massive collection *Liber Orationum Psalmographus*[197]. At Vespers, some *Lucernaria* were accompanied by prayers; one connected with psalm 140, quotes that psalm[198]: '...elevatio manuum nostrarum, sacrificium vespertinum, impleat solemnitatem.' Another quotes psalm 35 and 'thirsts' for light[199]. Concluding prayers, *com-*

[189] A. Dumas and J. Deshusses (eds) *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis* (*Corpus Christianorum* 159 and 159A; Turnhout, 1981), p. 304, #2132.

[190] Mohlberg 230-1: '...ut digneris a nobis tenebras depellere uiciorum, et clareficare nos luce uirtutum.'

[191] Ibid. '... inlabe sensibus nostris, omnipotens Pater, ut in preceptorum tuorum lumine gradientes,...'

[192] Op. cit., p. 302; # 2117 and 2118.

[193] *Manuale*, 418: '...et tenebras noctis horrendo radio tui splendoris illumina:...'

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid., p. 414.

[196] Ibid., p. 415.

[197] (Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra IX; Barcelona-Madrid, 1972).

[198] *PL* 86, 185.

[199] Ibid., 232; '...ut sitientibus nobis vitalem impertius potem; et caligantium animarum superno lumine restituas intellectum.'

pleturiae, often have clear references to the time of day, one for a Saturday night again refers to psalm 140 and looks forward that we '...be granted to enjoy the tranquillity of the morning sacrifice'[200].

The morning *completuriae* very often quote the morning psalm or *matutinarium*, and often exhibit the themes of awaking, as if from the dead, to new life in the day; one on psalm 5 prays for a share in the earnest of the resurrection[201]. Those on Sundays are not normally psalm collects though some are; on the third Sunday of Lent, the prayer is that the lustre of the eternal day may shine on those praying, and vanquish the darkness of night[202]. Another example of the way in which, once again, we find prayers that see the morning light as symbol of the eternal light of God's promise, is one for an ordinary Sunday: 'In the morning hours, invoking the presence of the true morning star; ...so with souls illumined and enlightened in faith, we may adore for ever our leader and prince of light'[203].

Conclusion

The structures of these offices would appear to exhibit: a vesper service which may have prefatory psalmody, but which basically comprises an evening act of worship involving lights and/or incense, which then moves into prayer. The morning service then takes up the vigil where it left off at Vespers; psalmody and/or readings of a basically monastic kind are carried out while still dark, and then the service moves towards the light, employing canticles and psalms with clear resurrection references, and reaches its climax at the full light of the new day, and looks forward to the eternal day. It should be noted that I am not defending this interpretation by the supposed universal use of certain psalms or canticles. Psalm 140 is very widely found, but is often used in different ways from place to place, psalm 62 is widely used in the mornings but not at all in the Chaldean morning office, and, although it appears in the West (e.g., in Rome), it also has no place in the Milanese office. Psalm 50 is a very frequent morning psalm, and psalms 148-150 are pretty much universal, but in the final analysis, what I have tried to demonstrate is the underlying criteria of selection, more so than what was actually selected.

In his article '"Thanksgiving for Light", Towards a Theology of Vespers', Robert Taft emphasised the evening light as standing for the lamp of the Heavenly City, where there is no darkness or night, but only the day, and Christ

200 Ibid., 186: '...sed laetitia tranquilla in matutinis sacrificiis tribuator,...'

201 Ibid., 267, 1st Monday of Lent.

202 Ibid., 384: '...dieique perennis ita praecipe in nobis candorem effulgere, et terrae noctis crassitudo,...'

203 Ibid., 243: 'In matutinis temporibis invocatus, adesto Lucifer verus; ...ut fidei illuminatione animati, te semper ducem, et principem luminis adoremus.'

Himself is the lamp[204]. This is fine so far as it goes, but I have tried to show that it is in fact impossible to interpret Vespers entirely apart from Matins. There is an incompleteness at Vespers; many orders have a lengthy, meditative psalmody to begin, then a more dramatic climax is reached at the showing of the light, or some other ceremony connected with light and/or incense; after which, with intercessory material, the service can quite rapidly finish. On some occasions there might be readings, processions etc. that extend the service further into the night, but normally there is a relatively quick ending. In the morning, preferably before it is light, there may be a lengthy monastic psalmody, which starts in quite a low-key fashion, but again, more ritual and drama come later. Deliberate reminders of the Easter Vigil, such as the Exodus song of the sea and the *Benedicite*, lead into the first light, and the outburst of praise, psalms 148-150 etc., that greeted the sunrise makes clear that the lamp the night before is only an indicator of the full glory of the light of Christ. The end of the Matins looks forward to the eternal day, and the light that will never be put out.

We may then say that what Christians were anxious to ritualise and re-experience on a frequent, even daily basis, was the victory of Christ over death, symbolised by the final triumph of light over darkness. It may not have been possible for every single person to attend all the vigil services, it can hardly have been very frequently that genuine all-night vigils were held, but the lighting of the evening lamp or the manifestation of evening light could be seen as denials of the threat of death and darkness. Then in the morning, emerging as it were from the tomb to new life, or even from the womb to a new birth, the light is manifested again, as the gift of God's new day, which symbolises the unending day of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

This interpretation can act as an hermeneutical principle by which further examination of the daily prayer of early Christianity might be undertaken. Exactly when Christians started these services as a public event cannot be said; but the living out and experiencing of Christian life in terms of death and resurrection, and awaiting the second coming, were part of the earliest self-understanding of Christians. The more we understand the Christian self-appropriation of the Paschal Mystery in the earliest period, the more I believe we will understand why and how Christians prayed at evening and morning. This can extend to other periods of prayer in the night and during the day, but the hinge moments are important, not just because another day is over, or to get up energy for the day ahead; they are also important for this living faith-experience, a ritualised event, that might well be described as sacramental, albeit in the broadest sense; in the outward and visible signs of nature such as light and darkness, the mystery of God is experienced.

[204] In *Beyond East and West* (Washington, DC, 1984), pp. 127-149, 138.

At What Ages were People Baptized in the Early Centuries?

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The quest for statistics of the ages of baptismal candidates must appear attractive to a generation that has witnessed the rise of cliometrics. Yet for the patristic era it is a quest that proves frustratingly elusive. The history of baptism has not greatly engaged the attentions of patristic scholars — a history, that is, going beyond baptismal theologies and baptismal liturgies to encompass also the religious, social and cultural aspects of baptism. Among the questions such a history must answer is the subject of this paper. It is a question that goes beyond paths well-trodden in pursuit of the origins of infant baptism, although it cannot forget that enquiry altogether.

Let us start, in fact, with this question: who was the first Christian we can name to have been baptized as an infant? It is, of course, a different question from the hoary one which asks by what date one can be confident that infants were being baptized. Can we name anyone before the fourth century? We might not expect many candidates for consideration in this era of primary mission, but even in the case of obvious possibilities, such as Origen[1], we simply do not know. According to Cornelius, Novatian, although 'brought up in the church from the beginning', was baptized only during illness in later years[2]. The Athanasian *Vita* records that Antony too was raised as a Christian by Christian parents but makes no mention of his baptism[3]. Few young children star in the story of pre-Nicene Christianity. In the rare appearance of a newborn baby, Perpetua's son did not share in his mother's baptism[4]. I deliberately leave on one side the candidacy of long-serving Christians such as Polycarp, Polycrates and the martyr Felix[5] because the time of their baptisms is wholly uncertain.

From the vantage-point of this paper, we may refine the question: what would qualify as 'infant baptism' in this context? At a minimal level one

[1] Henri Crouzel, *Origen* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 5, acknowledges that 'no source tells us anything about the age at which Origen was baptised'. He thinks it 'not unlikely' that Origen was baptised as an infant, on the unconvincing grounds that Origen is an important witness to infant baptism. It must be highly doubtful whether, when Origen was born, any Christian teacher justified infant baptism along the lines Origen would later follow, i.e., presupposing the pre-existence of souls.

[2] Eusebius, *H.E.* 6:43:13-14.

[3] *Vita Antonii* 1.

[4] *Passio Perpetuae* 3:5, with 3:9.

[5] *Martyrium Polycarpi* 9:3; Eusebius, *H.E.* 5:24:7; *Passio Felicis Thibiacensis* 30 (*CPL* 2054).

could include any baptisms of children young enough to be called infants — under three, let us say. If this criterion satisfies us, we can probably find some epitaph inscriptions attesting such baptisms prior to the fourth century. The evidence was famously debated by Joachim Jeremias and Kurt Aland a generation ago. More recently, in 1979, Everett Ferguson revisited the bearing of the inscriptions on the origin of infant baptism[6]. He pointed out that all of the inscriptions which mention the time of baptism place it near death. Such baptisms might be better described as emergency or clinical baptisms than infant baptisms[7]. To be sure, they show that being a baby was no bar to receiving baptism, but they cannot be counted as satisfying a more principled criterion — that soon after birth, as in circumcision, was the appropriate or right or even obligatory time for children of Christian parents to be baptized. This is the message given by Cyprian and Origen and clearly implied by the Hippolytan *Apostolic Tradition*, but can we cite any named subjects, or even unambiguous particular cases lacking a name, prior to the era of the Christian empire? The most persuasive instances are likely to be identified in those inscriptions which, by the presence of *in pace* or *fidelis* or pertinent symbolism, attest the baptized status of those dying very young but, unlike the category noted above, do not indicate the date of their baptism. However, that these were not clinical baptisms is a question on which confidence is ill-advised.

Two points should be underlined at this stage: first, the elusiveness of information about the ages, or even stages of life, at which individuals were baptized (we shall return to this problem), and second, the importance of drawing distinctions. Working with a single omnium gatherum category of infant baptisms obscures critical differences[8].

We next ask what guidance the Fathers provide about the right age for baptism. One obvious answer is exemplified by Cyprian, Asterius[9] and the anti-Pelagian Augustine. It is the position canonized by the Council of Carthage in 418, which decreed anathema on all who taught that new-born babies were not to be baptized[10]. Another response to the question is supplied by several writers, such as Optatus of Milevis[11] and Zeno of Verona[12], but especially bishops inveighing against the interminable deferment of baptism — Basil, the Gregories and John Chrysostom in particular. Every age is ripe for baptism; or to be more specific, your age, whatever it be, is no excuse for your not seeking

[6] 'Inscriptions and the Origin of Infant Baptism', *JTS* 30 (1979), pp. 34-46.

[7] Not all, of course, were baptisms of infants: ages range from 24 days to 59 years.

[8] See my paper 'The Origins of Infant Baptism — Child Believers' Baptism?', *SJT* 39 (1987), pp. 1-23.

[9] Cf. J.C. Didier, 'Le pédobaptisme au IVe siècle. Documents nouveaux', *MScRel* 6 (1949), pp. 223-46.

[10] Canon 2 (CCL 149, 69-70).

[11] *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam* 5:10.

[12] *Tractatus* I:13:11; II:43.

baptism quickly, i.e. your present age is the best time for you to be baptized. If you are smart enough to appeal to the example of Jesus, who deferred his baptism until he was thirty years old, Gregory Nazianzen will rapidly disarm you: Jesus was divine and wholly pure and could afford to delay his baptism, but you ordinary thirtysomethings cannot[13].

At this point we must avoid the mistake of assuming that the norm or ideal by which postponement is exposed as wrong-headed (and positively dangerous — for you never know when you might fall under a Caesarean or Antiochene omnibus) is infant baptism. Those homilies which attempt variously to cajole or frighten their listeners into hastening to the font say little about baptism of the new-born. This is scarcely surprising: most of the hearers had lost the chance of being baptized as babies years ago. But nor do the preachers highlight their duties as parents to bring their offspring for baptism without delay.

A monograph by Eduard Nagel entitled *Kindertaufe und Taufaufschub*[14] deals solely with North Africa, where this pairing — of infant baptism and postponement of baptism — seems peculiarly appropriate. But the witnesses from Roman Africa — Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, each with sharply pointed testimony to bear — have probably been allowed to influence perspectives on this debate to an exaggerated degree. They have too readily been allowed to give the impression that the two poles of practice were invariably pedobaptism on the one hand and deferred baptism on the other.

In respect of the crowds listening to these late fourth-century Greek bishops, we have no means of telling whether any of them had once been possible candidates for baby-baptism, that is, as the children of Christian parents. The burden of the preaching was their irresponsibility in putting off something which has been, and still is, within their own competence to obtain. To put the issue anachronistically, for the most part these sermons could have been delivered to baptism-postponing believers-baptists!

Two or three Fathers furnish more precise answers to our question about the right age for baptism. In his *Oratio* 40, Gregory Nazianzen advised that children be baptized not before the age of three or soon after, 'when they can take in something of the mystery, and answer the questions, and even if they do not yet fully understand, can nevertheless retain some impression'[15]. Not Gregory at his best, one might think (but perhaps three-year-olds are not what they were), especially since a little earlier he apparently recommended the baptism of the new-born[16].

[13] *Oratio* 40:29.

[14] *Kindertaufe und Taufaufschub. Die Praxis vom 3.-5. Jahrhundert in Nordafrika und ihre theologische Einordnung bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Augustinus* (Europ. Hochschulschriften XXIII:144; Frankfurt, 1980).

[15] *Oratio* 40:28.

[16] *Oratio* 40:17. Gregory urges that any parent who has an infant (νήπιον) should have him sanctified ἐκ βρέφους, from his tenderest age.

His inconsistency illustrates to a tee the difficulties churchmen got into in encompassing, within a rite created for responsible — literally, capable-of-answering — sinners, infants who neither could answer for themselves nor had any sins to be forgiven[17]. I do not know of any three-or-four-year-olds in the early centuries baptized in accordance with Nazianzen's guidance.

Less problematic is Augustine's assertion that seven is the age at which children can both lie and tell the truth, both confess and deny; hence when they are baptized, *iam et symbolum reddunt, et ipsi pro se ad interrogata respondunt*[18]. This reflects general Roman assumptions that at the age of seven children emerge from infancy[19], and is corroborated by a letter of Jerome. Advising Gaudentius on bringing up Pacatula, who is at present 'without teeth and without ideas', Jerome looks forward to her becoming seven, when she can start learning the Psalter and the books of Solomon[20]. Seven was the age of a child's second dentition, and fourteen marked the milestone of puberty.

The only named seven-year-old I know of in these centuries is the one mentioned by Augustine in recording the competence enjoyed by children of this age — Dinocrates, the brother of Perpetua, who was seven when he died. In a vision Perpetua sees Dinocrates in torments and realizes that her prayers can release him — which they do[21]. To Augustine it is unthinkable that Dinocrates can have been delivered from hell, and so he has to believe that he died as a baptized Christian who had backslidden and for that reason was suffering *post mortem*. Augustine knew that Dinocrates' parents — Perpetua's parents — were pagans, and hence he cannot assume Dinocrates' baptism as an infant. Fortunately for Augustine Dinocrates was old enough to have been able to seek and be granted baptism in his own cognizance. It is an improbable tale — of precocity in both faith and unfaithfulness — but it is Augustine's[22]. The water-symbolism of Perpetua's vision may imply that he received some baptism-substitute the far side of death.

However, I have not yet found other identifiable children of seven or older who were baptized answering the questions for themselves. It is always possible that some children commemorated by inscriptions fall into this category, but the lack of differentiation between children of widely varying ages leaves this possibility stone dead. The distinction made by the *Apostolic Tradition*

[17] Cf. J.C. Didier, 'Une adaptation de la liturgie baptismale au baptême des enfants dans l'Église ancienne', *MScRel* 22 (1965), pp. 79-90; D.F. Wright, 'The Meaning and Reference of "One Baptism for the Remission of Sins" in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed', *Studia Patristica* XIX (1989), pp. 281-5.

[18] *De anima et eius origine* 1:10:12, 3:9:12.

[19] G. Clark, 'The Fathers and the Children', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood* (Studies in Church History 31; Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-27 at 12; T. Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (London, 1989), p. 114.

[20] *Ep.* 128:3.

[21] *Passio Perpetuae* 7.

[22] *De anima et eius origine* 1:10:12, 3:9:12.

between children who can and who cannot answer for themselves may assume the Roman belief noted above[23].

If we move from precept to practice, we encounter that widespread group of later fourth-century churchmen and churchwomen nurtured in Christian families but not baptized until they were of independent years. It is extensive: Ambrose (and his brother Satyrus and probably also their sister Marcellina), Augustine, Basil the Great, Ephraem Syrus, Gregory of Nazianzus (and his father Gregory, brother Caesarius and sister Gorgonia), Gregory of Nyssa (and his sister Macrina, in all likelihood), Jerome (and his friends Heliodorus and Rufinus), John Chrysostom, Paulinus of Nola (and his brother), Rufinus of Aquileia, and quite possibly others, like Ulfilas and Cassian[24]. Some of these instances come very close to death-bed baptism (in which otherwise the Christian emperors were specialists). But although several of these persons later became vocal among the ranks of preachers condemning baptismal delay, only in the case of Augustine is criticism voiced of his own parent's default. Our reading of these famous instances of adult baptism has probably been biassed by the exceptional censure uttered by this single North African Father. Far commoner is a picture which is virtually the reverse of Augustine's finding fault with a negligent Monnica. Gregory Nazianzen is the most impressive witness, describing in glowing terms the godly upbringing he and his siblings enjoyed — without a word about baptism and his parents' dereliction in not securing it.

The ages at which these men and women received baptism are of no great importance for our enquiry, for they were by then all of adult years, they varied with individual circumstances and the dates are in several cases only approximate. But for the record they range from the late teens (Chrysostom eighteen, perhaps younger) to the mid-thirties (Ambrose thirty-four), with most falling in the twenties.

This phenomenon is obviously different from the delay until death's door so influentially exemplified by Constantine. It is so common and widely dispersed that it resists being viewed simply as a fourth-century fashion[25]. Indeed, where is the evidence that it was ever otherwise? When Jeremias asserted, in

[23] Hippolytus, *A.T.* 21. For some evidence of precocious piety recognizable at, or near, the age of seven, see Clark, *art. cit.*, pp. 13-16. Ennodius' *Vita Epiphanii* (*CPL* 1494) depicts this child of Christian parents as enlisting in the heavenly militia when 'scarcely eight years old'. Martin of Tours, whose parents were not believers, got himself enrolled as a catechumen when ten. Augustine's son Adeodatus was baptized when fourteen. Despite his penchant for number symbolism, Augustine makes nothing of this being twice seven; he was, says *Confs.* 9:6:14, nearly fifteen.

[24] Cf. J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries* (London, 1960), pp. 88-9; F.J. Dölger, 'Die Taufe Konstantins und ihre Probleme', in Dölger (ed.), *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit. Gesammelte Studien* (Römische Quartalschrift Supplem. XIX; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913), pp. 377-447 at 429-37.

[25] Canon 45 of Elvira (*c.* 305) allowed that someone once admitted to the catechumenate who had not darkened the door of the church *per infinita tempora* was not to be denied baptism if his catechumen status was reliably attested.

his own italics, '*that the earliest case known to me in which Christian parents postponed the baptism of their children, is in the year* 329/30 (Gregory of Nazianzus)'[26], his tendentious presuppositions are glaringly exposed. Perhaps the earliest case occurred a generation later when Monnica failed to have Augustine baptized — but our warrant for reading it thus is forthcoming only forty years later, in the *Confessions*.

Here we pick up again the elusiveness of biodata about baptisms. Jerome and Gennadius are of no help at all, and in a number of instances — Athanasius is typical — we simply do not know when baptism was given. It will greatly facilitate future researches if every scholar who contributes a biographical entry to a dictionary or lexicon is required to say what is known of the subject's baptism — even if it is nothing.

The frustrating character of many patristic sources is well illustrated by Gerontius' life of Melania the Younger. A daughter was born to her and Pinian, 'whom they promptly dedicated to God for the virginal estate' (1). With or without baptism? Later, a premature male child was delivered after a difficult labour, 'and after he was baptized, he departed for the Lord' (5 — a case of clinical, not infant, baptism). Soon their daughter vowed to virginity also died (6) — with or without baptism?[27] The only normative baptismal practice visible here is clinical baptism.

The silence or apparent disinterest of numerous sources must pose searching questions about the importance assigned to baptism, or at least about the dissonance between theological and biographical writers. The silence has been too readily absorbed into theories of the generality of infant baptism, and the ample vocalness of the fourth century minimized as a regression into the deferment of baptism. Several strands of evidence[28] suggest the conclusion that, when infant baptism finally become the norm in practice (which in the West may well not have happened until a century or more after the decisive contribution of Augustine), the history of Christian baptism started all over again. Although babies — some babies, especially dying babies — were baptized certainly from about the middle of the second century onwards, there is not too much in common between the baptism of the first four centuries or so — basically, a rite of conversion — and the universalized pedobaptism of the post-Augustinian era[29].

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 89. Similarly, he reads inscriptions certifying that the dead had been recently baptized as instances of the postponement of baptism (91); more plausibly, they attest its advancement in the hour of death.

[27] *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* (*CPL* 2211), tr. E.A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (Studies in Women and Religion 14; New York and Toronto, 1984), p. 28, 29, 30.

[28] For example, the absence of counsel about baptism in guides to the rearing of Christian children, such as Chrysostom, *On Vainglory*, Jerome *Ep.* 128, and even his *Ep.* 107, to Laeta about Paula, where Jerome is less than directive about the duty of baptism.

[29] Cf. P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages c. 200 - c. 1150* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 3.

Anaphoras without Institution Narratives?

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Twentieth-century liturgical studies have seen the undermining of several beliefs which had been regarded as rock-solid certainties. One recalls how the new knowledge of early Syrian baptismal rites provoked a desperate search for some rite which could be described as confirmation; now even a necessarily conservative document like Paul VI's Apostolic Constitution *Divinae Consortium Naturae* of 1971 recognises that the distinction between the two sacraments of baptism and confirmation was not explicitly drawn in the early Church either in the East or the West[1].

Our concern this afternoon is with another change in liturgical understanding. J.A. Jungmann wrote of the Institution Narrative that 'in all known liturgies' it formed 'the core of the *eucharistia*, and therefore of the Mass'[2]. Nowadays however many scholars believe that in a significant number of liturgies as late as the second half of the fourth century, there was no Institution Narrative. It is this position which I intend to examine in this paper. It is not my intention to discuss how and when the Narrative entered into the Eucharistic Prayer, nor to examine Lietzmann's well-known contention that the original Jerusalem Eucharist was not associated with the Last Supper, nor to discuss whether the anaphora of Addai and Mari in its original form contained words of institution[3].

There are several different forms of the theory that in some liturgies the Institution Narrative was a late entry into the Eucharistic Prayer, as late even as the second half of the fourth century.

[1] 'In many Eastern rites it seems that from early times a rite of chrismation, *not yet* clearly distinguished from baptism, prevailed for the conferring of the Holy Spirit ... In the West there are very ancient witnesses concerning the part of Christian initiation that was *later* distinctly recognised to be the sacrament of confirmation' (italics mine). The Apostolic Constitution is usually to be found in editions of the rite.

[2] J.A. Jungmann, (Eng. tr.) *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (*Missarum Sollemnia*) (replica edition, Dublin, 1986), vol. 2, p. 194.

[3] We should, however, bear in mind that there may be liturgies where, although an Institution Narrative of the *developed form* which became standard may not be present, it is possible to recognise an *embryo* narrative. *Ap. Const.* 7.25 provides an example of this phenomenon, where the 'Eucharist' of *Didache* 9-10, which contains no narrative, is expanded so as to include a mini-version of one: 'We also, our Father, thank you for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, *which was shed for us*, and for his precious body, of which we celebrate these representations (ἀντίτυπα), as he himself instructed us, to *proclaim his death*'. There are at least two scriptural allusions from the supper narratives here.

L. Ligier noted that four anaphoras — Twelve Apostles, Chrysostom, Addai and Mari, and the Alexandrian Strasbourg papyrus Gr. 254 — contain an opening thanksgiving concluded by a doxology, which 'each constitute a complete and closed euchologia which does not demand to be prolonged by anything at all, either a *Sanctus* or a narrative'[4]. This attempt to identify an original complete prayer of thanksgiving without Sanctus, Institution Narrative, anamnesis or epiclesis rests partly on the comparison of these texts with chapter X of the *Didache*, where the thanksgiving after food concludes: 'Above all we give thanks to thee because thou art mighty. To thee be glory for ever'. Ligier argues that, because the pre-Sanctus thanksgiving section of the Twelve Apostles and Chrysostom concludes with 'these same words of thanksgiving', their original form, like the *Didache*, terminated at this point with the formula: 'for all these things we give thanks'. The narrative, he suggests, was added as an 'appendage' and 'embolism' to the thanksgiving expressed in the Eucharistic Prayer. Although Ligier does not tell us how early he believes the introduction of the narrative took place, he takes the *Ap. Trad.* as evidence that it had occurred by the early third century. There is however a fatal weakness in this argument. The *Didache* and the other prayers do not in fact conclude with the same words of thanksgiving. The *Didache*'s 'above all (πρὸ πάντων) we give you thanks' is quite different in meaning from 'for all these things (ὑπὲρ πάντων) we give thanks', which is the expression in the Antiochene prayers.

The Strasbourg Papyrus was even more pivotal in the thinking of G.J. Cuming. He believed the single sheet on which it is written contained not a portion of the Liturgy of St Mark but a complete anaphora composed originally in the second half of the second century[5]. The text consists of a blessing of God and thanksgiving for the work of creation through Christ, culminating in a prayer of offering recalling Malachi 1.11: 'we offer the reasonable sacrifice and this bloodless service which all the nations offer you from sunrise to sunset'. After intercessions the sheet ends with the doxology: 'grant them through our Lord, through whom be glory to you to the ages of ages'[6]. Thus the text, although recalling Christ's role in creation, says nothing about his Incarnation, still less his death and resurrection, and if it were indeed a complete eucharistic prayer would be more restricted even than the *Didache*, which does at least refer to the life and knowledge which the Father has made known through his child Jesus (IX.3). It does however contain one element which was not present in what Ligier regarded as the original core of the Antiochene rite, namely a

[4] L. Ligier, (Eng. tr.) 'The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to the Eucharist', *Studia Liturgica* 9 (1973) pp. 161-85, esp. p. 179.

[5] G.J. Cuming, 'The Shape of the Anaphora', *Studia Patristica*, 20 (1989) pp. 333-345. The Strasbourg papyrus was published by M. Andrieu and P. Collomp, 'Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de saint Marc', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 8 (1928), pp. 489-515.

[6] Translation taken from R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (3rd edn, New York, 1987), pp. 53-4.

prayer of offering. Cuming suggested ways in which from Strasbourg, or something 'very like' it, there may have developed the main liturgical types: Mark, James, Chrysostom and the Roman Canon, as there were added in different positions a Sanctus and Epiclesis, and elements which derived from the liturgy of Basil, including the Institution Narrative[7].

J. Fenwick[8] followed the lead given by his friend and mentor Geoffrey Cuming, tracing the influence exerted by the hypothetical original version of the liturgy of Basil (which he believed was similar to the shorter Egyptian Basil), on the developed version of Basil and the Jerusalem liturgy of St James. He saw however two contrasting processes at work: whereas the later versions of Basil are *expansions* of the shorter original, James is a *conflation* of it with other material, particularly a Jerusalem anaphora, which, as described by Cyril of Jerusalem in *MC* 5, had no Institution Narrative[9].

I shall now attempt to summarise and to some extent develop the main arguments put forward by those who believe there were Eucharistic Prayers without Institution Narratives in the second half of the fourth century, before setting out the arguments which lead me to believe this hypothesis should be rejected.

(1) It is evident that a vital link in the network of reasoning set out above is the proposition that the liturgy described in *MC* 5 had no Institution Narrative. Careful analysis of *MC* 5.5-8, it is said, reveals that the absence of any mention there of an Institution Narrative is due not to a reverent silence, or to the desire not to duplicate the commentary on the Last Supper already provided in *MC* 4, but to the simple fact that there was no Institution Narrative in Cyril's Eucharistic Prayer. As Dix noted[10], Cyril seems to be listing the elements of the rite very precisely, using two transitional formulas: εἶτα (which implies 'next') and μετὰ ταῦτα (which Cyril employs when something has been omitted). Using these two terms, Cyril's Eucharistic Prayer can be summarised as follows:

The priest says: 'Let us give thanks to the Lord' ... *Eita* you say: 'It is fitting and just' ... *Meta tauta* we remember heaven, earth and sea, etc, and the heavenly court and the seraphim singing: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth', and we sing their hymn of praise. *Eita*, 'having hallowed ourselves through these spiritual hymns, we call upon

[7] 'The Shape of the Anaphora', p. 341.

[8] J.R.K. Fenwick, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques* (Nottingham, 1986). Fenwick sets out his arguments in greater detail in *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James: An Investigation into their Common Origin* (OCA 240; Rome, 1992).

[9] I am taking it as the most plausible working hypothesis that Cyril was the author of the *Mystagogic Catecheses* (*MC*). The case for the Cyrilline authorship has been set out at great depth in an unpublished thesis for Oxford University by Alexis Doval, entitled *The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses Attributed to St Cyril of Jerusalem* (1992). Attribution of the sermons to a later preacher, such as John of Jerusalem, would make the absence of an Institution Narrative that much harder to sustain.

[10] G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1945), pp. 197-8.

the loving God to send down the Holy Spirit on the offerings...' *Eita*, 'after the completion of the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless service, we call upon God over that sacrifice of propitiation for the sake of the common peace of the churches...'.

Hence the sequence seems to be: Preface, Sanctus, Epiclesis, supplications, with nothing omitted.

(2) In a relatively early article, G. Cuming suggested that 'Next, after (εἶτα μετὰ) the completion of the spiritual sacrifice' may imply that the completion of the sacrifice is not the Epiclesis described in the previous section but an Institution Narrative that follows it; in that case the position of the Epiclesis before the narrative is one of several Egyptian characteristics in Cyril's rite[11]. One can however reply that this interpretation is at variance with Cyril's usage in other places, where εἶτα μετὰ in conjunction refer back to what has been described in the previous section. Thus after the explanation of the last clause of the Lord's Prayer, 'but deliver us from the Evil One', the next section, which explains the Amen, begins 'Next after (εἶτα μετὰ) the completion of the prayer' (5.18). Similarly the section instructing the communicants how to receive the chalice, which comes after the directions on receiving the body of Christ, begins 'Next, after (εἶτα μετὰ) you have shared in the body of Christ' (5.22). These two passages suggest by analogy that εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι also refers back to the preceding section on the Epiclesis, and does not postulate the existence of an Institution Narrative.

(3) E. Cutrone took the argument a stage further. In answer to G. Kretschmar's hypothesis that the Institution Narrative was recited in reverential silence and therefore needed no explanation[12], Cutrone argued that one would still have expected Cyril to make some mention of it, at least in the exposition of 1 Cor 11 in *MC* 4. However Cutrone's substantive answer to Kretschmar is based on what he calls Cyril's 'εἰκών - μίμησις approach to all ritual'. In his explanation of the Eucharist in *MC* 5, Cyril does not follow his usual method of explaining the sacrament as a rite which identifies the recipients with Christ, so that they become his *eikon* by a process of *mimesis*. An Institution Narrative would have given him an ideal opportunity for such an explanation. On the contrary, it is in *MC* 4 that an *eikon-mimesis* explanation is to be found. The most likely reason is that the liturgy expounded point by point in *MC* 5 had no Institution Narrative on which to hang the explanation[13].

(4) Cutrone maintained that his conclusion is not 'unthinkable', because the Syrian tradition provides no definite evidence before Cyril for the presence of an Institution Narrative in the anaphora: indeed, the *Didache* and *Addai and*

[11] G.J. Cuming, 'Egyptian Elements in the Jerusalem Liturgy', *JTS* n.s. 25 (1974), pp. 118-9.
[12] G. Kretschmar, 'Die frühe Geschichte der Jerusalemer Liturgie', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 2 (1956-7), pp. 28-33.
[13] 'Cyril's Mystagogical Catecheses and the evolution of the Jerusalem Anaphora', *OCP* 44 (1978), pp. 52-64.

Mari seem to provide examples of Eucharistic Prayers without a narrative. Against B. Botte's contention that there can be no anamnesis without an Institution Narrative[14]. Cutrone believed 'the anamnesis known to Cyril was simply one that praised God for the marvels of creation'[15].

(5) J. Fenwick refined Cutrone's hypothesis by suggesting that Cyril himself was the redactor who expanded the Jerusalem anaphora in two stages[16]. First Cyril added an Epiclesis and intercessions to the Eucharistic Prayer, so as to create the version described in the *Mystagogic Catecheses*. This hypothesis involves accepting the earlier of the dates indicated by C. Beukers for the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, which would make it appropriate for the supplications to contain a prayer for 'kings' in the plural (*MC* 5.8), namely 364-7, between two periods of Cyril's exile. (Beukers himself, however, rules out this date as incompatible with Cyril's reference to σύμμαχοι, and plumps for the later date of 383-6)[17]. In the second stage, the very considerations which led Cyril to devote a preparatory homily to his *mimesis* explanation, prompted him on his return from exile in 378 to take the more radical step of adding an Institution Narrative to the Eucharistic Prayer, so as to make the Christocentric focus explicit.

(6) Fenwick found an ingenious statistical confirmation for his argument. Regarding the Liturgy of St James as a combination of elements taken from the Eucharistic Prayer of the *Mystagogic Catecheses* with something like the Egyptian form of the Liturgy of St Basil, Fenwick calculated that the proportion of James which seems to correspond to Egyptian Basil varies in different parts of the Eucharistic Prayer as follows:

Pre-Sanctus	35%
Post-Sanctus	70%
Institution Narrative	70%
Anamnesis as a whole	30%
part of Anamnesis recounting saving events	90%
Epiclesis	30%
Intercessions	50%

The reason, he concludes, why the Egyptian Basil material forms a greater proportion of the text of James in the Post-Sanctus, Institution Narrative and part of the Anamnesis, is that in these sections there was no Cyrilline source[18].

[14] B. Botte, 'L'Anaphore Chaldéenne des Apôtres', *OCP* 15 (1949), p. 271.

[15] Cutrone, 'Cyril's Catecheses', p. 62.

[16] J. Fenwick, *Anaphoral Construction Techniques*, pp. 35-7.

[17] C. Beukers, '"For our Emperors, Soldiers and Allies"', *VC* 15 (1961), pp. 177-184. However, we should extend Beukers's three-year range for *MC* 5 for an extra year, now that P. Nautin has established 387 as the date of Cyril's death ('La date du "de viris illustribus" de Jérôme, de la mort de Cyrille de Jérusalem, et de celle de Grégoire de Nazianze', *RHE* 56 (1961), pp. 33-35).

[18] Fenwick, *Anaphoral Construction Techniques*, pp. 33-34.

It should be noted however that this line of reasoning is incompatible with Dix's argument based on Cyril's use of *eita* and *meta tauta*, for Fenwick assumes that Cyril's anaphora contained some form of Anamnesis between the Sanctus and the Epiclesis.

....

There are, however, a number of considerations which tell against these arguments.

(a) The thesis that Strasbourg Gr. 254 was a complete eucharistic prayer consisting solely of praise for creation, offering, intercessions and concluding doxology is open to at least two objections. First, as B. Spinks has indicated, the so-called concluding doxology — '... grant them through our Lord, through whom be glory to you to the ages of ages' — resembles the *chatimah* which followed each section of the *birkat ha-mazon* — 'Blessed are you, Lord...' — and, even more, the adaptation of it which is found in *Didache* IX and X — 'Glory to you for evermore'. Accordingly the doxology in Strasbourg may indicate not the end of the whole prayer, but merely the end of a section[19]. Secondly, even if one grants the hypothesis that the Strasbourg text was complete on a single sheet, it does not follow that the single sheet formed a complete Eucharistic Prayer. The British Museum Coptic wooden tablet of a portion of the anaphora of Mark is likewise complete on a single leaf, but it consists of a totally different portion of the Eucharistic Prayer, namely the Post-Sanctus, Epiclesis, Institution Narrative, a prayer expressing offering and anamnesis, and a second Epiclesis[20]. Thus the existence of a complete document copying certain sections of the Eucharistic Prayer does not prove that there were no other sections to copy.

(b) The theory that the liturgy of *MC* 5 contained no Institution Narrative rests on very insubstantial evidence. Cyril does not provide us with a full text of the liturgy, but only a description of the ceremonies and a paraphrase of the prayers; but did he comment on everything in the liturgy? Secondly, even if he did, it has to be assumed that the MSS do not omit, out of reverence and secrecy, any part of what Cyril said or wrote. Thirdly, there are grounds for believing that the *Mystagogic Catecheses* are not derived — as were the Lenten Catecheses — from a shorthand-writer's account of what Cyril actually said, but are copies of the preacher's own notes written to guide his memory, and were never intended to be complete[21]. If so, the preacher may have said

[19] B. Spinks, 'A Complete Anaphora? A Note on Strasbourg Gr. 254', *Heythrop Journal*, 25 (1984), pp. 51-9.

[20] Published by C.H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 3 (1938), pp. 25-28.

[21] Cf. E.J. Yarnold, 'The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem', *Heythrop Journal* 18 (1978), pp. 144-5.

more than he needed to include in his notes. For these reasons the arguments based on Cyril's use of εἶτα and μετά are inconclusive.

(c) If the view of Dix, Cutrone and Fenwick is correct, the Eucharistic Prayer of *MC* 5 was surprisingly undeveloped for its date. It would be far sparer, for example, even than the alleged complete Eucharistic Prayer of the Strasbourg papyrus. If the use of the word *eita* really implies that nothing has been omitted, Cyril's Eucharistic Prayer consists of:

— *anamnesis* of heaven, earth, sea, the sun, the moon and the stars, all rational creation, seen and unseen, and the angelic host, concluding with the seraphim (as in St James);
— the Sanctus;
— an Epiclesis praying that the Spirit may come upon the offerings and make them the body and blood of Christ (whereupon the sacrifice is complete);
— the intercessions for the living and dead.

Accordingly, except for the Epiclesis, there seems to be no place for any mention of Jesus Christ at all, not even Strasbourg's minimal anamnetic clause: 'You made everything through your wisdom, the true light, your Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'[22]. Even the prayer in ch. IX and X of the *Didache* speaks of the life, knowledge, faith and immortality made known *through Jesus Christ* and the spiritual food and drink and eternal life God has granted through him. Similarly *Addai and Mari*, though without an Institution Narrative in the earliest MS, still has a prayer of thanksgiving commemorating the Lord's incarnation and saving work, followed by a prayer for the dead 'who were pleasing in your sight, in the commemoration of the body and blood of your Christ, which we offer to you on the pure and holy altar, as you taught us'; there follows a further reference to the sending of Jesus Christ and his gospel, and then an expression of celebration of the 'mystery of the passion, death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ', according to 'the form which is from you'[23]. Nor would there be any place in *MC* 5 for a prayer of offering, such as Strasbourg's 'we offer you the reasonable sacrifice and this bloodless worship'. Consequently Cyril's Epiclesis, with its prayer that the bread and wine may become Christ's body and blood, would have to carry all the load of association with what Cyril describes as 'the bloodless worship over that sacrifice of propitiation', and the offering of 'Christ who was slain for our sins' (*MC* 5.8, 10). We are accordingly being asked to believe not only that the

22 Coptic text harmonized with the Liturgy of Mark. See Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 53, 59.

23 Although Ratcliff and Bouyer believe the intercessions were a later addition to the original core, they accept the antiquity of the commemoration of the Incarnation. See E.C. Ratcliff, 'The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion', *JTS* 30 (1928), pp. 23-32 (= *Liturgical Studies*, ed. A.H. Couratin and D.H. Tripp, London, 1976, pp. 80-90); L. Bouyer, (Eng. tr.) *Eucharist* (Notre Dame and London, 1968), p. 150.

Jerusalem Eucharistic Prayer of the third quarter of the fourth century was far sparer than any other we know of, but that it was to this uniquely undeveloped anaphora that Cyril attached his highly realistic doctrines of eucharistic presence and sacrifice.

(d) These problems would be reduced if Cyril's Epiclesis continued with a prayer of offering similar to that of Sarapion: 'Fill also this sacrifice with your power and your partaking; for to you we have offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless offering'[24]. In fact, Cyril's comment on the 'bloodless service' suggests that his liturgy may have employed a similar formula[25]. The word 'bloodless' occurs in a prayer of offering also in the liturgy of St James, and in Ambrose's *de Sacramentis*[26]. The likelihood therefore is that Cyril also is quoting a similar prayer of oblation. If, however, despite the word *eita*, space has to be found for a prayer of oblation in such terms, the main reason for denying the presence of an Institution Narrative is removed.

(e) A comparison of the *MC* text with other references to the completion of the sacrifice in the Eucharist gives mixed results. Theodore of Mopsuestia twice speaks in equivalent terms of the *completion* of the sacrifice. In Homily 15 (Tonneau), in the course of explaining that the bishop represents Christ as High Priest, he affirms that 'each time ... that the service of this awesome sacrifice is completed ..., when it is perfected by eating and drinking', we are put in touch with heavenly realities[27]; in the following homily, after describing the intercessions, he says that the bishop, 'after the service is fully perfected', performs the Fraction[28]. There is no certain Greek retroversion of these passages, but the words ἀπαρτισθῆναι, θυσία and λατρεία, which Cyril uses in *MC* 5.8, could well lie behind the Syriac. B. Spinks understands Theodore to link the completion of the sacrifice with the Epiclesis[29]; but, although Theodore states that the Spirit descends and transforms the bread and wine and makes Christ's risen body present at this point in the liturgy[30], the passage on the

[24] Sarapion (Funk), xiii.11.

[25] 'Then, after the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless service, has been perfected' (*MC* 5.8).

[26] James (Brightman, *LEW* 1.52-3): 'Remembering ... we offer you this awesome and bloodless sacrifice'. Ambrose (*de Sac.* 4.27): 'Remembering ... we offer you, Master, this spotless victim, reasonable victim, bloodless victim'.

[27] I am grateful to Dr Robert Murray, S.J. for help with the interpretation of these two passages from Theodore; also to Dr Anthony Gelston for advice at this point and elsewhere. 'Service' translates *teshmeshtā*, which may correspond to the Greek λατρεία or λειτουργία. 'Sacrifice' translates *debhḥᵉthā*, which may correspond to the Greek θυσία. 'Completed' translated *ml'*, which may correspond to the Greek ἀπαρτίζειν. 'Perfected' translates a different verb, *gmr*, which may represent the Greek τελεῖν οτ τελειοῦν.

[28] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Baptismal Homilies*, 15.20; 16.18 (R. Tonneau and R. Devreesse, *Homilies Catéchetiques* (Studi e Testi 145; 1949)).

[29] B. Spinks, 'The Jerusalem Liturgy of the Catecheses Mystagogicae: Syrian or Egyptian?', *SP* 18/2 (1989), pp. 391-5; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Baptismal Homilies*, 5.11.

[30] *Baptismal Homilies* 15.11; 16.11-12.

Fraction quoted above suggests that for Theodore the service of the sacrifice is complete when the whole preceding liturgical action has been concluded.

These passages then provide no certain evidence of the way in which the word ἀπαρτίζειν is used of the Eucharist. There are however more illuminating examples of the use of the verb by John Chrysostom in this connection. The first is in the homily preached at Antioch in Holy Week on Jesus' betrayal by Judas. It is true, the preacher says, that Judas was allowed to attend the Last Supper, but this is no excuse for sinners to participate in the Eucharist, when Christ himself is at hand preparing the table. Although it is the priest, representing (σχῆμα πληρῶν) Christ, who pronounces the words 'This is my body', which 'transform (μεταρρυθμίζει) the offerings', the power and the grace come from God. Just as God's command 'Increase and multiply', though spoken only once, empowers the procreation of the human race for all time,

> so too this utterance, spoken once, makes the sacrifice complete (τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται) at each table in the churches from that time up to the present and up to his coming (*de proditione Judae*, 1.6; PG 49.380).

The comparison with God's creative utterance indicates the logic: though it is Jesus' words at the Last Supper which make the sacrifice complete, they do so because they are repeated by the priest as his representative. Thus the completion of the sacrifice is linked with the repetition of the words of institution[31].

The second passage is contained in another Antioch passion homily, the *de Coemeterio et de Cruce*, the last section of which is a reminder of the reverence with which the Eucharist should be treated. The preacher contrasts the people's stillness at the Epiclesis with their lack of reverence when they go up to receive communion.

> When the priest stands before the table, stretching out his hands to heaven, calling upon the Holy Spirit to come and touch the offerings, there is great stillness, great silence. But whenever the Spirit gives the grace, whenever he comes down, whenever he touches the offerings, whenever you see the sheep slaughtered and completed (ἀπηρτισμένον), do you at such a moment start a noise, a disturbance, rivalry, insults? (PG 49.398)

Although the completion of the sacrifice (the slaughter of the sheep) is associated with the coming of the Holy Spirit through the Epiclesis, it is not identified with the Epiclesis, but, if anything, contrasted with it. The silence that

[31] In the second homily on Judas, many passages of which coincide very closely with the first, the argument develops differently. The creative word is again compared with the Lord's words spoken once at the Last Supper, but neither the saying in Genesis nor that in the Gospel is said to have been spoken once for all (ἅπαξ); moreover the words of institution are now said to have a continuing power, not to complete the sacrifice but to make those who receive worthily grow in grace (PG 49.389-90). It seems in fact that the argument of the second homily is less cogently expressed than in the first. This makes one wonder whether the second homily, which Montfaucon regarded as a revision of the first, is in reality the earlier version.

prevails at the Epiclesis is set over against the outbreak of noise when the sacrifice is seen to be completed — presumably when before communion the priest comes out from behind the doors and shows the people the sacred species[32]. However, the point at which that completion is not just seen but actually takes place is not indicated.

The third passage is from the Homilies on Hebrews preached at Constantinople, in which the priest's proclamation 'Holy things for the holy' is quoted in order to remind the people of the reverence with which communion is received.

He utters this saying after the whole sacrifice has been completed (μετὰ τὸ τὴν θυσίαν ἀπαρτισθῆναι πᾶσαν) so that no one can come to the spring of the Spirit lightly and casually (*Hom. in Hebr.* XVII.4; PG 63.132).

Here again, although the sacrifice is said to be completed when the rites which precede communion have been celebrated, the completion is not identified with any particular rite.

To sum up, none of these passages from Theodore and Chrysostom refers to an Epiclesis by itself, without an Institution Narrative or anamnesis, as the completion of the sacrifice. On the contrary, while Chrysostom's homilies on the cross and Hebrews and Theodore's baptismal instructions use the term of the whole action preceding communion, Chrysostom's first homily on Judas links completion with the Institution Narrative. To be sure, weight must be allowed to B. Spinks's point that Chrysostom's understanding of the completion of the sacrifice is not compelling evidence of Cyril's[33]. Nevertheless, the gap in time and place between Cyril's Jerusalem and Chrysostom's Antioch is not large.

(f) V. Saxer argued that the formula 'the representation (*figura*/ὁμοίωμα/ἀντίτυπον) of the body/blood of Christ', which is attested by Tertullian, the *Apostolic Tradition*, Ambrose, Sarapion, Macarius, Cyril of Jerusalem and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 'belongs to the common stock of early Christian eucharistic prayers', going back to about A.D. 150[34]. The link with the Institution Narrative is suggested in every example except Hippolytus, who does not give any sign of his source. Thus, the reworking of the *Didache* in Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* contains the phrase in a miniature Institution Narrative:

[32] For the justification of this reconstruction, see Brightman, *LEW*, 1. 475, 480.

[33] B. Spinks, 'Jerusalem Liturgy', pp. 391-392.

[34] V. Saxer, '"Figura Corporis et Sanguinis Domini"', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 48 (1971), pp. 65-89, esp. pp. 81, 88 (= *Pères saints et culte chrétien dans l'Eglise des premiers siècles* (Aldershot, 1994), IV. The patristic passages he quotes include: Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* III.19, IV.40; *Ap. Trad.* (Botte) 21, 26, 33, 38, 41; Ambrose, *de Sacr.* IV.21; *Ap. Const.* VII.25; Sarapion, *Euch.* (Funk) xiii.12-14; Macarius, *Hom.* XXVII.17 (PG 34.705); Cyril, *Myst. Cat.* IV.3.

We also, our Father, thank you for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for his precious body, of which we celebrate these representations (ἀντί-τυπα), as he himself instructed us, to proclaim his death (VII.15)[35].

Tertullian, in the course of his refutation of Marcion's docetic interpretation of Luke, amplifies the Lucan text with a phrase referring to the *figura* of Christ's body, which is authoritative enough to form the basis of a theological argument; Saxer concludes that the source of this added formula is an Institution Narrative:

Having taken the bread and distributed it to his disciples, he made it his body, saying, 'This is my body', that is, the figure (*figura*) of my body. Now it would not have been a figure unless the body were a reality (*Adv. Marc.* IV.40).

In other instances the expression ὁμοίωμα/*figura* does not occur in the Institution Narrative itself but in a prayer closely associated with it. Thus in Ambrose the term occurs in his version of the *Quam oblationem*, which forms an undeveloped Epiclesis immediately before the Institution Narrative:

Make this oblation approved, spiritual and acceptable for us, for it is the figure (*figura*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ (*de Sacr.* IV.21).

In Sarapion the similar term 'likeness' (ὁμοίωμα) occurs four times in prayers expressing offering, both before and after the words of institution. Consequently, if Saxer is right to include Cyril's *MC* in his list, it is probable that Cyril's Eucharistic Prayer also included an Institution Narrative. It is true that the argument loses some of its cogency because in *MC* 4.3, the passage which Saxer quotes, Cyril's language differs from that of the other sources, because where they speak of the 'figure' or 'antitype' of the body and blood, Cyril speaks of the body and blood being given in the type (ἐν τύπῳ) of bread and wine[36]. Nevertheless a more convincing passage could have been quoted from *MC* 5.20, which uses expressions which are much closer to the other sources:

For those who taste are bidden to taste not bread and wine but the antitype (ἀυτιτύπου) of the body and blood of Christ.

(g) D.S. Wallace-Hadrill found evidence that the Jerusalem Eucharistic Prayer contained an Institution Narrative as early as A.D. 313, which is the generally accepted date for Eusebius' *Demonstratio Evangelica*[37]. Interpreting Genesis 49.12 (LXX) as a prophecy of the Eucharist — 'his eyes are more gladdening than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk' — Eusebius

[35] The phrase 'blood ... shed for us' echoes Mk 14.24 and Lk 22.20; 'proclaim his death' recalls 1 Cor 11.26. The underlying words of institution differ in some respects from those in the liturgy of Book VIII.

[36] 'The body is given to you in the form (τύπῳ) of bread, and the blood is given to you in the form (τύπῳ) of wine' (*MC* 4.3).

[37] D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Eusebius and the Institution Narrative in the Eastern Liturgies', *JTS* n.s. 4 (1953), pp. 41-2.

quotes the words of institution over the cup in a form which does not correspond to any of the Gospels or 1 Corinthians: 'Take, drink, this is my blood shed for you ...'[38] Noting that Eusebius is usually accurate over his biblical quotations, Wallace-Hadrill suggests that the historian is quoting a liturgical formula. He finds confirmation in a similar non-biblical version of the cup-word in Cyril's *MC* 4.1: 'And taking the cup and giving thanks, he said: "Take, drink (λάβετε, πίετε), this is my blood"'.

One possible answer to Wallace-Hadrill's argument would be to concede that 'Take, drink' is derived from a well-known formula, but to suggest that the formula may be catechetical rather than liturgical, both in Eusebius and Cyril. Whether this is in fact true of Cyril is precisely the question under investigation; but in Eusebius there is an indication that the formula *is* liturgical. After giving his non-scriptural version of the words of institution, the author continues:

He was handing on the symbols (σύμβολα) of the divine economy to his disciples, instructing them to make for themselves the image of his own body (τὴν εἰκόνα ... ποιεῖσθαι: 366, ll. 21-23).

If *ta sumbola* means 'the ritual formulas', which is a possible meaning of the words[39], the liturgical context is evident. If however the meaning is 'the symbolic *objects* or *actions*', we still have Eusebius interpreting the dominical saying as an instruction to make the image of his body[40]. How else is this to be done save by the actions and words which he handed on?

Massey Shepherd found other evidence of the shape of the pre-Cyrilline Palestinian Anaphora in a passage in Eusebius' sermon at Tyre included in the last book of the *Ecclesiastical History* (X.4), in which Eusebius concludes his description of the basilica at Tyre with a rhetorical expression of praise, uniting himself with the heavenly host in praising the Creator of the universe. Eusebius may well have had the beginning of the Eucharistic Prayer in mind, but, if so, he concludes his paraphrase before any Epiclesis or Institution Narrative. This can hardly however be taken as evidence that there was no Narrative in Eusebius' Anaphora[41].

(h) There are at least two other sources which resemble the account in the *MC* in two respects: first, they are descriptions of Eucharistic Prayers which make no mention of an Institution Narrative; secondly, the account of the Last Supper is given in a separate section outside the summary of the liturgy. These

[38] 'λάβετε πίετε...' *Dem. Ev.* viii.1.28; GCS 366, 1.17.

[39] See s.v. σύμβολον, LSJ III.5; *GPL* B.6.

[40] The verb ποιεῖσθαι used with 'body' as its object recalls Justin's use of ποιεῖν (though the infinitive here is active not middle) with 'bread' and 'cup' as objects in *Dialogue* 70.4.

[41] M.H. Shepherd, 'Eusebius and the Liturgy of Saint James', *Yearbook of Liturgical Studies*, 4 (1963), pp. 109-125. I owe this reference to J. Fenwick, but have been unable to consult this paper for myself.

passages occur in Justin's First *Apology*, and Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Baptismal Homily* 16. E.C. Ratcliff noted the 'formulary ring' of the account of the Last Supper which occurs between Justin's two descriptions of the Eucharist in his first *Apology*[42]. Justin explains that what is received is not 'common' bread and drink, but 'nourishment eucharistized by a word of prayer which (i.e. the word) is from him (δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ) '(1 *Apol.* 66.2)[43]. The translation 'prayer of the Word' (instead of 'word of prayer'), though grammatically possible, is not likely to be right, for two reasons: first, because an earlier passage of the First *Apology* speaks of 'a word of prayer and thanksgiving' (1 *Apol.* 13.1), which cannot be interpreted in any other way; secondly, in c. 66 Justin compares the Christian word of prayer with the formulas (ἐπίλογοι) which accompany the use of bread and water in the Mithraic rites. Consequently, if, in contrast with these pagan rites, the Christian Eucharist uses a form of words which comes from God or Jesus, the reference must be to a prayer of thanksgiving including the narrative which Justin quotes — again the version is non-scriptural[44]:

For the apostles, in the memoirs called gospels which they composed, handed down (παρέδωκαν) that it was thus commanded them, <and that> Jesus, taking bread and giving thanks, said: 'Do this in remembrance of me: this is my body'; and likewise taking the cup and giving thanks, he said: 'This is my blood', and gave a share of it to them alone (1 *Apol.* 66.3).

The fact that the same word παρέδωκαν is applied both to the apostles' handing down of the Institution Narrative and the evil demons' handing down of the Mithraic rites and formulas, confirms the suggestion that Justin is discussing liturgical words in both instances.

Similarly Theodore's *Baptismal Homily* 16 gives an account of the Last Supper, without stating that it is taken from the Eucharistic Prayer, while his account of the Prayer itself contains no conclusive sign of an Institution Narrative. After summarising the Sanctus and a post-Sanctus, which recalled the Incarnation, death and Resurrection, Theodore gives the newly-baptized his own explanation of their need for 'immortal and spiritual food', ending with a brief narrative:

When he was about to go to meet his passion, he bequeathed this food to his disciples, so that we might receive and make [the body and blood] by means of this bread and wine — we who all believe in Christ and continue to commemorate his death[45].

[42] E.C. Ratcliff, 'The Eucharistic Institution Narrative of Justin Martyr's *First Apology*', *Liturgical Studies*, ed. A.H. Couratin and D.H. Tripp (London, 1976), p. 43. The phrase 'formulary ring' is borrowed from J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd edn, London, 1972), p. 75.

[43] 'Him' may refer to either God or Jesus; either understanding fits the syntax.

[44] See A. Gelston, 'ΔΙ' ΕΥΧΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ (Justin, *Apology* i.66.2)', *JTS* n.s. 33 (1982), pp. 172-175.

[45] (Tonneau) 16.10. Theodore also quotes the words of institution in his general discussion of the Eucharist which precedes his running commentary on the rites; the word over the bread is

Theodore then continues with an account of the Epiclesis.

As far as the text alone is concerned, Theodore's narrative may or may not have been a quotation from the liturgy[46]. However comparison with other versions of the Antiochene liturgy suggests strongly that an Institution Narrative did form part of his Eucharistic Prayer, whether he delivered the homilies in Antioch or in Mopsuestia. Not only does his contemporary John Chrysostom, as we have seen, speak unambiguously of an Institution Narrative at Antioch in the homily on Judas, but St Basil, writing in the 370s in his work on the Holy Spirit, implies that the Institution Narrative formed part of the liturgy, when he defends tradition as the justification for the Epiclesis:

For we are not confined to those things which the apostle or the gospel record, but both before and after, we say things which have a great importance for the mystery, things from the unwritten teaching (*de Spiritu Sancto*, 27, 66; PG 32.188).

Thus for Basil, who by this time had lived in Cappadocia and Constantinople and had visited Syria, Palestine and Egypt, it is axiomatic that the Eucharistic Prayer includes the things which the gospels and Paul record — a phrase which presumably refers to the Institution Narrative. It would be surprising if Theodore's Eucharistic Prayer, which cannot have been earlier than the 380s, differed so radically from the other Antiochene liturgies as to contain no Institution Narrative. Consequently neither Justin nor Theodore provides a reliable precedent for catechetical instruction on an Institution Narrative which did not form part of the liturgy.

(i) As we have seen, G. Kretschmar conjectured that the fact that there is no commentary on an Institution Narrative in *MC* 5 was due to religious awe, which led Cyril to speak the narrative silently (or perhaps to refrain from writing down the comments he made on it). It is however possible that one reason for Cyril's separation of his general instruction on the Eucharist (*MC* 4) from his commentary on the liturgy (*MC* 5) is the lectionary. We know that the Jerusalem lectionary was very stable, for there is little difference between the readings set out in the Lenten Catecheses about 350 and those listed in the Jerusalem Armenian Lectionary of the first half of the fifth century. For the postbaptismal catecheses the Yerevan version of this lectionary gives the same five readings as the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, though the later recensions of

given in a form which suggests it is a quotation from the liturgy rather than a direct quotation from the New Testament: 'This is my body which is broken for you' (Tonneau) 15.7. Cf A. Gelston, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia: the Anaphora and *Mystagogical Catecheses* 16, *SP* 26 (1993), pp. 24-25, 31.

[46] J.P.M. Van der Ploeg, 'The Old Eucharistic Liturgy of the "Church of the East"' (*The Harp*, 3 (1990), p. 108), suggests that references to the Institution Narrative may have been removed from Theodore's homily when Patriarch Ishoyahb III revised the Assyrian liturgy in the middle of the seventh century.

Paris and Jerusalem reduced the number to four[47]. Now, although the reading for the fourth homily, 1 Cor 11.23, is appropriate for an explanation of eucharistic theology, the reading for the fifth is not, as one would expect, another eucharistic passage, but a moral treatise from 1 Peter 2 ('Rid yourself therefore of all malice ...'), which has no relevance to the matter of the homily Cyril gave, except for the passing allusion to purity of life in the homily's last paragraph. This suggests that in earlier years Cyril confined the treatment of the Eucharist to the fourth homily, while the fifth consisted of moral instructions. Eventually these instructions got squeezed out when Cyril found that he could not say all he wanted to say about the Eucharist on a single day. One possible solution would have been to treat of the first half of the Eucharist in the fourth homily and the second in the fifth. What Cyril did, however, was to turn the fourth into a commentary on 1 Cor 11, the reading of the day, so that it begins, as no other Lenten or Mystagogic Catechesis does, with a direct allusion to the passage read: 'This teaching of blessed Paul...' That left the fifth homily (with its inappropriate lection) to be taken up with running commentary on the liturgy, in which Cyril does not find it necessary to add to what he has said about the Institution Narrative in *MC* 4.

(j) Let us finally turn our attention to some of the detailed arguments which have been put forward. Cutrone argued that the reason why Cyril does not interpret the liturgy in *MC* 5 in his characteristic terms of εἰκών and μίμησις is that the absence of an Institution Narrative made it difficult to follow this line of exposition, which is to be found instead in the general theological treatment in *MC* 4. This argument is not strong. The context of the two passages in *MC* 4 which speak in terms of identification with Christ, 4.1 and 3, is not the Last Supper but the reception of communion. There is accordingly no reason why the matter should not have been included in the same context in *MC* 5 if Cyril had wished; and in fact he does allude briefly to union with Christ in the instructions for receiving communion (nn. 20-22).

To my mind it is Fenwick's statistical argument which makes out the strongest case against the presence of an Institution Narrative in Cyril's Eucharistic Prayer, though he warns us himself that 'the figures must be handled with care'[48]. However, by itself the presence of a high proportion of the formulae of Basil in the narrative of James does not suffice to prove that there was no narrative in Cyril's liturgy; for if, as G. Cuming believed, the probable date of the earliest extant version of Egyptian Basil is the first half of the fourth century or even earlier[49], its influence on the Jerusalem liturgy may have

[47] See A. Renoux, 'Le Codex arménien Jérusalem 121', *PO* 36 (1971), pp. 326-31; E.J. Yarnold, 'The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem', *Heythrop Journal*, 19 (1978) pp. 143-161, esp. pp. 154-6.

[48] Op. cit., p. 33, note 3.

[49] G.J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St Mark* (OCA 234; 1990), p. XLI.

begun well before the time of Cyril's *Mystagogic Catecheses*. Indeed this influence seems to have extended already to the Institution Narrative. F.E. Brightman noted two points of resemblance between the narrative in James and the account of the Last Supper in *MC* 4.1: first, *MC* 4 and James give the dominical words in the unusual order τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ αἷμα in contrast with the more usual τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου which is found in the liturgies of Mark, Basil, Chrysostom and the *Apostolic Constitutions*; secondly, the unusual formula 'Take, drink' in *MC* 4.1, although not found in James itself, recurs in the Syrian Jacobite liturgy[50]. Both of these pecularities are also found in the liturgy quoted by Eusebius[51]. Thus the narrative in James, with its many points of agreement with Egyptian Basil, was not attached ready made to Cyril's Eucharistic Prayer, but was the culmination of a development which had already begun by the time of the *Mystagogic Catecheses*.

Conclusion

Although from this collection of evidence and counterargument no solution emerges with certainty, the following conclusions seem more plausible than not. First, Cyril's liturgy did not pass directly from the Epiclesis to the intercessions. Secondly, the missing section probably included a prayer expressing the offering of the bloodless sacrifice. The absence of an Institution Narrative from *MC* 5 may be due to a number of reasons, and does not prove that there was no narrative in the Eucharistic Prayer. On the contrary, various pieces of evidence cumulatively make the presence of an Institution Narrative more likely than not: especially the probability that a Narrative would be associated with a prayer of offering, the indications in Eusebius of a Palestinian anaphora containing words of institution, Cyril's strong sacrificial language, and his allusions to the completion of the sacrifice and the antitypes of the body and blood.

[50] Brightman, *LEW* i.469, n. 11. The Jacobite words of institution are given in LEW i.87, and Renaudot ii.32.

[51] λάβετε, πίετε, τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ αἷμα (*Dem. Ev.* viii.1.28).